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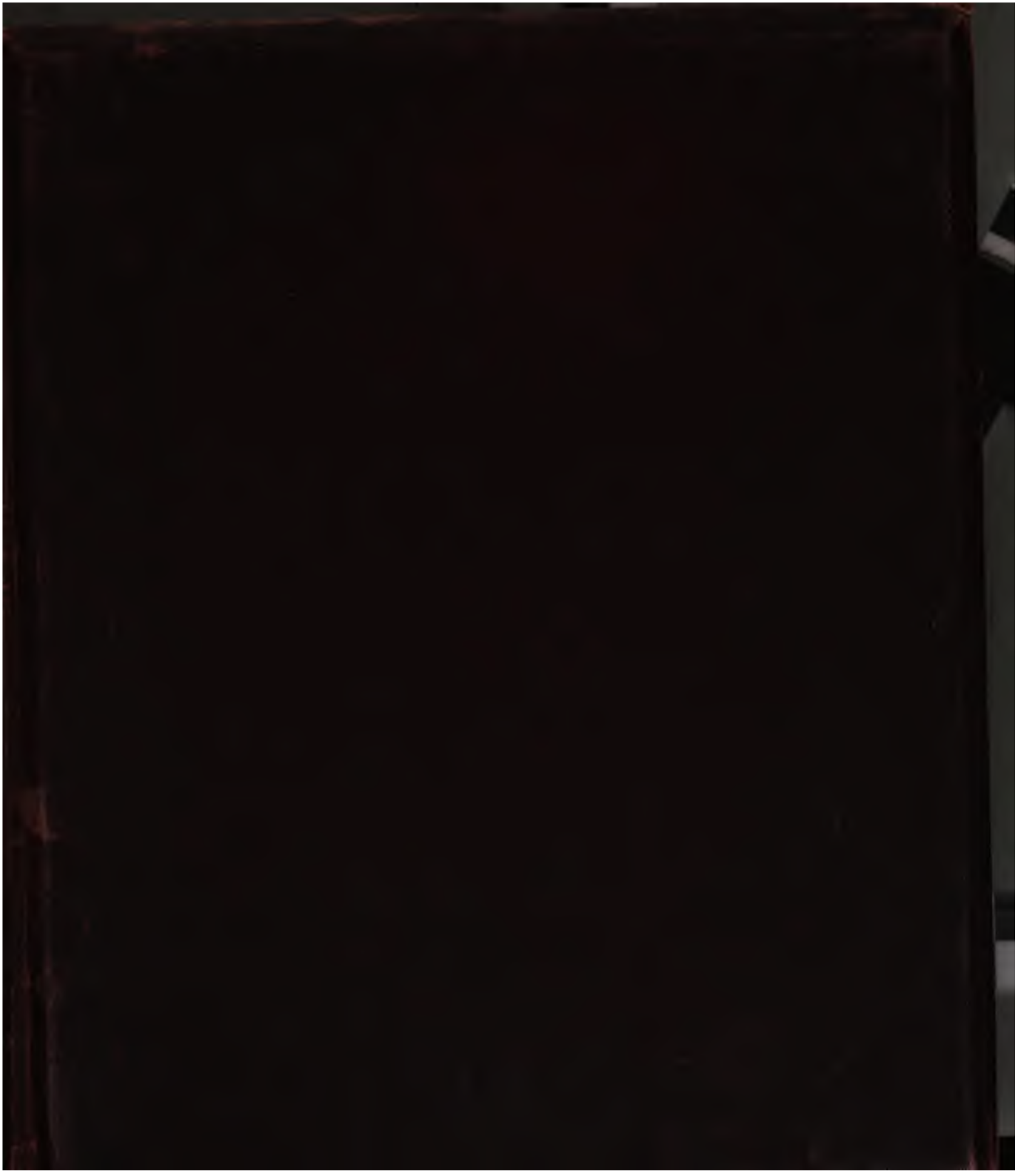

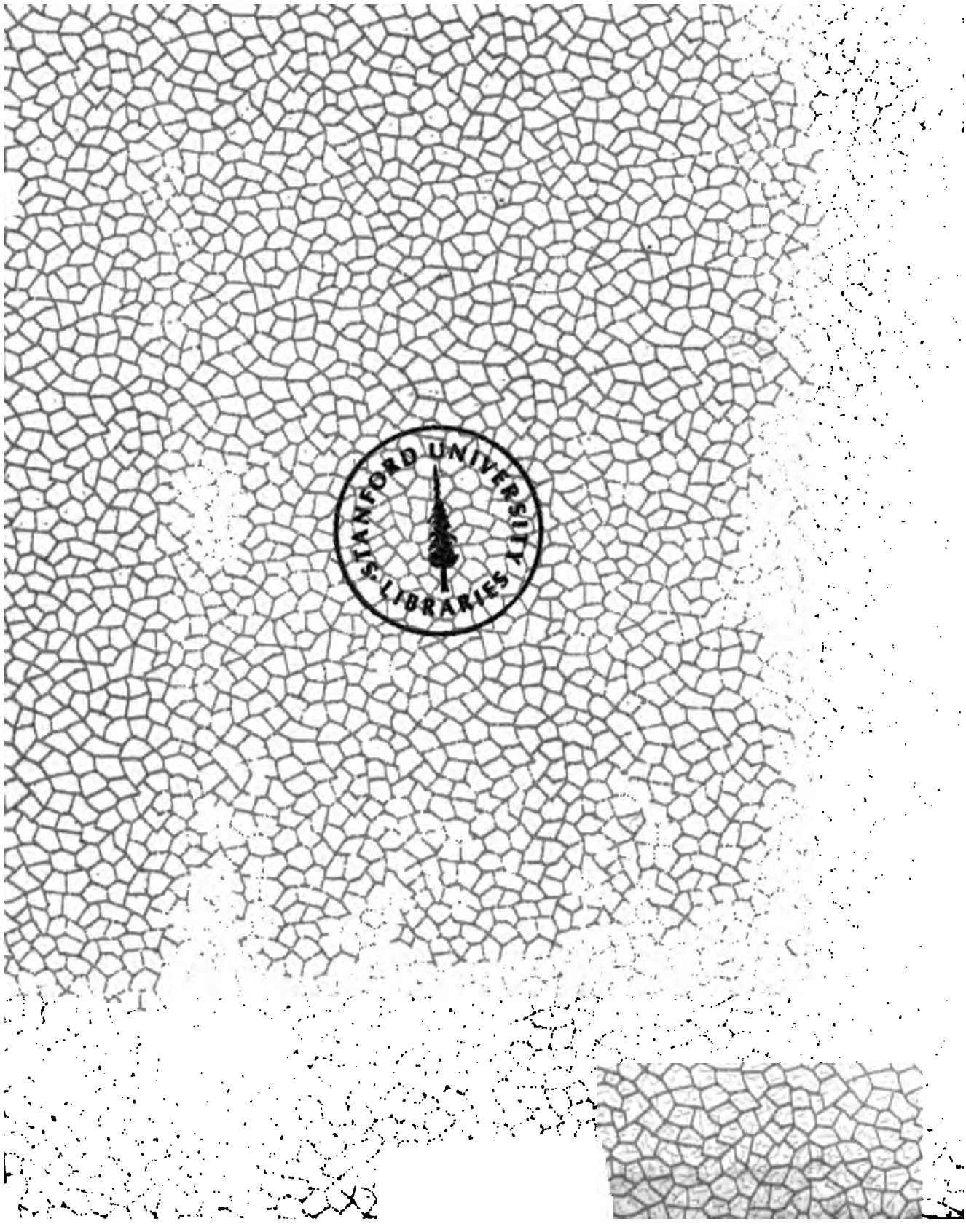
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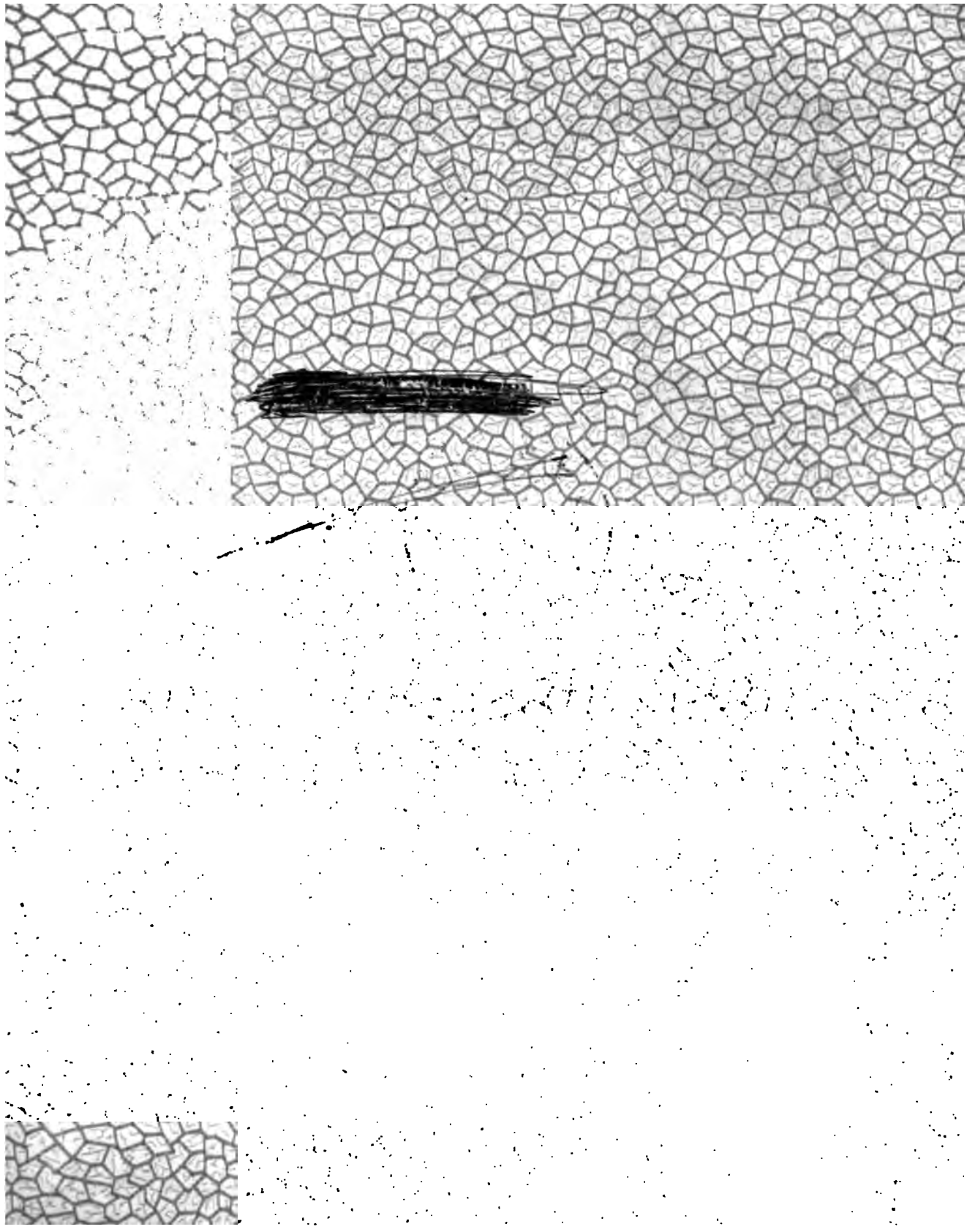

THE MONTGOMERY MANUSCRIPTS:

(1603—1706)

Compiled from Family Papers

BY

[redacted]

AND

Edited, with Notes,

BY

[redacted]

Belfast:

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THOMAS DARGAN, 17, CASTLE LANE.

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PREFACE.

THE MONTGOMERY MANUSCRIPTS were written by William Montgomery of Rosemount, in the county of Down, between the years 1696 and 1706, or during the last ten years of the author's life. Of this learned old gentleman's personal history nothing is known to the editor beyond the several curious autobiographical notices to be found in this volume, and to which the reader may have easy access by means of the Index at the end. His memoir of the first viscount Montgomery contains a vivid sketch of the Scottish settlement in the territory of Ard-Uladh, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and of the events which led to the extinction of the great house of O'Neill in Upper or Southern Clannaboy. The memoir of the second viscount is unfortunately lost, at least for the present, having been probably carried away to Australia by the author's lineal descendant, captain Frederick Campbell Montgomery, who settled in that colony about the year 1835. The memoir of the third viscount has reached us almost complete (although evidently wanting its introductory chapter), and is a truly valuable contribution to the history of Ulster, from the outbreak of the great Irish rebellion in 1641, until the period of the Restoration in 1660. The third viscount, who had a commission as commander-in-chief of the royalist forces in Ulster, was advanced to the dignity of an earl by Charles II., and took Mount-Alexander as the name of his earldom, from the family residence near Comber, in the county of Down, which had been so called in honour of his mother, Jean Alexander, daughter of the first earl of Stirling. The memoir of the fourth viscount, second earl of Mount-Alexander, who died in 1716, appears to be complete, at least to the year 1706, the date of the author's death. This second earl was appointed general of the northern Protestant forces in 1688, and his memoir, containing some curious particulars of the revolutionary struggle in Ulster, will be read with deep interest. The memoir of Sir James Montgomery is quite imperfect. We have here only a copy of portions of the original. In a *MS.* account of the Savages to which the editor had access, there is a marginal reference to pp. 209, 210, of the *Life of Sir James Montgomery*, but the fragment which has been preserved would not occupy, probably, more than fifty of the closely written quarto pages of William Montgomery's original memoir. The transcriber, however, has fortunately copied from the original such portions of the memoir as referred to Sir James's public life, including an account of his military operations in 1641, which preserved the inhabitants of the Ards from pillage and massacre, and kept that district open as an asylum for multitudes who had escaped the fury of the insurgents in other localities, throughout Down, and the adjoining counties. For the memoirs above-mentioned the author derived his materials from such family papers as had not been stolen or destroyed when Rosemount House was burned, in February, 1695.

The author appears, generally, to have committed to the then representatives of the several leading families in the Ards, of the surname of Montgomery, such portions of his *Manuscripts* as specially treated of the branches to which they respectively belonged,—an arrangement by which these documents were widely dispersed, and, in some instances, valuable collections irrevocably lost. His memoirs of the main branch, with one exception, were preserved at Mount-Alexander House, and afterwards at Donaghadee, kinsfolk and connexions occasionally borrowing them for consultation on important family matters. The memoirs of the author's father, sir James Montgomery, of his father-in-law, the second viscount, and of the author himself, lay in Rosemount House, and afterwards at Killough, from which they, with others, were removed on the marriage of the author's great grand-daughter, Helena Montgomery, with Conway Heatley, esq., of Riversdale, in the county of Wicklow. This lady's eldest son was permitted, in the year 1820, to assume the name and arms of Montgomery. Her grandson, Frederick Campbell Montgomery above-named, carried with him many of the Papers relating to the history of his family, which are supposed to be in the possession of his children, who reside in Australia. Among the Papers thus removed were probably the author's *Opera Juvenilia* and *Opera Senilia*, two distinct volumes, referred to at pp. 412, 416. He mentions that his *Disputations* were bound up in the former volume, and his Treatise on the office of *Custos Rotulorum* in the latter. In the latter, also, was probably included his *Treatise on Funerals*, mentioned at p. 384. Copies of the *Incidentall Remembrances* of the Savages were made by Abraham Holm, at Rosemount, and sent to Patrick Savage, of Portaferry, esqr., and Captain Hugh Savage of Ardkeen. The *Narrative of Gransheogh* was transcribed by Mr. Robert Watson from the original, the transcript being sent to William Montgomery of Gransheogh, who was then (1701) residing at Maghera, in the county of Londonderry. The original, however, and the copy made from it, are both in the possession of Hugh Montgomery, esq., the present proprietor of the Rosemount or Greyabbey estate, and the lineal representative of the gentleman for whom it was drawn up by the author. In the same keeping, also, is the original of the author's curious treatise on the Montgomerys of England and Scotland. The memoir of the influential family then represented by Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown, afterwards Springvale, was committed to that gentleman's keeping as it came from the author's hand, and has been since very carefully preserved. It was found not many years ago, in the possession of the family of the late Rev. William Montgomery, presbyterian minister of Ballyeaston, county of Antrim, who was a native of Castlereagh, and probably the representative of Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown, the original owner. Nothing is now known of the memoirs of the Blackstown and Creboy branches, mentioned at p. 385, the representatives of those families having, most probably, carried them to Scotland on their return to occupy their ancestral lands in that kingdom. The *Description of the Ards*, written several years prior to his memoirs of the Montgomerys, appears to have been the only portion of the author's writings printed in his own lifetime, with the exception of two College Exercises published at Leyden, in the year 1652. His account of the Ards was, no doubt, much appreciated when it first appeared, one copy having been purchased, some years afterwards, for sir William Petty, at the price of £3 13s. 6d. It was published at Dublin, folio, pp. 16, in the year 1683.

When the remnant of the Mount-Alexander estates passed, at the death of the last countess in 1764, to the families of De la Cherois and Crommelin, the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, preserved at Mount-Alexander, together with other family papers, were transferred to Samuel De la Cherois, esq., cousin of the countess, to whom her ladyship had bequeathed the half of the property. His son, Daniel De la Cherois, esq., of Donaghadee, kindly permitted extracts from the *Manuscripts* to be printed in the columns of the *Belfast News-Letter*. These extracts appeared in the years 1785 and 1786, and were followed by others, published by the same journal, in the year 1822. It was afterwards found that there existed a very general desire to have the whole contents of this valuable collection printed in a more permanent form. Hence the duodecimo volume published at the *News-Letter* office in the year 1830. In reference to that publication, the editor has received the following interesting particulars from James M'Knight, Esq., LL.D., Londonderry, whose valuable Preface to the first edition requires now from its distinguished writer not one apologetic word :—

"After the late Dr. James Stuart, the historian of Armagh, had removed from Newry to Belfast, to undertake the editorship of the *News-Letter*, he obtained from Mr. Joy a perusal of the *MS.* in his (Mr. Joy's) possession; and he strongly urged its publication, offering to supply notes, illustrations, addenda, &c., from his own immense stores of historical and local information. Mr. Joy did not like to incur the total expense of the work; but, by way of economy, Dr. Stuart and he suggested to Mr. Mackay its publication by instalments in the *News-Letter*, keeping up the types till a sufficient number of pages had been formed, when the sheets were struck off, and so on in succession. Dr. Stuart, by anticipation, as you will see in the early sheets, inserted references to his intended appendix, though this appendix was never finished—perhaps indeed was never written. By this slow process, a considerable portion of the *MS.* was struck off in sheets when the work had to be discontinued. These printed sheets lay in the *News-Letter* office for many years as waste paper ; Dr. Stuart had left the establishment, and started the *Guardian*, and I—then a young student in my second year at college—became his successor. Mr. Joy, a short time before his death, determined to complete the publication, made pecuniary arrangements with Mr. Mackay, and had the remainder of the *MS.* printed, together with the account of the 'Savages.' His hand was so tremulous that he could not write at any length, though he managed to correct all the proofs. The task of writing a preface consequently fell upon me, though ill-qualified for it from defective information ; but I put together a few pages, which Mr. Joy corrected, and which were printed at the beginning of the volume. This is its history, so far as I have any knowledge of it.

"November 27, 1866."

It would thus appear that the publication of the first edition was urged forward by the late Henry Joy, esq., of Belfast, soon before the close of his long and honourable life, and whilst his feeble health permitted him to do little more than simply to see that the printing of the *Manuscripts* was in progress. It is gratifying to know, however, that he lived to witness the accomplishment of the work, and also to receive, among many other acknowledgments, a very cordial letter of thanks from sir Walter Scott, to whom he had transmitted a copy. The following is an extract from this letter, written in Edinburgh, on the 4th of February, 1830 :—"I am honoured with a copy of your edition of the Montgomerys, which interests me in the highest degree, and is one of those works which carry us back to the times of our ancestors, and give us the most correct ideas of their cus-

toms and manners. I am very sorry the condition of the copies you made use of obliged you to omit the appendix, which must have contained much that was curious and interesting."

When preparations were to be made for the new edition, no trace of the original *Manuscripts* from which the volume of 1830 had been printed could be found, and the present editor was reluctantly compelled to adopt the modernized orthography of that volume, without having thus the best means of correcting misprints, or of supplying many words and even whole sentences that have been omitted in the first edition without explanation. The reader will observe that in the new edition the contents of the *Manuscripts* have been re-arranged, being now placed according to the order in which they were written, and so as to preserve, as much as possible, the continuity of the author's narrative. To the memoirs contained in the first edition, three others of much interest and value have been here added, two of which arenow printed for the first time, the third being a reprint from the ninth volume of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*. The history of these three additional memoirs, so far as known to the editor, will be found in the notes, and need not be repeated here.

Without entering into any recapitulation of the subject matter of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, it may be stated, generally, that the reader will here meet with many curious illustrations of the sentiments and manners of the age in which they were written. Among such illustrations may be mentioned—the bloody and protracted feud between the Montgomerys and Cunninghams of Scotland; the escape, or rescue, of Con O'Neill from Carrickfergus Castle; the return of that chieftain to Castlereagh, from London, after kissing the king's hand, and obtaining a royal grant of the third part of his own estates; the commencement and progress of the new Scottish colony at Newtown in the Ards; the massacre, by woodkern, of the whole family, save one, of the Montgomerys of Gransheogh; the meeting of bishop George Montgomery and Dr. James Ussher in London, and their interviews with James I.; the rencounter of the fat (first) earl of Clanbrassill with the Brownie at Newtown-house; the violence of sir Bryan O'Neill in the house of parliament and in the court of king's bench; the heraldic display observed at the funerals of the first and third viscounts Montgomery; the author's re-entry into Rosemount after being excluded from it, by the officers of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, for the space of nine years; his hunt after his reprizals throughout various counties of Ireland; his interview with primate Bramhall on the way to Lisburn; his meeting with the duke of Ormond at Carrickfergus in 1666; and his preparation of his own tomb, including the several curious inscriptions for it, two of which have been only recently discovered, and are recorded at page 405 of this volume.

The editor has now only, in conclusion, to express his gratitude for much friendly aid received in the course of his labours. The kind offices of the Rev. Dr. Reeves of Tynan have been unwearying and pre-eminent, this very distinguished scholar and writer having read over and assisted in the correction of every proof-sheet of the entire work. Among many others, whose assistance was always promptly rendered when required, the editor's acknowledgments are especially due to the Rev. Dr. MacIlwaine, Belfast; colonel F. O. Montgomery, of the North Down Rifles; Daniel De la Cherois, esq., Donaghadee; Hugh Montgomery, esq., of Gransheogh and Greyabbey; R. B. Houston, esq., Orangefield, Belfast; the Rev. James Graves, Kilkenny; J. W. Hanna, esq.,

Holywood; William Pinkerton, esq., F.S.A., Hounslow, London; M. J. Barrington Ward, esq., Magdalen Hall, Oxford; the Rev. Dr. Killen, Belfast; R. S. Nicholson, esq., Ballow, county of Down; the Rev. Classon Porter, Larne; Charles Scott, esq., Grovefield, Belfast; John P. Prendergast, esq., Dublin; sir J. Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms; James M'Knight, esq., LL.D., Londonderry; the Rev. J. A. Chancellor, Belfast; the right honourable the earl of Enniskillen; John Temple Reilly, esq., Dublin; Richard Cunningham, esq., Castle Cooley, County Donegal; Maurice Lenihan, esq., Limerick; brigadier-general George Montgomery of the Bombay Army; James Paterson, esq., Edinburgh; and the Rev. Dr. Rogers of Greenwich.

BELFAST, JANUARY, 1869.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

A CONSIDERABLE portion of the MONTGOMERY MANUSCRIPTS was printed in the *Belfast News-Letter*, so early as 1785 and 1786,* when their publication was suspended in consequence of their extent, which in some degree unfitted them for the columns of a newspaper. Besides, it was suggested that their intrinsic interest and importance to a large proportion of the Nobility and Gentry of the Counties of Down and Antrim, required their publication in a permanent and portable form, and hence the origin of the present undertaking. The influential part which the family of MONTGOMERY acted in the affairs of Ulster after its colonization by the Scots, is matter of historic record, and will be found minutely detailed in the subsequent pages; while, in consequence of the matrimonial and other alliances, that were gradually formed between the several branches of that distinguished family and other families of rank at the time, there are not a few gentlemen in the counties referred to, who will naturally feel an interest in recurring to these simple, but authentic memoirs of their ancestorial dignity. The gratification which the recorded fame of ancestry may fairly minister to the ambition of posterity, is not, however, the only advantage derivable from the publication of these Memoirs. Their importance as historical documents will be readily recognised by those who have studied the transactions of the agitated period to which they refer, while, as illustrative of manners and customs and habits of thought, that are now comparatively antiquated, their value cannot fail to be estimated even by those who have no hereditary interest in their details. In this view, it is hoped, that though the locality of the scenes that are described, and the individuality of the personages who are chiefly engaged in them, may limit to a portion of the community, the specific interest of the volume; yet it will possess independent merit sufficient to engage the attention of the majority.

In the early parts of the volume, references have been made to an Appendix, which has not been printed, and the omission of which requires explanation. The reasons of its omission were

* They were again re-printed in part in the *News-Letter* in 1822.

these—after a considerable portion of the Montgomery Manuscripts had been printed off, a second Manuscript by the author of the former, was discovered. It contained an interesting history of the family of the Savages, formerly the Lords of the Little Ards, and its publication was found to be necessary, not merely to complete the narrative of the former, but for reasons equally cogent with those which had originally induced the determination of publishing that Manuscript. Hence, the omission of the proposed Appendix became indispensable, as the size of the work had been limited. Besides, no great inconvenience can result from this omission, as there are numerous sources of information accessible to those who may be inquisitive regarding matters of mere antiquarian curiosity; while the full insertion of the Appendix would have required either a separate volume, or would have enlarged this to an inconvenient size, and would, besides, have proportionably increased its price.

The orthography of the original manuscripts, with its incidental peculiarities of contraction, has been strictly preserved.* The printer has even followed the occasional defects of his copy, without attempting their correction, which, in many instances, might have been easily done. It now remains that we close this preface with a brief notice of the author of the following memoirs. He was the son of Sir James Montgomery, and was born at Aughaintain, in Tyrone, on the 27th of October, 1633. He represented the borough of Newtownards, in the Irish Parliament, which, shortly after the restoration, passed the celebrated act for the settlement of military adventurers in Ireland. In his habits he appears to have been studious, to have possessed persevering industry, extensive knowledge, and acuteness of observation, notwithstanding the quaint, parenthetical style of his composition—a fault which is attributable, not to him, but to the age in which he lived. He wrote these memoirs in the interval between the years 1698 and 1704. In a historical view, their authority is indubitable. It has been alluded to by Lodge, in his *Irish Peerage*, and as they have never before been printed entire, it is presumed that the present publication will furnish valuable hints to the national annalist, as well as acceptable information to the northern public in general. Copious extracts from the original MSS. of the Lords Mountalexander and of Captain George Montgomery, were first published in the *Belfast News-Letter* of the years 1785 and 1786, with the consent of the late Daniel Delacherois, of Donaghadee, Esq. (in whose family they had been preserved), when a great portion of the Original MS. became missing, and after repeated searches to recover them, it was found that a copy of them had been taken, which, being traced out, was obligingly communicated. When compared with the parts printed in 1785 and 1786, they were found exactly to correspond, and have been used in completing the present publication.

* This arrangement has been only partially adopted.—*Editor of New Edition.*

THE MONTGOMERY MANUSCRIPTS.[1]

SOME FEW MEMOIRES OF THE MONTGOMERIES[2] OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

BEING to write of the MONTGOMERIES of Ireland (now planted therein), recourse must be first had to what I have credibly heard, as truth never doubted of (that my enquiry could find out). And secondly, to those authentick papers and parchments, which I have carefully perused, and which came to my hands among those left to me by my father, many others of them being lost or embeazled, or burnt in Rosemount House:[3] out of the remainder whereof, or from such as I have seen elsewhere, relations shall be made. Thirdly, and lastly, I must, in this

[1] *Manuscripts.*—On the title-page of the volume printed in 1830, it is stated that the *Manuscripts* contain "memoirs of the first, second, and third viscounts Montgomery." There are memoirs of the first, third, and fourth viscounts; but we have no notice of the *second* viscount, excepting a brief reference to his marriage, which occurs in the memoir of his father, and an equally short announcement of his death in the memoir of his son, the third viscount, who was created first earl of Mountalexander. The memoir of the second viscount is probably lost, which is the more to be regretted, as its details were, no doubt, ample, the author having been both his nephew and son-in-law. In a MS. copy of the author's *Incidentall Remembrances of the Two Ancient Familys of the Savadges*, he refers to *page* 92 of his memoir of the *second* viscount. In the first edition, the memoir of sir James Montgomery, of Rosemount, has been introduced after that of the first viscount, although it was intended by the author to succeed that of the fourth viscount, or second earl of Mountalexander.

It is also stated on the title-page that the author, William Montgomery, was "second son of sir James Montgomery." Although sir James was thrice married, the author was his *only* son—indeed his only surviving child. His first wife, Catherine, who died in 1634, was a daughter of sir William Stewart, of Tyrone. In her *Funeral Entry*, it is stated that "she had issue by the said sir James one son, named William, of the age of 18 months." Sir James Montgomery's second lady was Margaret, eldest daughter of sir William Cole, of Enniskillen; and his third was Francesse St. Laurence, third daughter of Nicholas, twenty-third baron Howth. The inscription on the monument erected by William Montgomery, in Greyabbey, to his father's memory, refers to these ladies in the following terms, which show that they had left no children:—"His (sir James's) other two virtuous ladies and their children (which died before them) lie buried over against this monument." The author, who wrote this inscription, which is now quite defaced, describes himself as *primi ventris sola proles.*—Harris, *Antient and Present State of the County of Down*, p. 51.

[2] *Montgomeries.*—This surname is here so written according to a modernised orthography adopted in the first edition, from the commencement of the volume to page 169. In the original manuscript, however, the plural form of the surname was invariably written *Montgomerys*, a spelling from which the author never appears to have deviated. In such of his manuscripts as are still preserved, the surname is always *Montgomery* in the singular number, and *Montgomerys* in the plural. In a letter of the author to his kinsman, William Montgomery, of Gransheogh, dated November, 1701, he says:—"I wold have your son take notice, that our sirname, in ye pattents of our family, and in ye acts of parliament, both of England and Ireland, and in all printed books, historys, and others, in our three kingdoms, (wch I can show you,) is spelled as I subscribe it, as divers gentlemen of estate doe, and as the count Montgomery, in Normandy, did, and yet doth, as I have prooved in a paper I wrot to that purpose, and concerning ye rectifying of ye subscription of sirnames; of wch many persons have heedlessly taken upon custom to write them ye wrong way, wch imports an ignorance occasioned by carelessness." In the text we have the simple but comprehensive title prefixed by the author to his *Manuscripts*.

[3] *Rosemount House.*—*Rosemount* is the name invariably used by the author to designate the family residence adjoining Greyabbey. In the form of *Mountross* it is so applied in the year 1634, as appears from the *Funeral Entry* of Katherine Stewart (sir James Montgomery's first lady), already quoted in a preceding note. On the 20th of April, 1629, the first viscount Montgomery granted lands at Greyabbey to his second son, sir James; but the name *Rosemount* is not mentioned in this grant. On the 19th March, 1638, sir James received a grant from the

treatise, make use of my own certain knowledge and memory in those affairs, having had conversation or concern with most of their familys (both the dead and yet surviving of them), to whom I have been a contemporary within the space of above those fifty years now last past,[4] wherein I did more or less make observations as I best could, whilst I grew up in age, and acquaintance with them; and thus furnished, I begin this following narrative (as near as I can) according to the order of time, wherein the several events came to pass, the like not having been attempted that I can any ways learne.[5] Therefore, Imprimis (as in duty I am bound), with the Montgomeries of the great Ardes, who were the first and chiefest of all that sirname that came from Scotland, and mostly the procurers of other Montgomery families, and of many of divers sirnames besides them; to follow and plant in this kingdom, of whom the most conspicuous and powerfull, and the first introducer and

crown of all the lands then in his possession; the lands in Greyabbey being erected into the manor of *Rosemount*, whilst those on the opposite side of the Lough, in the parishes of Killinchy and Kilmood, constituted the manor of *Florida*. In the author's *Description of the Ardes* (see p. 308, first edition), he states that the whole manor of Rosemount "taketh name" from the House, to which, therefore, the designation must have originally been applied. From the peculiar names of *Rosemount* and *Florida*, given by sir James Montgomery to his two manors, it is inferred that he had a love for flowers, and was devoted to their culture. Mountross and Rosemount are translations of the Latin *Mons Rosarum*, and it would seem that this word, in some form, was a popular name for places of residence in Ireland as well as in Scotland. A place near Ardquin and Portaferry is called Mountross. There is a Rosemount (formerly called Goldring), in the parish of Symington, Ayrshire, which belonged, in the sixteenth century, to an old family of the Schaws.—Paterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 481. It is curious that the motto on the town-arms of Montrose is *mare ditat, rosa decorat*, which would imply the same origin for this name.—*New Stat. Account of Forfarshire*, pp. 271—2. Besides the Rosemount at Greyabbey, and another in Lower Iveagh, there are family residences of the same name in the counties of Antrim, Westmeath, Tipperary, Wexford, and Waterford.—*Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 293; vol. ii., pp. 26, 81, 290, 393; vol. iii., pp. 183, 317.

[4] *Now last past.*—The author was born at the residence of his grandfather Stewart, in the county of Tyrone, and continued to live there until the month of May, 1644, when he was brought to Rosemount, in the eleventh year of his age. "The space of above fifty years," mentioned in the text, was the interval between 1644 and 1697 the latter being the date at which the author commenced to compile the *Montgomery Manuscripts*.

[5] *Any ways learne.*—It is supposed that there had existed at Eglinton Castle a MS. account of the Montgomery family in Scotland, which was destroyed when that old pile was burnt by the Cunninghams, in 1528. Our author's work, therefore, on this subject, is the earliest existing attempt to illustrate the family history, and it is especially valuable, because treating of persons who came within the reach of his personal knowledge, and events that had occurred during the period of his own life. Since these memoirs were written, the following compilations have been made, intended by their authors chiefly to illustrate the genealogical history of the Montgomerys:—1. Hugh Montgomerie, of Broomlands, in the parish of Irvine, compiled, prior to the year 1760, what is known as the *Broomlands Manuscript*, containing records of the Montgomery family from an early period. The author of this work, which is still in MS., died in 1766, aged eighty years. 2. John Hamilton Montgomery, of Barnahill, in the county of Ayr, who was captain in the 76th regiment, wrote a *Genealogy of the Family of Montgomery, compiled from various authorities*, which also remains in manuscript.—Paterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 229, *note*. 3. Mrs. E. G. S. Reilly printed for private circulation, in 1842, *A Genealogical History of the Family of Montgomery, comprising the lines of Eglinton and Braidstane in Scotland, and Mount-Alexander and Grey-Abbey in Ireland*. This lady was the daughter of the Rev. Hugh Montgomery, of Rosemount, who died in 1815, and a descendant, through John of Gransheogh, in common with the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, in the Braidstane line. 4. William Anderson printed, at Edinburgh, in 1859, *A Genealogical Account of the Family of Montgomerie, formerly of Brigend of Doon, Ayrshire, male and lineal representative of the ancient and noble families of Eglinton and Lyle*. This account commences only with the commencement of the sixteenth century. 5. James Fraser published, at Edinburgh, in 1859, two volumes, 4to, entitled, *Memorials of the Montgomeries Earls of Eglinton*. This is a most valuable work, principally because in it are printed many original letters, charters, and marriage contracts. The letters contain much important information on public as well as family affairs, between the years 1170 and 1728. 6. Thomas Harrison Montgomery published, at Philadelphia, in 1863, *A Genealogical History of the Family of Montgomery, including the Montgomery Pedigree*,—a work which contains much information respecting the families of this surname who emigrated to the United States. In his preface, the author says:—"Many years ago, my attention was drawn to the examination of records and doings of the generations of the Montgomerys, immediately preceding that one which came to America. This was due chiefly to the perusal of documents and papers brought from Scotland to this country by the first one of the family who crossed the ocean. William Montgomery, of Brigend, now more than one hundred and sixty years ago, came with his wife

encourager was Hugh Montgomery, the 6th Laird[6] of Braidstane,[7] whose genealogy is as next followeth, viz.—The said Hugh was the eldest son of Adam (the second of that name), the fifth Laird, who married the daughter of Montgomery, Laird Haislhead[8] (an ancient family, descended of the Earls of Eglintoune).[9] This second Adam (besides breeding his four sons) purchased land from one of the said Earles (I have the deed thereof); which Adam was the eldest son of Adam (the first Montgomery of that name), and 4th Laird of Braidstane. This Adam married Colquhoun's sister, the

and children, and settled in the province of East New Jersey, on the lands of his father-in-law, who was one of its largest proprietors. He brought, with much care, many valuable manuscripts relating to his ancestry, the majority of which are preserved by his representative at this day; many are undoubtedly missing, as no special attention seemed to be paid to their preservation by his descendants, until within the last thirty years."

[6] *The sixth Laird.*—Hugh Montgomery, who afterwards became first viscount Montgomery of the Great Ards, is here and in other portions of these Memoirs styled *sixth* laird of Braidstane. On the authority of the *Broomlands Manuscript*, he has been represented by Scottish genealogists as the *seventh* Laird. But Mr. Paterson, in his admirable *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, admits (vol. i., p. 280) that the author of the *Broomlands Manuscript* "only states the origin, and a few of the most prominent facts in the descent of the families of Braidstane, Hessilhead, and Skelmorlie." Our author, William Montgomery, was grandson of the person whom he invariably styles *sixth* laird of Braidstane, and he is not likely to have been mistaken in a matter respecting which he had the best means of being accurately informed.

[7] *Braidstane.*—The ancient lordship of Braidstane, in the bailliary of Kyle, county of Ayr, was possessed by an influential branch of the Montgomery family from 1452 to 1650. The founder of this branch was Robert Montgomerie, second son of Alexander, master of Montgomerie, and grandson of Alexander, first lord Montgomerie, from whom this Robert received a grant of the lands of Braidstane in 1452, the year of his father's death. His son, also named Robert, obtained a re-grant of the estate from his uncle, the second lord Montgomerie, in 1468. In 1478, Robert Mungumery of *Bradstan*, witnessed a grant from Alexander, first lord Home, to Thomas Home, of the frank tenement of the lands of Castiltowne. In the same year, he is also a witness to an Instrument of Delivery of forty-eight cows, by the procurator for Alexander, lord Home, and Margaret, his spouse, to Thomas Home, their son. Robert's son, Alexander Montgomery of *Bradstan*, was one of thirteen commissioners who held an Inquisition on the lands of Giffen, in Beith, on the 26th of November, 1501. The author, William Montgomery, states that *Robert*, not *Alexander*, was third laird. The same gentleman was one of a commission appointed in 1515, to hold an Inquisition on the lands of Pottarstown and Dyconisbank. In 1561, there was a Revocation by Hugh, third earl of Eglintoun, of charters granted, and acts done by him in his minority. Among other lands temporarily affected by this Revocation were those of Braidstane, which, however, were soon afterwards re-granted to the family representative, and held by his descendants until 1650, when they were sold to sir John Shaw of Greenock, by the third viscount Montgomery of the Ards. Until the middle of the seventeenth century, the parish of Beith, in which these lands are situated, consisted of two divisions, known as the lordship of Braidstane and the lordship of Giffen, but, in the year 1649, about 500 acres were annexed to Beith from an adjoining parish, to suit certain presbyterial arrangements adopted by the Synod of Glasgow.—Fraser, *Memorials of Montgomeries Earls of Eglinton*, vol. ii., pp. 35, 42, 62, 81, 116; Paterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 279.

[8] *Laird Haislhead.*—The mother of the first viscount Montgomery of the Ards was daughter of John Montgomery, fourth laird of Hessilhead or Hazlehead. The estate so called was a part of the barony or lordship of Giffen, in the parish of Beith; and the first laird of Hazlehead was a younger brother of the first laird of Braidstane, being Hugh, third son of Alexander, master of Montgomery. In 1521, there is a discharge from Hugh Mungumery of *Heslet*, to John Maxwell of Pollok. In 1560, Hew Mungumery of *Hessilheide*, is one of the witnesses to a contract between Robert, lord Boyde, and Neil Mungumery of Langschaw, at Glesgu (Glasgow). In 1562, Hew Montgomerie of *Hessilheid*, signed the "Band subscrivet be the Noblemen and Gentrie of Kyll (Kyle), Carricke, and Cunninghame, for mentinence of religion." The same laird witnessed, in the following year, signing himself *Hugo Montgumery de Heslheide*, an Instrument of Assignation by Hugh, third earl of Eglintoun, to Robert, lord Boyde, of the bailliary of the canon lands in Cunninghame. In 1565, a Remission is given by Henry Darnley, king of Scots, to Archibald, earl of Ergyll, and others, among whom was Hugh Mungumery of *Heslait*. In 1576, Hew Montgomery of *Hesilheid*, was witness to a contract of marriage between Hugh, master of Eglinton, afterwards fourth earl, and Gelis Boyd, daughter of Robert, lord Boyd. In 1582, Hew Montgomerie of *Hessilheid*, was one of the securities, in a bond of marriage, between Robert, master of Setoun, and Margaret Montgomerie, daughter of Hugh, third earl of Eglinton. In 1589, Hew Montgomery of *Hessilheid*, witnessed an Assignation and Disposition by Robert, master of Eglintun, to Robert Montgomery of Skelmorlie, in the name and behalf of Jeane Montgomerie, his sister, of the gift of Robert Montgomerie's marriage for 1000 merks.—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. ii., pp. 93, 157, 193, 200, 215, 222, 229.

[9] *Earls of Eglintoune.*—The first laird of Hazlehead was uncle to the first earl of Eglinton, the two families thus being closely allied, and derived from a common stock; but the Hazlehead branch could not be truly described as descended from any *earl* of Eglinton, although it sprung from the Montgomerys of Eglinton, which is probably what the author meant to express.

Laird of Lass[a] (chief of his ancient sept). This Adam the first (last-mentioned) was son to Robert, the 3d Laird of that name, who was the son of Robert, the 2d Laird of that name, who was the son of Robert, the 1st of that name, and 1st Laird of Braidstane, who was the 2d son of Alexander, one of the Earles of Eglingtoune,[b] all of them Montgomeries: which Earles are (in a little book called Indiculum Scotiæ, or the present state of Scotland, written by A. M.,[c] in June, 1682,) placed the 11th in that degree of nobility, which agrees with the list next spoken of, that in King Charles the Martyr's reign, rivalled (as I have heard said), for precedency, by the Cunninghams, Earles of Glencairne;[d] whom I find by an antient list (of the Scottish Peers) written in King James the 6th

[a] *Laird of Lass.*—Genealogists derive the name and family of Colquhoun from *Galgacus*, the Caledonian general, who gallantly resisted the Roman legions under Agricola. But, without the aid of legends or traditions, it can be shown from documentary evidence that the Colquhouns are a *very old* family. Originally, or rather when first known, there were three families, those of Colquhoun, Kilpatrick, and Luss, who held a large part of Dumbartonshire by charters from the crown. These gradually merged into the one family of *Luss*, by marriage, succession, or otherwise; and it is in connexion with this district that the Colquhouns are known from the commencement of the fourteenth century. In 1326, Robert Bruce confirmed to *John De Luss*, knight, a charter from Malcolm, earl of Lennox, in which he granted, for the honour of his patron, the most holy St. Kessog, to his beloved and faithful bachelor, sir *John of Luss*, freedom from exactions for the royal household, during the King's progresses within the lands of Luss, and exemption from appearing as witnesses before the King's Justiciar. An Indenture made at Dumbarton, on the 18th of December, 1400, is witnessed by *Yuffray Colquhowne*; and another made at Balloch, on the 18th October, 1405, is witnessed by *Yuffay of Colquhoun*, lord of Luss. Between 1426 and 1432, John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, erected the church of Luss into a prebend of his cathedral, with consent of *John sir Colquhoun*, lord of Luss. James III. granted to sir *John Colquhoun* of Luss, about the year 1474, the lands of Strone, Kilmore, Invercapill, and Cryvelan, in Argyll. In 1497, John Colquhoun of Luss, sold to Archibald, earl of Argyll (Argyle), a part of the territory of Invercapill, held by the Keeper of the Staff of St. Mundo. The tenure of this land, held in right of the custody of St. Mundo's crozier, is curious, but not singular, as similar tenures existed in Glenlochart and Lismore.—*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i., pp. 30, 502, and vol. ii., pp. 72, 73. The Colquhouns are still the leading race in Luss, having survived through many vicissitudes, which would probably have overwhelmed most other families. Their native district, which lies on the banks of Loch Lomond, and comprehends Glenloughas, Glenluss, and Glenfruin, has always been celebrated for the picturesque beauty of its scenery. It is also rich in historical associations; and the ruins at Ranochar, Inchgalbraith, and Rossdhu, are evidences of its territorial importance at an early period. The famous clan-battle of Glenfruin, between the Colquhouns and Macgregors, in 1602, is a comparatively modern event in the history of the district. —*Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv., p. 153; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 142. In the *Funeral Entry* of the first viscount Ards, his grandmother is stated to have been daughter of "Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. of Luss, in the county of Kerry." In this appears that the laird of Luss owned lands in Ireland, which he had named after his Scottish property,—a custom usual at the period.

[b] *One of the earls of Eglingtoune.*—In the *Funeral Entry* referred to in the preceding note, it is also stated that Robert Montgomery, first laird of Braidstane, was a son of the first earl of Eglinton. This statement was supplied to the Herald's Office by the second viscount Ards, and was evidently accepted by that branch of the family as correct. But, in truth, the first laird of Braidstane, instead of being son of "one of the earles of Eglingtoune," was uncle to Hugh Montgomery, created first earl of Eglinton in the year 1506. The mistake of supposing that the first laird of Braidstane was a son of one of the earls, and that the first laird of Hazlehead was a *descendant*,—when in fact they were both uncles of the first earl,—is remarkable, and no doubt arose from the uncertainty of the date on which the earldom was created. Paterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 233, 234, conjectures that the Eglinton Peerage was created so early as 1445; but Fraser, *Memoirials*, vol. i., p. 28, thinks that the creation must have taken place between the 3rd and 20th of January, 1506. We are disposed to believe, however, that the author's words, when speaking of the Braidstane and Hazlehead descent, have been incorrectly given in the printed *Manuscripts*. This suspicion is strengthened by another document left by the author. In a pedigree of the descent of Grandsbeugh from the Braidstane family, given on the dexter side of the coat of arms of William Montgomery of Grandsbeugh and Mary M'Gill his wife, the author says "the first of which lairds (of Braidstane) was second brother of Alexander, earl of Eglinton's *ancestor*, the laird of Ardrossan.—*MS. Note of Col. Francis O. Montgomery.* Thus William Montgomery, in the document above-named, which will be printed in its proper place, clearly states that the first laird of Braidstane was second brother of that Alexander, who was in reality *father* of the first earl of Eglinton.

[c] *Written by A. M.*—*A. M.* are probably the initials of some *Alexander Montgomery*, who compiled the *Indiculus Scotiæ*, containing, among other matters, a list of the Scottish earls according to the order of precedency.

[d] *Earls of Glencairne.*—The contest for *precedency* between the earls of Eglinton and Glencairn was frequently a subject of discussion in the Scottish Privy Council and Parliament. Sir Alexander Cunningham, lord Kilmaurs, was created first earl of Glencairn by James III., in May, 1488; but both the king and the newly-created earl were slain in a battle near Stirling, in the month of June following. James's successor immediately

his time, left to me by my father (who was expert in the heraldry of both kingdoms, having given me Guillim's book[14] and some notes of his own of that science), I say I find by the said list (now by me), that Glencairne was but the 15th Earle, yet at this present time, and many years before it, he might arrive to be 12th, and so next after Eglintoun—the said list runs thus, viz.:—

The Sirnames, Earles of	*The Titles as followeth.*
1. Duglas	Angus.
2. Campbell	Argyle.
3. Lindsay	Crawford.
4. Hay	Errol.
5. Keith	Marreshall.
6. Gordon	Southerland.
7. Arreskin	Marr.
8. Lesley	Rothes.
9. Duglas	Mortoun.
10. Graham	Monteith.
11. Montgomery	Eglintoun.
Graham	Montrosse.
Kennedy	Cassills.
Sinclair	Caithness.
15. *Conyngham	Glencairne.
Arreskin	Buchan.
&c., to ye No. of thirty in all.	

* Precedency of Eglintoune[15]

issued a proclamation which was afterwards embodied in an Act of Parliament, annulling all grants and dignities conferred by the late king, from the month of January preceding. The title of Glencairn, therefore, remained in abeyance until the time of William Cunningham, the *eighth* in descent from sir Alexander, when Charles I., in the year 1637, granted a revival and confirmation of the original patent of 1488. "In the long interval between these two dates, the earls of Glencairn made many protests in the sittings of Parliament in reference to precedency, arising out of this hiatus between the two patents. In 1606, the earls of Eglinton and Cassilis obtained a decree of the Privy Council, preferring them in the order of Parliament; but in 1609, the earl of Glencairn obtained a decree of the Court of Session, annulling that preference."—Paterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 214, 215 and *note*. All disputes on this question of precedency among the nobility are determined by an appeal to the *College of Arms*, and the decisions are accepted as being founded on the authority of certain statutes enacted for the regulations of such disputes.

[14] *Guillim's book.*—"Guillim's book" is still considered *the* best book on Heraldry ever written in the English language. The first edition, folio, was published in 1610; the second in 1632, folio; the third in 1638, folio; the fourth in 1660, folio; the fifth in 1679, folio; and the sixth, with large additions, in 1742, folio.—*Lowndé's Bibliographer's Manual*. In connexion with the history of this remarkable book, the following extract informs us of a curious fact:—"This book being mostly composed in his (Barkham's or Barcham's) younger years, he deemed it too light a subject for him to own, being then (at the date of its publication in 1510) a grave divine, chaplain to an archbishop, and not unlikely a dean. Whereupon being well acquainted with John Guillim, an officer of Arms, he gave him the copy, who, adding some trivial things to it, published it, with leave from the author, under his own name, and it goeth to this day under the name of *Guillim's Heraldry*."—Anthony à Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, as quoted in Allibone's *Critical Dictionary*, vol. i., p. 116.

[15] *Precedency of Eglintoune.*—The following is a list of Scottish earls, printed in 1603, and extracted from a rare book (only two perfect copies of which are supposed to exist), entitled *Certayne Matters Concerninge the Realme of Scotland, composed together as they were, Anno Domini*, 1597. This list forms a curious record of the Scottish nobility at the period to which it refers, presenting, as it does, their surnames, titles of honour, marriage connexions, and principal residences. Its author, whoever he may have been, gives Glencairn precedence of Eglinton, the former occupying the 12th, and the latter the 13th place:—

"EARLES.

"1 *James Hammilton*, Earle of Arran, unmarried: his chiefe house, *Hammilton Castle*.

"2 *William Dowglasse*, Earle of *Angusse*, married the eldest daughter of *Lawrence*, now Lord Olephant: his chiefe house, the Castell of *Dowglasse*.

"3 *George Gordon*, Earle of *Huntley*, married the eldest sister of *Lodovicke*, now D. of Lennox: his chiefe house, *Strath-bogy*.

"4 *Colone Campbell*, Earle of *Argyle*, Lord-Justice-Generall of Scotland, married a daughter of *William Dowglasse*, now Earle of Morton: his chiefe house, *Inuer-aray*.

"5 *Dauid Lindsay*, Earle of *Craufurd*, married the sister of *Patricke*, now Lord *Drummond*: his chiefe house, *Fyn-hoamin*.

"6 *Francis Hay*, Earle of *Arroll*, Constable of Scotland, married the daughter of *William*, Earl of Morton: his chiefe house, *Slaynes*.

"7 *John Stewart*, Earle of *Atholl*, married the sister of *John*, Earle of *Gowry*: his chiefe house, *Blayre-Athole*.

"8 *George Keyth*, Earle of *Marshell*, married the sister of *Alexander*, Lord Home: his chiefe house, *Dunnotter Castell*.

"9 *Francis Steward*, Earle *Bothwell*, married the sister of *Archbald*, Earle of Angus: his chiefe house, *Creichton*.

"10 *Andrew Leisly*, Earle of *Rothes*, married the daughter of Sir *James Hamilton*: his chiefe house, *Bambreich*.

"11 *James Stewart*, Earle of *Murrey*, unmarried, his chiefe house, *Tarneway*.

"12 *Alexander Cunningham*, Earle of *Glencarne*, married the eldest sister of *Campbell* of *Glenorchy*, Knight: his chiefe house, *Kilmawres*.

"13 *Hugh Mont-gomery*, Earle of *Eglinton*, yong, unmarried: his chiefe house, *Ardrossan*.

"14 *John Kennedy*, Earle of *Cassilis*, unmarried: his chiefe house, *Dun-vre*.

"15 *John Grahame*, Earle of *Montroze*, married the sister of *Patricke*, Lord Drummond, that now is: his chiefe house, *Kincardin*.

"16 *Patrik Stewart*, Earle of *Orknay*, yong, unmarried: his chiefe house, *Kirk-wall*.

"17 *John Erskin*, Earle of *Mar*, married the second sister of *Lodovicke*, now D. of Lennox: his chiefe house, *Erskin*.

"18 *William Dowglasse*, Earle of *Morton*, married the sister of the Earle of *Rothes*, that now is: his chiefe house, the Castle of *Dalkeith*.

"19 *James Dowglasse*, Earle of *Buquhan*, yong, unmarried: his chiefe house, *Auchter-House*.

Since the said King James his time of living in Scotland, when he went into England, he created (by advancement) divers Lords to be Earles,[16] as also did King Charles the 1st and 2d. There were likewise divers earles, as Argyle and Montrose, advanced to be Marquises. The old Earldomes of Rothes, Southerland, and Monteith, are also extinct for want of male heires, by which events, it seems to me, that Eglintoun should have the 7th place among the Earles, and Glencairne the 9th, unless by special grants (in the letters patent) others, now at present earls, had precedency given them, being favourites; but as the precedency of Eglintoun was complained of by Glencairne, the debate might have been occasioned thus, viz., one of the earles of Eglintoun, I think that Hugh who was insidiously slain at the river of Annock;[17] 2d Adam, Laird of Braidstane,

"20 *George Sinclair*, Earl of *Caithnes*, married the sister of the Earle of *Huntley* that now is: his chiefe house, *Girnego*.

"21 *Alexander Gordon*, Earle of *Sutherlande*, married the father's sister of the Earle of *Huntley* that now is: his chiefe house, *Dunrobene*.

"22 *John Grayme*, Earle of *Monteith*, married the sister of *Campbell* of *Glenorchy*, Knight: his chiefe house, *Kirk-bryde*.

"23 *John Ruthvene*, Earl of *Gowry*, yong, unmarried: his chiefe house, *Ruthven*.

"24 The Earle of *March*. The rents thereof are annexed to the Crowne."

[16] *Divers Lords to be Earles.*—"The 4 of Marche, this yeire (1605), Alexander Settone, Lord Fynie, was created Earle of Dumferlinge; Alexander, Lord Home, was created Earle of Home: and James, Lord Drummond, was created Earle of Perth, with grate solemnitey. Eache of them had 4 knights."—Sir James Balfour, *Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 5. Among the creations of Charles I., on his visit to Scotland soon after his accession, were the following, made, says Balfour, "to honour his coronation, first parliament, and place of his birth:"—"George Hay, Viscount Duplaine, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, created Earle of Kinnoul; William Crighton, Viscount of Aire, Lord Sanquhare, created Earle of Dumfries; William Douglas, Viscount Drumlanrick, created Earle of Queensburrey; William Alexander, Viscount Canada, Lord Alexander of Menstrie, Principal Secretary to His Majesty for Scotland, created Earle of Streueling; John Bruce, Lord Kilross, created Earle of Elgyne; David, Lord Carnegie, created Earle of Southescke; John Stewarte, Lord Traquare, created Earle of Traquare; Sir Robert Ker, created Earle of Ancrum; John, Lord Wymees, created Earle of Wymees; and William Ramsay, Lord Ramsay, created Earle of Ramsay."—Balfour, *Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 202.

[17] *The river Annock.*—Hugh Montgomery, fourth earl of Eglinton, was assassinated by the Cunninghams at the ford of Annock, a small stream which flows from the White Loch in the parish of Mearns, forms the western boundary of the parish of Dreghorn, separates the latter from the parish of Irvine, and falls into the river Irvine at Stewarton. The atrocities of the well-known feud between the Montgomerys and Cunninghams appear to have culminated in the murder of the nobleman above-named. The best account of this assassination and its bloody consequences is preserved in a *MS. History of the Eglinton Family*, from which the following extract is quoted by Paterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 88:—"The principal perpetrators of this foul deed were John Cunningham, brother of the Earl of Glencairn; David Cunningham, of Robertland; Alexander Cunningham, of Corsehill; Alexander Cunningham, of Aiket; and John Cunningham, of Clonbeith. The good earl, apprehending no danger from any quarter, set out on the 19th of April, 1586, from his own house of Eglinton, towards Stirling, where the Court then remained, in a quiet and peaceable manner, having none in his retinue but his own domestics, and called at the Langschaw, where he staid so long as to dine. How the wicked crew, his murderers, got notice of his being there, I cannot positively say. It is reported, but I cannot aver it for truth, that the Lady Langschaw, Margaret Cunningham, who was a daughter of the house of Aiket (others say it was a servant who was a Cunningham), went up to the battlement of the house, and hung over a white table napkin as a signal to the Cunninghams, most of whom lived within sight of the house of Langschaw,—which was the sign agreed should be given when the Earl of Eglinton was there. Upon that the Cunninghams assembled to the number of thretie-four, or thereby, in a warlike manner, as if they had been to attack or defend themselves from an enemy, and concealed themselves in a low ground near the bridge of Annock, where they knew the earl was to pass; secure, as he apprehended, from every danger; when, alace! all of a sudden, the whole bloody gang set upon the earl and his small company, some of whom they hewed to pieces, and John Cunningham of Clonbeith, came up with a pistol, and shot the earl dead on the place. The horror of the fact struck everybody with amazement and consternation, and all the country ran to arms, either on the one side or other, so that for some time there was a scene of bloodshed and murder in the West that had never been known before. . . . The friends of the family of Eglintoun flocked to the master of Eglintoun, his brother, to assist in revenging his brother's death, from all quarters; and in the heat of their resentment killed every Cunningham without distinction they could come by, or even so much as met with on the highways, or living peaceably in their own houses. It would make a little volume to mention all the bloodshed and murders that were committed on this doolful occasion, in the shire of Renfrew and bailiewick of Cunningham. Aiket, one of the principal persons concerned, was shot near his own house; Robertland and Corsehill escaped. Robertland got beyond the seas to Denmark, and got his peace made by means of Queen Ann of Denmark, when she was married to King James VI. Clonbeith, who had actually embued his hand in the earl's blood, and shot him with his own hands, was, by a select company of the friends of the family of Eglinton, with the master at their head, hotly pursued. He got to Hamilton, and (they) getting

and was purchased from him A.D. 1586[18] (as hath been mentioned out of John Johnston's book[19] of Encomiums on the Scottish heroes aforesaid), and his brother Robert dying A.D. 1596, both without male issue to inherit the honour and title of Earl, the same being extinct (or asleep) for divers years; nevertheless, the said Hugh left one only daughter, who succeeded him in the estate. This lady was marry'd to Seaton, Earl of Winton the 20th, according to the said list in that degree, and was his 2nd Countess. She bore to him Alexander, restored to his honour and degree, which had always been prior to Glencairne.[20]

I well knew this Alexander (he was commonly called Grey Steel[21] for his truth and courage)

notice of the house to which it was suspected he had fled, it was beset and environed, and John Pollock of that Ilk —a bold, daring man, who was son-in-law of the house of Langschaw at that time—in a fury of passion and revenge, found him out within a chimney. How soon he was brought down, they cut him to pieces on the very spot. The resentment went so very high against every one that was suspected to have any the least accession to this horrid bloody fact, that the Lady Langschaw, that was a Cunningham of the house of Aiket, was forced, for the security of her person and the safety of her life to abscond. It was given out that she was gone over to Ireland; but she was concealed in the house of one Robert Barr, at Pearce Bank, a tenant and feuar of her husband's, for many years. But before her death, she was overlookt, and returned to her own house, which was connived at; but never durst present herself to any Montgomerie ever after that. This is a genuine account of this long lasting and bloody feud, and it is nowhere else extant, in all it cirumstances, but in this memorial."

[18] *A.D.* 1586.—There is here evidently a gap in what the author had originally written. The date 1586 is that of the murder at the Ford of Annock above-mentioned, which occurred on the 18th of April in that year. Mrs. E. G. S. Reilly, at p. 20 of her *Genealogical History*, states that the event occurred on the 19th; T. Harrison Montgomery, *Genealogical History*, p. 61, mentions the 12th of April as the date; while Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 49, agrees with the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* in placing it on the 18th. See first edition, p. 92.

[19] *John Johnston's book.*—John Johnson, or Johnston, of Aberdeen, published a volume of excellent poems, entitled *Heroes ex omni Historiâ Scoticâ Lectissimi*, 4to, *Lugd. Batav.*, 1603. His "Encomiums on the Scottish Heroes" commence with *Ferchard*, who lived at the close of the third century, and end with an account of the valorous Scottishmen who fell in the civil wars of the Netherlands, during the author's own time. To each poem he prefixed a short history of the hero therein celebrated, which added very much to the interest of the general work.—Nicolson, *Scottish Historical Library*, fol., 1786, p. 20.

[20] *Prior to Glencairne.*—The author had here entered into a somewhat lengthened statement of the cause or causes which induced the earl of Glencairn to dispute the precedency with the earl of Eglinton; but a portion of this statement is evidently wanting, and what remains, referring to the family of the fourth earl, is as evidently unfounded,—if, indeed, we have his words correctly given, which is very doubtful. Hugh, slain at Annock, was fourth Hugh in succession, and fourth earl; by his death, and that of his brother Robert, the title could not have become "extinct," or "asleep," for Hugh, the fourth earl, left a son also named Hugh, the fifth earl. The latter married his cousin-german, Margaret, daughter of his uncle Robert, master of Giffen; but having no issue, he, Hugh, fifth earl, settled his estates on Alexander, son of his aunt Margaret, countess of Wintoun, and by charter had the titles so settled on him also, with former precedency. The author supposes that Margaret, countess of Wintoun, was *daughter* of the fourth earl of Eglinton; but she was daughter of the third earl, and sister of the fourth earl slain at Annock. These transactions are so well known, that (provided the author's statement be correctly given) his confounding the families of the third and fourth earl cannot be easily accounted for.—*MS. Notes of Col. F. O. Montgomery.* Lady Margaret Montgomerie, who became countess of Wintoun, was celebrated for her great beauty and amiability, her charms forming the theme of many of the effusions of her cousin, Alexander Montgomery, the poet. Her son, Alexander Seton, who succeeded to the earldom of Eglinton in 1615, took with that title the name and arms of Montgomery. James VI. ordered the Scottish Privy Council to forbid him using the title of earl of Eglinton, as he was not the heir-male of that family. The Council summoned him as *Mr. Alexander Seton*, but he refused to appear by that title, stating that he had been served heir to the estates and titles of the late earl. But, besides denying him the title, the Court attempted to deprive him of the more substantial rights of property, by conferring the lordship of Kilwinning, which belonged to the late earl, on sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh. After repeatedly remonstrating against this injustice, the sixth earl appeared suddenly before Somerset, the king's chief favourite, telling him that, although he (Eglinton) was little skilled in the subtleties of law, or the niceties of court etiquette, *he knew the use of his sword.* After that interview, Seton's rights of property and claims to the title were quickly and fully acknowledged by the king.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 237; Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 61.

[21] *Grey Steel.*—Family tradition affirms that the sixth earl of Eglinton obtained this epithet, not so much from the colour of his armour, as from his well-known readiness to appeal to the arbitrament of the sword in the settlement of all weighty disputes, public or private. He is the greatest, and certainly the most historical, of all the earls belonging to his family, with, perhaps, the exception of the first lord Eglinton. Of him (Greysteel) there is the following notice in the *Broomlands MS.*:—"This earl was among the number of those peers who engaged themselves against the king (Charles I.) in the year 1638, upon

in King Charles the 2d's time; as also I was intimately acquainted with Hugh, his eldest son,[23] who succeeded him, as I had been in Ireland with Colonel James,[24] the said Alexander's 2d son, whose regiment of foot came over into this kingdom with the Scottish army Ao. 1642, and was quartered in and about Newtown of the Ards. I knew also Major-General Robert Montgomery, the said Alexander's 3d son,[25] in Scotland, before Dunbarr fight,[25] and in London also, Ano. 1665; but most of all I am known to Alexander, the present Earle of Eglinton,[26] having often many years ago con-

the first commencing of our bloody civil war. He had the command of a regiment of the army that was sent to Ireland in the year 1642, towards the suppressing of the rebellion there. He was likewise personally engaged in the battle of Long-Marston-Moor, which was in the year 1643, in the service of the parliament of England against the king, where he behaved with abundance of courage; yet his lordship still retained a respect and affection for his majesty's person, and no man more abominated the murder of the king than he. He heartily concurred in, and was extremely satisfied with, the restoration of King Charles the Second, by whom he was constituted captain of his guards of horse, in the year 1650; and next year, while he was raising forces in the western parts for the king's services, he was surprised at Dumbarton by a party of English horse, and sent prisoner to the town of Hull, and afterwards returned to Berwick-on-Tweed, suffering likewise the sequestration of his estate, till the Restoration reponed in the year 1660. He died in 1661: by his first wife, lady Ann Livingston, who died in 1632, he had five sons; by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Walter, lord Buccleugh, who died in 1651, he had no issue."—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 237.

[23] *Hugh, his eldest son.*—This Hugh was born in 1613, succeeded his father, as seventh earl of Eglinton in 1661, and died in 1669, aged fifty-six years.

[24] *Colonel James.*—This was the fourth son of the sixth earl of Eglinton, and the founder of the Coilsfield branch. He died in 1674. His great grandson, Hugh Montgomery, became twelfth earl of Eglinton, on the death of his cousin Archibald, the eleventh earl, without issue, in 1796. This Hugh had, previously to his succession to the earldom, been a captain in the 78th foot, and served in the American war. In 1780, he was elected member of parliament for Ayrshire, and was re-elected in 1784. The poet Burns complimented his gallantry at the expense of his oratory, in the following lines of his *Earnest Cry and Prayer to the Scottish Representatives*:—

"Sen, Bodger Hugh, my watchman stented,
If bardies o'er are represented;
I ken that if your sword were wanted,
Ye'd lend a hand,
But, when there's ought to say anent it,
Ye're at a stand."

Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 132, *note*; Chambers, *Life and Works of Robert Burns*, vol. i., p. 206.

[25] *Said Alexander's third son.*—The names of the sixth earl's sons were:—1, *Hugh*, his successor in the earldom; 2, sir *Henry*, who died in 1644; 3, sir *Alexander*; 4, *James* of Coilsfield; and 5, *Robert*, a well-known general in the army, who died in 1684. James, the founder of the Coilsfield Montgomerys, was not the second son of the sixth earl, as represented in the text, but the *fourth* son; and Robert was the *fifth*, not the third son, as the author asserts. Sir Alexander Montgomery, the third son, died at Newtown, in July, 1642. There is preserved, at Eglinton Castle, the following *Just account of the moneys that was found in sir Alexander Montgomerie's trunk and purses, in presence of my lord of Ardes and the said sir Alexander's true brethren, at Newtowne, the 5th day of August*, 1642:—

"Imprimis, of twentie two shillings peeces—three score and eight.
"Item, of twentie shilling peeces—sywthrone.
"Item, one ten shilling peece—one.
"Item, another peece of gold with a crowne and foure crownes vpon the one syde.
"Item, of English moneys, eight pounds five shillings two pence sterling, and 8 Scotts pennyes.
"Item, three gold wraps (rings) one of them being set in rubies.
"Item, two silver cuskettis and an etuy.
"Item, a monster.
"Depursed out of the moneys and gold abovewritten.
"Imprimis, of the English money abovewritten, the whole thereof is delivered equallie to captaine James and captaine Robert betwixt them.
"Item, delivered to them of the gold abovewritten, to either of them a twentie shillings peece.
Item, to William Shaw, by a particular accompt, delivered to William Hoome for things bought for the funerall, elleven pounds ten shillings two pence ster.
"Item, delivered to William Seton, which he gave out at the Colonell's direction, as appears by the particular accompt thereof, fifteene shillings and three pence sterling.
"Item, to the two footemen, seventeene shillings and sex pence sterling the peece, which pays their dyet till Tuesday next, being the ninth day of this instant August.
"Item, to John Peebles for some accompts which was resting to him, and for his dyet till Tuesday next, twentie foure shillings and elleven pence sterling.
"Item, to my Lord of Ardes' servants of the house, two pounds fifteene shillings ster.
"Summa of the depursements abovewritten is—28lbs. 5s. 6d. sterling.
"Item, to the young man that doubled these accompes, one shilling eight pence sterling.
"So remaines of the whole charge of moneys, threescore and seven twentie two shillings peeces, which is laid into the trunk.
"Allowit to the compter for debursingis in Ireland at the buriall of unquhill sir Alexander Montgomerie—iii^li. lxviij^s. viij^d."—*Account of William Home, factor at Eaglesham*, 1641-2.—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., pp. 78, 79.

Baillie (*Letters*, vol. ii., p. 59) mentions that the earl of Eglinton left the meeting of the General Assembly, at St. Andrews, on the 29th July, 1642, "being much afflicted with the death of his noble sonne, sir Alexander the colonell."

[25] *Dunbarr Fight.*—This battle was fought on the 3rd September, 1650.

[26] *Present Earle of Eglinton.*—This eighth earl, born about 1640, and described in the text as the "present earl," in 1689, is only known as having made two rather remarkable marriages—his first and his third. His first marriage appears to have been considered but an indifferent matrimonial adventure. Lamont refers to it in his Diary as follows:—"In 1658, January, the lord Montgomerie's sonne being at London about his father's business in Parliament, in reference to his fyne, with consent of his

versed with him, and last of all in Edinborogh, Ao. 1689 (I being a voluntary exile during the troubles then in Ireland), in which year his Lordship told me there had been seventeen Earles of his ancestors, all Eglinton, of the name Alexander (which in English is a worthy helper of men), and none of them all of any other proper name, but the two Hughes and the said Robert aforesaid (who enjoyed the honor those ten years, in which he revenged and survived his said brother slain at Annock as aforesaid); yet his ancestors, whilst Lords Montgomeries of Ardrossan, had divers other names.[27]

Now none of the Earles of Eglintoune did forfeit their honour by treason, and so could not lose their degree in the file of Earles, and, therefore, and for the reasons aforesaid, as well as for the said 2d list, the rivalship of Glencairne is (in my opinion) injurious, and a tort done to the family of Eglintoune, and much more will it be so, if in any Parliament a protestation be entered by Glencairne against the other Earle's precedencys. I hope there is not, nor will be any such protestations, because the difference about it (as I have been credibly reported) was ended and taken away by King Charles 2d upon his happy restoration. This much I have written as in part belonging to the said 6th Laird's genealogy, and in honor to our Chief in Scotland.

Now this 6th Laird (by which title I will design him till he was knighted) had three brothers, who lived to be men respected for their abilities, viz., George, of whom (because his happy living was in England and Ireland) I will especially remember hereafter. He was (as my father writes), for his worth and learning, by the late Queen Elizabeth, prefer'd to the Parsonage of Chedchec,[28] and Deanery of Norwich;[29] Patrick also, who by his prowess and conduct (going from Scotland, a Captain of a regiment of foot, into France) did arise to great credit, and a colonel's post under King H. the 4th, and was killed in a fight where he had commanded five hundred horse;[30] he had no wife, neyther

parents married privately the lord Dumfrice his daughter, a gentlewoman bred in England, but having little or no portion." Baillie also mentions this marriage as "one of the sundry unhappy incidents among us." "The earl of Eglintoune's heir," he continues, "the master of Montgomery, convoying his father to London, runns away without any advice, and maries a daughter of my lord Dumfries, who is a broken man, when he was sure of my lady Balclough's (countess of Buccleuch) marriage, the greatest match in Brittain. This unexpected pranck is worse to all his kinn than his death would have been."—*Letters*, vol. iii., p. 366. By her the earl had a family of three sons and two daughters. She died in 1673, and the earl next married Grace, daughter of Francis Popley, and widow of sir Thomas Wentworth of Bretton. This lady died within a year after her marriage, and the earl married, in 1698, Catherine, lady Kaye, daughter of sir William St. Quintin, of Harpham, in the county of York. She had been three times married previously, and was *ninety* years of age when she married her fourth husband, the earl of Eglinton! She died in 1700, and her husband followed in 1701.—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i. pp. 98, 100.

[27] *Divers other names.*—This paragraph is evidently imperfect, or very incorrectly given. That there were seventeen earls of the name of Alexander previous to Alexander, the eighth earl, in 1689, is a statement which the latter could hardly have made, or the author repeated. There were five Hughs in succession immediately preceding Alexander Seton, surnamed *Greysteel*, who was sixth earl. The seventh earl also was Hugh. Robert of Giffen, brother of Hugh, the fourth earl, slain at Annock, was never earl.—*MS. Notes of Col. F. O. Montgomery.*

[28] *Chedchec.*—This is probably a misprint for Chedzoy, or Chedder, in Somersetshire, although it is copied as in the text by Lodge, who had a loan of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*. *Chedder* might readily be mistaken for *Chedchec* in the original; but, from the loss of the *MSS.*, it is impossible to determine the correct reading. In 1660, Jeremy Taylor had a controversy with a divine located at Chedzoy, named Henry Jeanes, on the doctrine of original sin. Heber, *Life of Taylor*, vol. i., p. lxx.; vol. ii., p. 571, *seq.* Leland has no mention of *Chedzoy*, but he notices *Chedder* (vol. ii., p. 93) as a "good husband tounelet to Axbridge, lying in the rootes of Mendip hilles." Tourists visit this place to view the stupendous chasm, called Chedder Cliff, which is said to be the most striking scene of its kind in Great Britain. Camden, *Britannia*, edited by Gough, vol. i., p. 109.

[29] *Deanery of Norwich.*—George Montgomery, S.T.P., born in 1562, was installed dean of Norwich on the 7th of June, 1603,—an appointment which he retained until the 28th of September, 1614.

[30] *Five hundred horse.*—Many Scottish men were induced to enter the French service, from time to time, through the attractions of the celebrated *Scots Guard*, supposed to be organised so early as the days of Charlemagne, but which was certainly established by Charles VII,

had John, his youngest brother, who was graduated Doctor in physick, in a French University or College; he returning homewards came to London, where, having practised his art (with good repute), he died of that sweating imoveable sickness which raged in Queen Elizabeth's reign.[31]

But I return to the history of the said 6th Laird, who leaving Glasgow Colledge and his parents at home, he travelled into France, and after some months' stay at Court there, he settled himself in Holland, and became a Captain of foot in a Scottish Regiment, under the Prince of Orange, grandfather to our present gracious Sovereign King William.[32] He was in service some years there, till hearing of his mother's and (soon afterwards) of his father's death,[33] and that his sisters were disposed of in marriage,[34] and knowing that there were debts on his estate, on that account (his brothers having formerly received their portions), he then obtained leave to dispose of his command and arrears of pay, and so returned to Braidstane, and appearing at the Court in Edenborough, he was respected as a well-accomplished gentleman, being introduced to kiss King James the 6th hand, by divers Noblemen, on whose recommendation he was received into favour (and special notice taken of him), which encreased more and more, by reason of a correspondence he had with his brother George (then Dean of Norwich in the Church of England), whereby he received and gave frequent intelligence to his Majesty of the Nobility and State Ministers in Queen Elizabeth's Court and Council, and of the country Gentlemen, as they were well or ill affected to his Majesty's succession.

The said Laird upon his return above said, having paid the said debts and settled his estate (his

as a permanent institution of the French court. The first captain of this guard, after its re-organisation, was a count de Montgomery, descended, it is supposed, from the family of this surname anciently owners of Largs.

[31] *Elizabeth's Reign.*—John Montgomery was a student at Padua, probably after leaving the French university. Paterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 280. His death may have, probably, occurred in 1597, as in that year no fewer than 17,890 persons are said to have died in London. Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 292. Camden describes the disease mentioned in the text as "the English sweat, which made great mortality of people, especially those of middle age; for as many as were taken suddenly with this sweat within one foure and twenty houres eyther dyed or recovered. But a present remedy was found, namely, that such as in the day-time fell into it, should presently in their clothes as they were goe to bed; if by night and in bed, should there rest, lye still, and not rise from thence for foure and twenty houres; provided always that they should not sleepe the while, but by all means be kept waking. Whereof this disease first arose, the learned of physicians know not for certaine." This account was written of an outbreak of the disease in 1551. The great mortality in 1597 would prove—supposing the complaints were exactly similar—that the simple remedy here mentioned was of little avail in the latter instance. Camden, *Britannia*, vol. i., p. 7.

[32] *King William.*—Maurice of Nassau, stadtholder at the time referred to in the text, was *grand-uncle* of William III. of Nassau, Prince of Orange, ultimately king of England. Maurice succeeded in 1584, became Prince of Orange in 1618, and died in 1625. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Frederic Henry, who was *grandfather* of William III., king of England. The sixth laird of Braidstane probably served in Holland during the last few years of the life of William I. of Orange, great-grandfather of William III. of England, so that *grandfather* in the text must be a mistake, or a misprint, for *great-grandfather*. William I. of Orange, surnamed the *Silent*, and founder of the Dutch Republic, was assassinated in 1584. The author states that the sixth laird was married in 1587, after his return from Holland "where he had been in service *some* years,"—a form of expression which would imply a longer period than from the date of the assassination in 1584.

[33] *Father's death.*—His father had died before 1587, the year of the sixth laird's marriage.

[34] *Disposed of in marriage.*—One of the sixth laird's sisters was married to Patrick Shaw, a son of John Shaw of Greenock. The following is an account of their burial-place in the old church of Largs:—"West of the Skelmorlie aisle, stands the funeral vault of the ancient family of Brisbane of Brisbane. It is constructed entirely of stone and its only chiseled adornments are two shields of arms built in the gable over its well-secured portal. The shield on the right bears two mullets in fesse, between three cups covered, for Shaw, impaling three fleurs de lis, and parted per fess, three annulets, for Montgomery. On the upper part of the shield are cut the letters *P. S.*, and in the flanks *J. M.*, with the date 1634 below. The other shield bears only *Shaw*, as above, and the initials *J. S.* It would appear from these armorials, that the vault was built by Shaw of Kelsoland, or his heirs, considerably prior to that property becoming part of the estate of Brisbane, in which its name was subsequently merged. The letters on the right-hand shield are the initials of Patrick Shaw; second son of John Shaw of Greenock, and those of his wife Jean,

friends advising him), he marryed about Ano. 1587, the Laird of Greenock's daughter,[35] with content to the said earle and all his relations in kindred, and lived in peace and amity with all his neighbours, till grossly injured by —— Maxwell, Laird of New Ark,[36] near Greenock; which abuse his martial soul could not brook. This occasioned divers of the 6th Laird's attempts against the said Maxwell, who declined to give him gentlemanly satisfaction, but the bickering on both sides surceased on a reconciliation (made by their friends) between them.

The said Laird having now acquired or conciliated an interest in the *bonnes graces* of his Prince, as above said, it happened he had an affront put upon him by the earle of Glencairne's eldest son,

daughter of Adam Montgomery of Broadstone, and sister to Hugh, Lord Viscount Ards in Ireland."—*Scottish Journal of Topography, Antiquities, &c.*, vol. i., p. 308.

[35] *Greenock's daughter.*—This laird is called *James* Shaw in the first viscount's *Funeral Entry*, and *John* Shaw by Crawford, in his *Description of the Shire of Renfrew*, 1818, p. 125. His family had possessed the lordship or manor of Wester Greenock from the time of King Robert III. He married his cousin Jean, daughter of John Cunningham of Glengarnock, by whom he had a family of five sons and six daughters. The eldest of the latter, named Elizabeth, married Hugh, sixth laird of Braidstane, as mentioned in the text; the second, Isabel, married John Lindsay, of the Dunrod family; the third, Marian, married —— Campbell of Dovecoathall; the fourth, Christian, married Patrick Montgomery of Blackhouse, in Largs, and Creboy, in the parish of Donaghadee; the fifth, Geeles, married James Crawford of Flattertown; and the sixth (whose Christian name we cannot discover) married Andrew Nevin, second laird of Monkrodding, in the parish of Kilwinning. Crawford has no mention of John Shaw's daughter married to Nevin; in the enumeration of the sons in Greenock's family, he has omitted *John*, who came with sir Hugh Montgomery to the Ards, and erroneously states that *Robert Shaw* was founder of the family of this surname in the County of Down. The old castle of the Shaws, or as much of it as could be made available, was incorporated with the handsome family residence of the Shaw-Stewarts, which occupies the original site, on an elevated terrace, at a little distance west of Greenock. This structure may be described as both old and new, the old portions being easily distinguished by their narrow windows and peaked gables, and the modern additions by their superior arrangements for domestic comfort. Over an entrance to the house is the date 1637. This castle continued to be the residence of the Shaws, and more recently of their representatives, the Shaw-Stewarts, until the year 1754, when the family removed to Ardgowan, which is still their favourite abode. Macdonald, *Days at the Coast*, pp. 91, 92. "On the death of Sir John Shaw, the last of the name, in 1752, Mr. Shaw-Stewart, afterwards Sir John Shaw-Stewart, eldest son of Sir Michael Stewart of Blackhall, succeeded to these estates in right of his mother and grandmother, then deceased; the latter, wife of Sir John Houston of Houston, being the daughter and heiress of entail of Sir John Shaw, the father of the baronet of that name above mentioned, and sister of the last Sir John. Sir John Shaw Stewart died in 1812, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Michael Stewart, at that time Mr. Nicolson, of Carnock. On his death in 1825, he was succeeded in the possession of his estate by his eldest son, the late Sir Michael Shaw-Stewart; and at his death, on the 19th of Dec., 1836, he was succeeded by his eldest son, the present Sir Michael Robert Shaw Stewart, a minor."—*New Stat. Account of Renfrewshire*, p. 412.

[36] *Laird of Newark.*—This was *Patrick* Maxwell, laird of Newark at the time referred to in the text, an active partisan of the Cunninghams in the great feud between them and the Montgomerys. The quarrel here noticed between the lairds of Braidstane and Newark had, no doubt, arisen from this unhappy source. Maxwell's mother was a Cunningham, of the family of Craigens, and, in 1584, Patrick Maxwell of Stainlie, a near connexion of the Maxwells of Newark, was slain in a conflict with the Montgomerys of Skelmorlie. In another fight, which occurred only three months afterwards, Robert Montgomery, laird of Skelmorlie, and his eldest son, were slain by the Maxwells. Montgomery's second son, Robert, thus suddenly became, as Maxwell of Newark expressed it, "Young laird and old laird of Skelmorlie in one day." Patterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii. p. 310. It was in preparation, no doubt, for some of the conflicts above mentioned, that Patrick Maxwell penned the following letter to his kinsman, the laird of Nether Pollok, on the 27th of January, 1585:—

"Rycht Honorable,—Eftir harthe commendatioune: I am informit of swm interpryse of my enemeis a-gins me, and at the Raid of Stirling mony of our hagbitis was taine fra ws: Quhair for I pray zow, sir, to lat me haif the laine (loan) of ane cwpple of hagbitis, and ze sell haif thame againe within twentie days. As also, gif ony occasiowne fortownis that I maun chairge freindis, I haif no dowt, upon my nixt adverteisment, bot that ze will be reddie in defence of my lyif and honestie: As ze sell find me reddie to requyt zour guid-will quhen occasiowne serwis, as knowis God, qwha mot preserwe zou eternallie.—From Newark; the xxvii. day of Januar, 1585.

"Zour lowyng freind at power,
"P. MAXWELL, of Neverk.

"To the rycht honorabill and my special frend, the Laird of Nether Pollok, Knycht."—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 180.

The old castle of the Maxwells of Newark stands on the banks of the Clyde, in the immediate vicinity of Port Glasgow, and consists of a "keep," built about the year 1400, with several additions of a later period. Some of the walls still exhibit armorial bearings, and over several of the elegantly carved windows are still to be seen the letters *P. M.*, the initials of almost all the lords of the Castle, for each in succession bore the Christian name of Patrick. In a corner of the court, over an old doorway, is the following inscription, originally intended as a pious consecration of the building:—*The Blessingis of God be herein.* Only the two figures 97 remain of the date accompanying this inscription. It was probably 1497. Above one

Mr. Conningham,[37] for reparation whereof he challenged the same Gentleman to a combat, but Mr. Conningham avoided the danger by a visit to London (the Queen being still and for some years thereafter alive tho' old): yet was soon followed by the said Laird, who came to the city; and his errand for satisfaction was told soon enough to Mr. Conningham, whereupon he went clandestinely into Holland on pretence to improve his parts at the Court in the Hague.[38] The said Laird being thus twice disappointed of his purpose (stayed a few days at the English Court), and then rode to his brother George, Dean of Norwich, and instructed him how to continue his said intelligence, to be communicated to King James by one of their near kinsmen;[39] which affairs adjusted (undervaluing costs, toyle, and danger), the Laird took ship at Dover, and arrived in Holland, going to the Hague (unheard of and unexpected), where lodging privately, till he had learned the usual hours when Mr. Conningham and the other gentlemen and officers walked (as merchants do in the inner courts of the palace, called Den Primen Hoff[40]), the said Laird there found Mr. Conningham, called him coward, fugitive, and drew his sword (obliging his adversary to do the like); but the Laird pressing upon him, made a home thrust (which lighted on the broad buckle of his sword belt), and so tilted Mr. Conningham on his back; yet it pleased God that the buckle (like a toorget) saved his life. This was a sudden and inconsiderate rash action of the Laird, who thought he had killed Mr. Conningham. Putting up his sword quickly, and hastening out of the Court, he was seized on by some of the guard, and committed to the Provost-Marshall's custody, where he meditated how to escape, and put his design that night in some order (an hopeful occasion forthwith presenting itself) for no sooner was the hurry over, but one Serjeant Robert Montgomery[41] (formerly acquainted with the Laird) came to him; the condolement was but short and private, and the business not to be

of the windows, in a more modern portion of the castle, is the date 1599. The oaken beams and massive fire-places of the great Hall remain, and such is still its comparative state of preservation, that three poor families make the old pile their place of residence. At the commencement of the last century, George Maxwell sold his property in Newark to William Cochrane of Kilmarnock. The barony, including the castle, passed afterwards into the possession of lord Belhaven, who, in turn, sold it to Mr. Farquhar, from whom it came by inheritance to its present owner, sir Michael Shaw-Stewart.—*Original Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i., p. 87; Macdonald, *Days on the Coast*, pp. 62, 63.

[37] *Mr. Conningham.*—This was William Cunningham, eldest son and successor of James, seventh earl of Glencairn, by his wife, Margaret, a daughter of sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy. The quarrel here mentioned was, no doubt, another result of the feud between the Montgomerys and Cunninghams, which seems to have been somewhat allayed after the assassination at the ford of Annock, although the excitement consequent on that event continued. In 1606, an encounter took place between them in the streets of Perth, where the rival earls, Eglinton and Glencairn, had gone to attend a meeting of the Scottish parliament. The fight lasted from seven until ten o'clock at night, and was only quelled after prodigious efforts made for that purpose by the citizens. Lord Semple was involved on the side of the Montgomerys, and it was not until the year 1609 that a reconciliation could be effected between him and Glencairn, which was only at last accomplished at the command of the Privy Council.—Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 395.

[38] *In the Hague.*—The Hague, which is the capital of South Holland, was the usual residence of the court, and the seat of the States-General, or Dutch parliament. It takes its name *Gravenhage*, "Count's Hedge," from the house originally forming part of the enclosure surrounding the count's park, the house having been a hunting lodge, which, in 1250, became a palace of the counts of Holland, and the commencement of the large and beautiful city of Hague.

[39] *Near kinsman.*—This near kinsman was, most probably, their uncle (mother's brother), Alexander Montgomery, the celebrated poet, who, for a time, was a frequent visitor at the court of James VI.

[40] *Den Primen Hoff.*—*Primen Hoff* is no doubt a misprint for *Binnenhoff*, the name of an irregular old pile of various dates, having a handsome Gothic hall, which is now the only remaining portion of the original residence of the counts of Holland. The States-General hold their meetings in the Binnenhoff, part of which is also occupied by the government offices.

[41] *Serjeant Robert Montgomery.*—The sixth laird did not forget the useful services of his humble kinsman, as will be seen in the author's concluding account of several persons bearing the surname of Montgomery.

delayed. Therefore the Laird gave the serjeant a purse of gold, and said, I will call you cousen and treat you respectfully, and you must visit me frequently, and bring me word from the officers (my former comerades) what they can learn is resolved against me, entreating them to visit me. Then he employed him to bespeake some of them that night to come to him the next morning, giving him orders at fit times to deal liberally with the Marshall (then a widower) and his turnkeys, letting words fall (as accidentally) that he had such and such lands in Scotland to which he designed (in six months) to return, and also to talk of him as his honourable cousen then in restraint, for no worse deed then was usually done, in Edinborough streets, in revenge of any affront, and especially to magnify himself, to make love secretly and briskly to the Marshall's daughter (to whom the keys were often trusted), giving her love tokens and coined gold, as assurances of his intire affection, and at other times to shew her the said purse with the gold in it, telling her a Scotch kinsman had brought it to him, as rent of his lands in Scotland, and sometimes also to shew her handfulls of silver, urging her to take it (or at least a part of it); often persweading her to a speedy and private contract in order to a marriage between them. The serjeant thus instantly pursuing his love suit, he ply'd his oar so well that in a few nights he had certain proofs of the bride's cordial love and consent to wed him.

In the mean time, while the Laird engaged many of his comerades (and they their friends) to intercede for him, likewise (with great secrecy as to his concern) the serjeant procured a Scottish vessel to be hired, and to be at readiness to obey orders, and weigh anchors when required. And now it remained only to facilitate the escape; wherefore the Laird had divers times treated the Marshall and his daughter in his chamber, both jointly and severally, and one night a good opportunity offering itself of her father being abroad, the Laird (as the design was laid) had the daughter and his serjeant, into his room, and there privately contracted or espoused them together by mutual promises of conjugall fidelity to each other, joining their hands, and making them alternately repeat (after him) the matrimonial vow used in Scotland, they exchanging one to the other the halves of a piece of gold which he had broken and given to them to that purpose. So, no doubt, the serjeant kissed his bride and she him, and drank a glass of wine to each other on the bargain. Then the Laird carressed them both, and revealed to them his design of getting out of restraint, to abscond himself till he might get King James' letter to the Prince, that his hand should not be cut off; but that receiving on his knee the Prince's reprimand, and making due submissions, and humbly craving pardon and promising reconciliation and friendship to Mr. Conninghame, he should be absolved from the punishment due for his crime. But this was a pretence to the bride only; all this was contrived, carried on, and done without the knowledge of the Laird's servant, who was only employed to cajole and treat the Marshall and his turnkeys liberally, and to perform menial attendances and offices about the Laird's person when called; so that the intrigues prospered (with admirable conduct) without the least umbrage of supicion, either to the household or to the comerades aforesaid, lest any of them should be taxed with compliance or connivance to the escape.

In this little history I have been the more exact to give the reader (at least) one single instance of the Laird's bold resolution, and of his sagatious ingenious spirit, as well as of his great prudence (which appeared also in the sequel of this affair); as likewise to be briefe in my future report of

then the reckoning was paid as daily before then had been done frankly, without demurring at all, or even examining how the particulars amounted to the total sum charged by the bride. In fine the Marshall and his man minded no more the keys or to look after the Laird being secured, by reason of the news and wine, and the trust they reposed in the bride.

And now the play was in its last scene, for the sun being a while set, the Marshall was led (as a gouty man) to his bed, and after him his two men (as manners and good breeding required) led to their garrett; and the officers with their servants being gone to their lodgings, and night come, the sergeant and his bride packed up her necessaries, and as much of the money and gold as she could find, the maid being then busy in the kitchen, and at the same time the Laird and his servant put up their linens; which done, the bride sent the maid a great way into the towne on an Aprill or speedless errand, and the sergeant called the Laird and his servant down stairs. So the four went forth, leaving candles burning in the room, and locking the street door, putting the key under it into the floor. They went away incogniti; which transaction amazed the Laird's servant, as not having perceived the least of the whole design till that minute—though he was trusty enough, yet perhaps the Laird did not think his discretion capable to retain such a secret in his drinking with the Marshall and his men, to which he was obliged by the Laird (as the sergeant had been) as is aforesaid What needs more discourse of the feats, but that the Laird and his company (though searched for) got aboard, and safely landed at Leith, without any maladventure or cross fortune. All which particulars concerning the Laird's quarrell at Mr. Conninghame, and the events following thereupon, and the sergeant's courtship, with the debauches at the treats, and the escape aforesaid, might afford matter for a facetious pleasing novell, if they were descanted on by one of the modern witty composers of such like diversions (as they call them), which I think is not an appellative name expressive enough of their nature, because they are instructives and recreatives also.

CHAPTER II.

NEXT day or two after arrival, the Laird, with his retinue, mounted on hired horses and journeyed to Braidstane, where receiving the visits of friends and neighbours congratulating his return (which had prevented the news of his adventures then also unknown to the mariners), he minded his affairs, and getting an account of all the intelligencies his brother George had sent to his friends (pursuant to their agreement at last parting, when the Laird went to Holland), he sent a footman (for there was no conveyance by post[1] between the kingdoms before King James' accession to the English crown) with letters of intelligencies and of business and advice, and in requittal he received more and fresher informations (touching the English Court and the Queen from his said brother), who was lucky to be well furnished, and therefore his said brother sent back speedily the messenger, who, coming safe to Braidstane, delivered his packet. In perusal whereof the Laird thought it necessary (and conducing to his designs for lands in Ireland) that he should forthwith

[1] *No conveyance by post.*—From the year 1603, the date of James's accession to the English throne, a system of *posts* was appointed between London and Edinburgh, consisting of a number of establishments at regular intervals along the main road, which provided horses for travelling, and performed the occasional duty of forwarding letters on public affairs. This system continued until the year 1635, but was unsatisfactory, and sometimes proved a very unsafe means for the transmission of letters. It was, therefore, abolished, and an improved plan introduced, which secured regularity for the convenience of private persons as well as in the public service. "Till this time (1635), there had been no certain nor constant intercourse between England and Scotland. Thomas Withering, Esq., his majesty's postmaster of England for foreign parts, was now commanded 'to settle one running post, or two, to run day and night between Edinburgh and London, to go thither and come back again in six days, and to take with them all such letters as shall be directed to any post town in the said road; and the posts to be placed in several places out of the road, to run and bring and carry out of the said roads the letters, as then shall be occasion, and to pay twopence for every single letter under four score miles; and if one hundred and forty miles, four pence; and if above, then six pence. The like rule the king is pleased to order to be observed to West Chester, Holyhead, and thence to Ireland; and also to observe the like rule from London to Plymouth, Exeter, and other places in that road; the like for Oxford, Bristol, Colchester, Norwich, and other places. And the king doth command that no messenger, foot-post, or foot-posts, shall take up, carry, receive, or deliver any letter or letters whatsoever, other than the messengers appointed by the said Thomas Withering, except common known carriers, or a particular messenger to be sent on purpose with a letter to a friend.'" The post thus established was conducted invariably on horseback, and was usually sent twice in the week, sometimes only once.—Rushworth's *Collections*, as quoted in Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 85—7. While the earl of Crawford was imprisoned in the Tower in 1652, his countess, who was a sister of the duke of Hamilton, visited him. She travelled in a stage-coach recently established, and described by Lamont as the "journey coach that comes ordinarily between England and Scotland." This conveyance did not go oftener than once in three weeks, and charged for a seat fully as much as a first-class railway fare of the present day. In May, 1658, stage-coaches were advertised to go from the George Inn, without Aldersgate, to sundry parts of England thrice a week; and to "Edinburgh, in Scotland, once in three weeks, for £4 10s; in all cases with fresh horses on the roads."—Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 218, 247. So late as the year 1755, the Edinburgh stage-coach was advertised to go to London in ten days in summer, and twelve days in winter; and this was after the machine had been in some way renovated, and brought out with various additional attractions for travellers, one of which was that the old coach "hung on steel springs, exceeding light and easy."—*The Caledonian Mercury*, Aug. 21, 1755, as quoted in Fraser's *Memorials*, Preface, p. xiii. In 1758, a memorial relating to the post between London and Edinburgh, was presented to the committee for the Royal Burghs, by the merchants of Edinburgh and other places. This memorial represents that the course of the post from London to Edinburgh is performed at a medium throughout the year, in about eighty-seven hours, and suggests certain arrangements by which the two capitals would 'receive returns of letters from one another in seven days and a-half, which, at present, do not come sooner than in ten days and a-half, and twelve days and a-half. The memorial further stated that the plan thus suggested, was highly approved by the Scottish nobility and the merchants of London, and was expected to be put into execution.

go to the Court and impart to the King what his brother had sent: and so the Laird hastening thither he was graciously received, but not without a severe check given him by his Majesty, who nevertheless enjoyned him to beg pardon of the Earle of Glencairne (then in Edinborough), and to promise friendship to his Lordship's son and family, which submission being made in his Majesty's presence, that sore was plaistered and afterwards fully cured. As soon as Mr. Conningham came back to Scotland, his father caused him to confess to the Laird, that he had wronged him and was sorry for it, desiring his forgiveness, and promising his own friendship to the Laird and his family whilst he lived; and thus by his Majesty's care was the revival of the old bloody fewd between the Montgomeries and Conninghams fully prevented;[2] the like reconciliations between all other families having already been made by the industrious prudence of that King, who being in the yearly expectation he had of the Queen's death, would leave all quiet at home when he was to go to receive the English crown.[3]

Scottish Journal of Topography, Antiquities, &c., vol. ii., p. 208. The arrangements for persons travelling in their own conveyances were, as may be supposed, not particularly convenient. We have a curious illustration in the following letter from Eleanor, countess of Linlithgow, to her daughter Anna, countess of Eglinton :—

"Lynlithgow Palic, the xxiiii. of November, 1612.

"MADAME AND LOVING DOCHTER—My werie harthe commendations rememberit. I haif resavit zour letter, quharas ze haif writtem for some carage hors to bring zour carage out of Craigiehall heir, I haif spoken me (my) lord for that effect; and there will be ane dosan of hors thair on Thursday tymouslie at morne. As for tunfeler cairtis, there is nan heir. As for my cairt it is broken; but I haif cannit command thame to bring *hochemes, creills, and tedderis (tethers) with them.* . . . . Nocht farther, but remember my commendatiouns to me Lady Seton, zour gud mother, and me Lady Perthe. Committis zou to God, and restis your ever assurit loving mother."

In the year 1619, the sixth earl of Eglinton was at Seton, his native place, and before setting out on his return to Eglinton castle, although at the season of midsummer, he wrote to his countess to send the "kotch (coach) eist to me efter the reset of this, and caus sax of the ablest tennentis coum with her to Glasgow to pout hir by all the straitis and dangeris."—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., pp. 184, 210.

[2] *Fully prevented.*—The interposition of the king had the effect of allaying that fatal strife for a time, but did not eradicate the fierce passions by which it was sustained. Several years after this date, Sir James Balfour made the following record in his *Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 16:—"During this Parliament ther fell out grate stirre betwixt the Earles of Eglinton and Glencairne, and their friends. Many were hurte on both sydes, and one only man of the Earle of Glencairne's killed. Bot this with the old feeid betwixt these two families, by hes majestie's especiall commandiment, was submitted to sex of either syde to reconceill all matters, which if they could not be reconceilled by the mediation of friends, then did thesse Lords absoutly submitt all ther debaitts and contrawersies to the king's Majestie's decisione; which hes Majesty and counsaill fully composed and agried by the industrious negotione of the Earle of Dunbarr, hes Majestie's Comissioner for that effecte, in the moneth of February, in the following zeire, the Earle of Eglinton himselve being dead, and Alexander, the Lord Settone's third soune, having succidit him." The fifth earl of Eglinton died in 1612, so that the conflict here mentioned must have occurred about the close of 1610. The author truly describes this feud as "old," for it had its origin so early as the year 1366, when sir Hugh of Eglinton obtained a grant from the crown of the offices of baillie in the barony of Cunningham, and chamberlain of Irvine. This grant was renewed and enlarged from time to time, the Cunninghams, however, claiming the offices now mentioned as belonging, from ancient and long-established right, to the representatives of their family or clan. In 1448, James II. renewed the grant to lord Montgomery, and from that date the feud continued without much interruption for upwards of two centuries. In 1488, the strong castle of Kerrielaw, a residence of the Cunninghams, in the parish of Stevenston, was sacked and destroyed by the Montgomerys, under the command of that warlike Hugh, afterwards created *first* earl of Eglinton. In the year 1528, the fall of Kerrielaw was avenged by the burning of Eglinton castle, together with all the important family records therein. During the interval between 1488, and 1528, many terrible collisions had occurred, especially in the years 1505, 1507, 1517, 1523, and 1526. Although an arbitration, held by the earls of Angus, Argyle, and Cassilis assisted by the bishop of Moray, had decided in 1509 in favour of Eglinton's claims, and although in 1523 the first earl of Eglinton had been honourably acquitted of the charge of murdering Edward Cunningham of Auchinharvie, the feud continued with increasing fury until the Cunninghams assassinated the fourth earl at the ford of Annock. From that date (1586) the strife began gradually to subside, but had not entirely ceased until the close of the seventeenth century.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., pp. 51, 53, 54; Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., pp. 27, 31.

[3] *The English crown.*—This was a politic work on the part of the king, but his efforts to reconcile his nobles to each other *suddenly* before leaving for England did not produce any marked results. The first and greatest attempt of James to accomplish this object, and the one no doubt to which our author refers, occurred in the month of May, 1587, when he was "in yearly expectation of the Queen's death," an event for which he had longer time to prepare than he would have wished, it being no less than fifteen years in coming from the date last named. The

And now halcyon days shined throughout all Scotland, all animosities being compressed[4] by his Majesty (who in a few months afterwards) having certain intelligence of Queen Elizabeth's sickness, and extreme bodily weakness, and not long thence of her death, which was on the 24th of March (according to the English computation) Ao. Do. 1602,[5] James the 6th being proclaimed King in London and Westminster, by the Lord Mayor, with the Lords of the Privy Councill, and by them solemnly invited to take progress and receive the crown, with the kingdoms of England, &c., into his gracious protection.[6] Accordingly his Majesty (as soon as conveniency would allow) went

"other families" referred to in the text beside those of Eglinton and Glencairn requiring to be reconciled were, principally, the master of Glammis and the earl of Crawford, the earls of Angus and Montrose, and the earls of Huntly and Marischal. These, together with many others of the nobility, were invited by the king to a grand banquet in Holyrood, on Sunday, the 15th of May, at which the king drank to them *thrice*, loudly calling on them to be reconciled to each other, and uttering threats against the first who should disobey the injunction. "Next day, after supper, then an early meal, and after 'many scolls' had been drunk to each other, he made them all march in procession, in their doublets, up the Canongate, two and two, holding by each other's hands, and each pair being a couple of reconciled enemies. He himself went in front, with lord Hamilton on his right hand, and the lord chancellor Maitland on the left; then Angus and Montrose, Huntly and Marischal, Crawford and the master of Glammis. Coming to the Tolbooth, his Majesty ordered all the prisoners for debt to be released. Thence he advanced to the picturesque old market-cross, covered with tapestry for the occasion, where the magistrates had set out a long table well furnished with bread, wine, and sweetmeats. Amidst the blare of trumpets and the boom of cannon the young monarch publicly drank to his nobles, wishing them peace and happiness, and made them all drink to each other. The people, long accustomed to sights of bloody contention, looked on with unspeakable joy, danced, broke into songs of joy, and brought out all imaginable musical instruments to give additional, albeit discordant, expression to their happiness. All acknowledged that no such sight had ever been seen in Edinburgh. In the general transport, the gloomy gibbet, usually kept standing there in readiness, was cast down, as if it could never again be needed. Sweetmeats, and glasses from which toasts had been drunk, flew about, from the tables of the feast. When all was done, the king and nobles returned in the same form as they had come."—Moysie, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland;* Birrel, *Diary;* Calderwood, *History of the Kirk; Historie of King James the Sext*, as quoted by Chambers, in his *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 177–8. These exciting ceremonies would seem to have been comparatively worthless, as in the year 1595, the king summoned the following parties into his presence, under the disagreeable conviction that "the commonweal was altogether disorderit and shaken louss by reason of the deidly feids and controversies standing amang his subjects of all degrees," viz., "Robert, master of Eglinton, and Patrick Houston of that Ilk; James, earl of Glencairn, and Cunningham of Glengarnock; John, earl of Montrose, and French of Thornydykes; Hugh Campbell of Louden, sheriff of Ayr, Sondielands of Calder, sir James Sondielands of Slamannan, Crawford of Kerse, and Spottiswoode of that Ilk; David, earl of Crawford, and Guthrie of that Ilk; Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, knight, and Garden of that Ilk; Alexander, lord Livingstone, sir Alexander Bruce, elder, of Airth, and Archibald Colquhoun of Luss; John, earl of Mar, Alexander Forester of Garden, and Andro M'Farlane of Arrochar; James, lord Borthwick, Preston of Craigmillar, Mr. George Lawder of Bass, and Charles Lawder, son of umwhile Andro Lawder, in Wyndpark; sir John Edminstone of that Ilk; Maister William Cranston, younger, of that Ilk; George, earl Marischal, and Seyton of Meldrum; James Cheyne of Straloch, and William King of Barrach; James Tweedie of Drumelzier and Charles Geddes of Richan."—Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 267.

[4] *All animosities being compressed.*—On the contrary, Sir Thomas Kennedy of Colzean was murdered in the vicinity of Ayr, a short time before the king left for England, and in the same year, a terrible feud raged between the Mackensies of Kintail and the Macdonnells of Glengarry.—Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol i., pp. 363, 369.

[5] *Ao. Do.* 1602.—The English of that period, and for more than a century later, commenced the year on the 25th of March, so that according to this computation, the Queen died on the last day of the year 1602; whereas, according to Scottish computation, she died on the 24th of March, 1603, the Scotch commencing the year on the 1st of January, as we now do.

[6] *His gracious protection.*—Elizabeth died early on the morning of Thursday, the 24th of March, and James had intelligence of the event on Saturday evening, after he had retired to rest, in Holyrood-house. The news was brought to him by a young aspirant to court favour, named Robert Carey, who had thus made a rapid journey upon horseback, from London to Edinburgh, in less than three days. On the 5th of Aprill following, the king commenced his journey to England, "at which time," says Birrel, "there was great lamentation and mourning amang the commons for the loss of the daily sight of their blessid prince." Birrel records also that "the queen and prince (Henry) came from Stirling to Edinburgh on the 28th May. There were sundry English ladies and gentlewomen come to give her the convoy." On the 30th, "her majesty and the prince came to St. Giles kirk, weel convoyit with coaches, herself and the prince in her awin coach, whilk came with her out of Denmark, and the English gentlewomen in the rest of the coaches. They heard ane guid sermon in the kirk, and thereafter rade hame to Halyrood-house."—Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 381—2.

to Westminster, attended by divers Noblemen and many Gentlemen, being by greater numbers conveyed to the borders, where he was received by English Lords, Esqrs., and Gentry in great splendor.[7] Among the Scottish Lairds (which is a title equivalent to Esqrs.) who attended his Majesty to Westminster, he of Braidstane was not the least considerable, but made a figure, more looked on than some of the Lords' sons, and as valuable in account as the best of his own degree and estate in that journey.

When the said Laird had lodged himself in Westminster, he met at Court with the said George (his then only living brother), who had with longing expectations waited for those happy days.[8] They enjoyed one the others most loving companies, and meditated of bettering and advancing their peculiar stations. Forseeing that Ireland must be the stage to act upon, it being unsettled, and many forfeited lands thereon altogether wasted, they concluded to push for fortunes in that kingdom, as

[7] *In great splendor.*—As James passed on to take possession of his new throne, immense multitudes assembled to see him at various places on his line of progress, the magnates of each county, after he had passed the border, preparing entertainments for him at their houses. At Newcastle and York, civic banquets of unusual grandeur awaited him. "With splendour equally profuse, sir Robert Carey received him at Widdrington, the bishop of Durham at Durham, sir Edward Stanhope at Grimston, lord Shrewsbury at Worksop, lord Cumberland at Belvoir castle, sir John Harrington at Exton, lord Burghley at Burghley, and sir Thomas Sadler at Standen. With princely hospitality, sir Oliver Cromwell regaled him at Hinchinbrook; and there the sturdy little nephew and namesake of sir Oliver received probably the first impression of a king, and of the something less than divinity that hedged him round. . . . . Nearer and nearer London, meanwhile, the throng swelled more and more; and on came the king, hunting daily as he came, incessantly feasting and drinking, creating knights by the score, and everywhere receiving worship as the fountain of honour. Visions of levelling clergy and factious nobles, which had haunted him his whole life long, now passed for ever from him. He turned to his Scotch followers, and told them they had at last arrived in the land of promise."—Forster, *Grand Remonstrance*, p. 100. Stow has given full details in his *Annals*, of the king's grand progress from Berwick to London, among a people who had been governed by queens for more than fifty years, and to whom a king had then become a wonder to behold. The *first proclamation* issued by James was one to prohibit the crowding of the people on his line of march, for the dust, as he approached London, became somewhat too oppressive for the royal *cortège*. He reached the great city on the 11th May, and on the 16th issued his *second* proclamation forbidding the killing of deer, and of such wild-fowl as served hawking. James was crowned on the 25th July, and had previously ordered the money intended for distribution on that occasion to be struck with the inscription *Cæsar Cæsarum*.—Irvine, *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, vol. ii., p. 229, *note*.

[8] *Those happy days.*—From the hour that James had actually attained to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland, he was never left at peace for a day by his Scottish subjects, who believed that he had now become the possessor of inexhaustible resources, and were determined to assist him to the utmost in the development and enjoyment of the same. A small number of those who accompanied him into England, and who appear to have been special favourites with him in Scotland, soon felt the genial influences of the change. Among the latter may be especially mentioned sir George Home, created earl of Dunbar; sir John Ramsay, created earl of Haddington; sir John Hay, created earl of Carlisle; and Mr. Robert Ker, afterwards earl of Somerset. The English nobility were, of course, very jealous of these and many other Scottish courtiers, calling them "beggarly Scots," of which indignity the latter complained to the king, who is said to have jocosely replied—"Content yourselves; I will shortly make the English as beggarly as you, and so end that controversy." A ballad written at the time, and afterwards printed in Ritson's *Country Chorister*, thus notices the Scottishman's very much improved appearance after his residence for a few years in England:—

"Bonny Scot, we all witness can
That England hath made thee a gentleman.
Thy blue bonnet, when thou came hither,
Could scarce keep out the wind and weather,
But now it is turned to a hat and feather;
Thy bonnet is blown, the devil knows whither.
Thy shoes on thy feet, when thou camest from plough,
Were made of the hide of an old Scot's cow:
But now they are turned to a rare Spanish leather,
And decked with roses altogether.
Thy sword at the back was a great black blade,
With a great basket-hilt of iron made;
But now a long rapier doth hang at thy side,
And buffingly doth this bonny Scot ride."

Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. i., p. 433.

A Scottish lady, who accompanied her husband across the Border in the month of June following, has left a curious record of her expenses by the way, and during some time after her arrival in London. This document is printed by Fraser among the family papers at Eglinton Castle, and although he gives no account of it, we may reasonably infer that it was originally written by some member, or connexion, of the family. When this lady got so far as *Newcastle*, on her journey, she was obliged to expend "iiii. s. for ten quarters of tefeni, to be me ane skarf." On her arrival in *York*, she incurred the following expenses:—"For mending of my coffer, vi. d.; for ane par of shouis, ii. s. vi. d.; for tha wysching of my chlos, xii. d.; for prines (pins), xii. d.; for tou par of glouſes, v. s." In *Lester*, among other matters, she purchased certain trimmings "to make

the laird had formerly done; and so setling a correspondence between them, the said George resided much at Court, and the Laird returned to his Lady and their children in Braidstane, and imploying some friends who traded into the next adjacent coasts of Ulster, he by them (from time to time) was informed of the state of that country, whereof he made his benefit (though with great cost and pains, as hereafter shall be related), giving frequent intimation of occurrences to his said brother, which were repeated to the King. After the King was some months in his palace at Whitehall, even in the first year of his reign, the affairs of Ireland came to be considered, and an office of inquest by jurors was held before some judges, whereby the forfeited temporal lands, and abby lands, and impropriations, and others of that sort, were found to have been vested in the Queen, and to be now lawfully descended to the King; but the rebellion and commotions raised by O'Doherty[9] and his associates in the county of Donegal, retarded (till next year) the further procedures to settlement.

my quhyt (white) setting (satin) gown," for which she paid xx. d.; thrid, vi. d.; clespes, iiii. d." Arrived at *Wondisour*, she required "ane tyer of prell (pearls) to ver on my haed," which cost "x. s.;" and "ane corldit wyer, to ver on my haed," which cost the same price. In *Outlandis* (Oatlands), the following were among several items of expense:—"x. s. gifin to my lady Harintow's man, quhan she sent me ane peticot; x. s. to my lady Harintow's man quhen I cem to Hamtoncourt; ii. s. to the botman for taking me oup and doun the vatter; v. s. to ane woman in Outislands that suor that Robert Stouert vas owen hir so much monie; iii. s. for two par shous to my pag (page)." At *Nonsuch*, among other outlays, were the following:—"Ane par of welluit pantlones, xii. s.; ane quar of gilt peper, i. s.; two chandellers, iiii. s.; ane par bellicis, i. s.; two besimis (besoms), vi. d.; to my lady Killders vagenman, for the caring of my sedell, v. s.; ane plen pykit vyr, coverit with heir, to ver on my haed, x. s.; ane par of worsit schianks to my pag, iii. s.; to my lady Loumlis man quhan he broght me frut, v. s.; for the len of ane bed to Margrat Middletown sa lang as we ver in Nonsuch, x. s.; gifin to James Dounkans man quhen he broght my gouns from Vinchester to Nonsuch, x. s.; gifin to my lady Edmunts man quhan he broght me frut, v. s.; to Johne Michell, quhan my lady Killderes vold not lat no boyes stay, becaus of the plag, x. s.; gifin to the man that kipit the Prences silluer vork, for lening me silluer vork so long as we var at the Prince Court, v. s.; gifin for vyching my cloths and my pag cloths from my coming to Ingland quhill Martimes, xx. s." At *Cumbe*, the following, among many items of expense, are worthy of notice:—"For ane Bybell, xii. s.; for ane French bouk, i. s.; for two reing, the on vith ane rubbi, and the other vith ane turkes; the on to the man that teichis me to dance, and the other to the man that teichis me to vret; the pryce of the rubbi xx. schillings, prys of the turkes, xxiiii. schillings; gifin to ane pure Skotis man quhan all the rest gef him, v. s.; for two skins to line my masks, viiii. d.; for fyve yardis of rund hollan to be me byg sokis, x. s."—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. ii., pp. 245—51.

[9] *By O'Doherty.*—The author here refers to the sudden and desperate movement of sir Cahir O'Doherty, which was supposed to have been a deeply premeditated rebellion, but which, in truth, was nothing more than an outburst of rage on the part of that unfortunate chieftain, caused by gross personal provocation. On the death of his father, sir John O'Doherty, who was slain in the year 1660, the brother of the latter, named Phelim Oge, succeeded (by the tanist law, and with the consent of Hugh Roe O'Donel, lord of Tyrconnel), to the chieftainship of Inishowen. Although Cahir, being then but a boy, was considered too young to succeed to the leadership of his sept, sept, his foster-brothers, the MacDavitts, or MacDavids, were determined that he should not thus be set aside. They forthwith made known the case to sir Henry Docwra, offering to place the boy under his care, and moreover to renounce allegiance to Phelim Oge, the recognised head of their clan, on condition that sir Henry would procure from the crown, for their young chief, a grant of the lands of Inishowen. Sir Henry, naturally rejoicing at so signal an opportunity of assisting to abolish the Irish tanist law, and of substituting the English law of succession in its stead, accepted the proposal of the MacDavitts, and forthwith proclaimed Cahir as the queen's O'Doherty. The latter grew up under English influence, the pride of his foster-brothers, and the faithful assistant of sir Henry in all his skirmishing against the insurgent forces of O'Neill. His bravery on the field of Augher, where sir Henry encountered and defeated Cormac O'Neill, Tyrone's brother, was rewarded by the honour of knighthood, conferred by Mountjoy, the lord-lieutenant. On the final suppression of Tyrone's rebellion in the spring of 1603, sir Cahir went to London, was received as a distinguished visitor at court, and had a new grant from James I. of all his lands, free from the exactions that had been ever previously claimed by his territorial superiors, the O'Donnells and the O'Neills. On his return from court, sir Cahir married Mary, daughter of Christopher, fourth viscount Gormanstown. After his marriage, he resided occasionally at the castles of Burt and Buncrana, but more frequently at Elagh, near Derry, where the family mansion had been rebuilt for the reception of his bride. He seems to have had no regrets arising from his abandonment of Irish customs and traditions, or his alienation from Irish leaders, knowing only his faithful foster-brothers, the MacDavitts, and associating with English settlers and officials in and around the city of Derry. Sir Cahir was known as decidedly hostile to the unfortunate earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and served as foreman of the jury at Lifford, where, after their flight, they were indicted for high treason. Only a month, however, after this zealous exhibition of his loyalty to the Government, sir Cahir appears to have

In the mean while, the said Laird in the said first year of the King's reign pitched upon the following way (which he thought most fair and feazable) to get an estate in lands even with free consent of the forfeiting owner of them, and it was thus, viz.:—The said Laird (in a short time after his return from the English Court) had got full information from his said trading friends of Con O'Neil's case and imprisonment in Carrickfergus towne, on account of a quarrell made by his servants with some soldiers in Belfast, done before the Queen died, which happened in manner next following, to witt:—The said servants being sent with runletts to bring wine from Belfast[11] aforesaid, unto the said Con, their master, and Great Teirne[12] as they called him, then in a grand debauch at Cas-

resolved suddenly to leave Ireland without asking the English authorities for a license to do so, which was in itself at that period a treasonable offence. The deputy, Chichester, instantly, on hearing this rumour, summoned him to Dublin, where sir Cahir, his father-in-law, and another gentleman, named Fitzwilliams, were required to enter into recognisances, himself for £1000 English, and the others for fifty marks Irish each, binding him not to leave Ireland during the next twelve months without the deputy's license, and requiring him to appear personally in Dublin at any time during that term, on receiving twenty days' notice. Soon after the arrangement of this affair, sir Cahir sold some lands to sir Richard Hansard, and, as it was necessary to have governor Pawlet's name affixed to the deed of transfer, the parties called on the latter for this purpose. It is more than probable that Pawlet had been the means of arousing the government's suspicions respecting sir Cahir's contemplated departure from Ireland, and it may be the latter charged him with some underhand influence on this occasion. At all events, during this interview, a furious controversy arose between them, in the course of which Pawlet, who was a man of violent temper, struck sir Cahir in the presence of the others. The Inishowen chief did not instantly retaliate, but went to relate the affair to his foster-brothers, who told him that blood only could atone for such an insult. The people on sir Cahir's estate were unanimously of the same opinion, and declared their readiness to espouse the quarrel of their lord. Sir Cahir having got a promise of assistance from his brother-in-law, the young chief of the O'Hanlons, proceeded to seize the fort of Culmore by stratagem, where he left a garrison, and then marched rapidly on Derry. Pawlet was amongst the first to fall beneath the pikes and skeines of the O'Doherties. To plunder the houses of the wealthy inhabitants, collect arms, and burn the town was the work of only a few hours. When this was done, the insurgents proceeded to the palace of bishop Montgomery, who, fortunately for himself, happened to be in Dublin. Among the spoils removed were two thousand volumes from his library, for the restoration of which the bishop soon afterwards offered a hundred pounds weight of silver—but in vain; for the books were burned in Culmore fort by Phelim Reagh M'Davitt. So soon as Chichester heard of the outbreak, he sent a force of 3000 men against the O'Doherties; under the command of sir Richard Wingfield, sir Toby Caulfeild, Josias Bodley, and others. The first and only skirmish took place on the 5th July, at the rock of Doon, in the vicinity of Kilmacrenan, where sir Cahir was shot by a common soldier. His head was struck off, sent to Dublin, and there exposed "on a pole on the east gate of the city, called Newgate."—Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, pp. 287—300; see also *Annals of the Four Masters'* 1608, with Dr. O'Donovan's *notes*, vol. vi., p. 2359. On the 7th, Chichester issued his proclamation in which he announced that "O'Dohertie was happily slain near a place called Kilmacrenan, in the county of Tyrconnel, wherein God hath not only showed his just judgment upon this treacherous creature, but doth plainly declare to this nation and to all the world, that shame and confusion is the certain and infallible end of all traitors and rebels." By this proclamation all O'Doherty's adherents were proscribed, and all who presumed to receive, or in any manner afford them relief, were to be "adjudged traitors in as high a degree as the said O'Dohertie himself or any of his adherents." The whole territory of Inishowen, which from time immemorial had been the abode of the sept of O'Doherty, was handed over by James I. to Chichester, by grant dated 22nd February, 1610, excepting 1300 acres reserved for the better maintenance of the city of Londonderry and the fort of Culmore. By the terms of this grant, sir Arthur was authorized to divide the whole territory into several precincts, each containing 2000 acres, erecting them into so many manors, and setting apart 500 acres, as demesne lands, to each manor. He was also empowered to hold four several courts, leet and baron, viz.: "one at Boncranagh, within the island of Inche, and territory of Tuogh-Cranoche; one within the Tuogh of Elagh; one within the lordship or manor of Greencastle; and one within the island of Malyne" (now Malin).—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.*, p. 161.

[11] *Belfast.*—The progress of Belfast dates from the year 1612, when the castle, town, and manor, were granted to sir Arthur Chichester. The name does not appear in Holinshed's enumeration of the principal seaports in the counties of Down and Antrim. In the year 1610, it is noticed in Speed's maps, but only as an unimportant village. It had been previously, in 1582, recommended by sir John Perrot as the "best and most convenient place in Ulster, for the establishment of shipbuilding;" but Belfast was not then within the English pale, and its natural advantages, including the magnificent woods of the district, were permitted, during several years afterwards to remain unimproved.

[12] *Greate Teirne.*—Teirne, from the Irish *Tighearna*, denotes a chief ruler in a district. From this title is derived *Ochiern* or *Oigthierna*, a term applied in Scotch law to the heir-apperent of a lordship, from *Oig*, "young," and *tierna* "lord."—Logan, *Scottish Gäel*, vol. i., p. 189. On the Latin form *Tigherna*, Dr. Reeves has the following remarks:—"A Latin transformation of the Irish noun *tigherna*, a 'lord'—proving that the *g* in the word is a radical letter; and pointing to *tig*, a house, as the derivation,

tlereagh, with his brothers, his friends, and followers; they returning (without wine) to him battered and bled, complained that the soldiers had taken the wine, with the casks, from them by force. Con enquiring (of them) into the matter, they confessed their number twice exceeded the soldiers, who indeed had abused them, they being very drunk. On this report of the said servants, Con was vehemently moved to anger; reproached them bitterly; and, in rage, swore by his father, and by all his noble ancestors' souls, that none of them should ever serve him or his family (for he was married and had issue[13]) if they went not back forthwith and did not revenge the affront done to him and themselves, by those few Boddagh Sasonagh[14] soldiers (as he termed them). The said servants (as yet more than half drunk), avowed to execute that revenge, and hasted away instantly; arming themselves in the best way they could, in that short time, and engaged the same soldiers (from words to blows), assaulting them with their weapons; and in the scuffle (for it was no orderly fight), one of the soldiers happened to receive a wound, of which he died that night, and some other slashes were given; but the Teagues[15] were beaten off and chased, some sore wounded and others killed; only the best runners got away Scott free. The pursuit was not far, because the soldiers feared a second

like *dominus*, from *domus*, rather than to *tyrannus*, which O'Brien proposes. In the narrative (*Life of St. Columba*) these princes are called *regii generis viri* and *nobiles viri*. In the *Lives of the Irish Saints*, *Dux* is the usual representative of this word. The founder of Clones was called *Tighernach*, "quia multorum dominorum et regum nepos est."—(*Act. SS. Apr.*, tom. i., p. 401.) The word appears in the old Welsh form of *tigirn*, and the Cornish *teyrn*, as also in the proper names, *Guorthigern*, *Eutigern*, *Tiarnan*, *Maeltiern*.—(Zeuss, *Gram. Celt.* i., p. 100, 151, 158, 162.) So Kentigern is interpreted *Capitalis Dominus*.—(Pinkerton, *Vit. Ant.*, p, 107)." Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, p. 81, *note a*. Teirne is translated by the Scottish word *laird*, denoting a landowner holding directly from the crown, and not from a feudal superior. The author defines laird as equivalent to an esquire, but until the sixteenth century, the laird was much the more important personage of the two.

[13] *Had issue.*—His wife was a kinswoman, her name being Ellis-ny-Neill. They had at least two sons, namely Hugh Boy and Con Oge, whose son Domhnall (Donnell) was in 1623, a claimant of a portion of his grandfather's lands. This Donnell, commonly known as sir Daniel O'Neill, was a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I. and II.

[14] *Bodagh Sasonagh.*—Or rather, *Bodach Sassenach*, a phrase used by the Irish to mark the coarse manners and cold reserve of the English, especially of such as had not been residents in Ireland. These were generally supercilious in their demeanour to the Irish, calling them *Teagues;* and not less so to the English of the birth of Ireland, whom they called *Irish Dogga*, and who did not fail to fling back upon them the opprobrious name of '*English hobbe*,' or churls. This use of invidious names among the English in Ireland required to be checked by Act of Parliament at an early period. *The 40th of Edward III., cap.* 4, enacted "that no difference of allegiance shall henceforth be made between the English born in Ireland and the English born in England, by calling them English hobbe, or Irish dogge; but that all be called by one name, the English lieges of our lord the king." The native Irish rarely, if ever, applied the term *Bodach Sassenach* to the English of the birth of Ireland, but reserved it, as in the instance mentioned in the text, for such English as had newly arrived, either as soldiers, or in some official capacity.—Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, Introduction*, pp. lxii.—iii.

[15] *The Teagues.*—The Irish Christian name *Tieg* (Tadhg), now represented by Thaddeus or Thady, was formerly so common that it was used to designate Irishmen generally, just as the term *Paddy* at the present day. This use of the name was probably introduced by English settlers, who spoke of the *mere* Irish who had no *free* or English blood as *Teagues*. Under the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland, landlords were bound to see that their Irish tenants should learn to speak English within a limited time, and also abandon their Irish names of *Tiege* and *Dermot*, then almost universally used, calling themselves by the English translations of such names.—Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 119. The former, "which, according to all Irish glossaries, signifies a *poet*, . . . was first anglicised Thady, and the editor (O'Donovan) is acquainted with individuals who have rendered it Thaddæus, Theophilus, and Theodosius."—*Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla Na Naomh O'Huidhrin*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan, *Introduction*, p. 52. The term *Teague* ceased to be used as a contemptuous epithet in modern times. During the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century, it is often introduced in plays, jest-books, and comic writings generally, and sometimes preceded by the adjective *honest*. An illustration is found in the poems of Matthew Prior:—

> "His case appears to me like honest Teague's
> When he was run away with by his legs."

The Hon. Daines Barrington, *Observations on the more Ancient Statutes from Magna Charta to the twenty-first of James I., Cap. XXVII.*, conjectures about the derivation of *Teague* as follows:—"In the laws of Hoel Dda, the villeyns are called *Taeagua*. From hence *Teague* is probably a term of reproach among the Irish; though the villeyns which they had anciently, seem to have been more commonly styled betaghii, or betaghs."—P. 302, and *note*.

assault from the hill of Castlereagh,[16] where the said Con, with his two brothers,[17] friends, and followers (for want of more dorgh[18]), stood beholders of the chase. Then in a week next after this fray, an office of enquest was held on Con, and those of his said friends and followers, and also on the servants, and on all that were suspected to be procurers, advisers, or actors therein, and all whom the Provost Marshall could seize (were taken), by which office the said Con, with some of his friends, were found guilty of levying war against the Queen.[19] This mischief happened a few months before her death; and the whole matter being well known to the said Laird, and his brother, and his friends, soon after the King's accession to the English Crown, early application was made to his Majesty for a grant of half the said Con's lands, the rest to Con himself, which was readily promised; but could not, till the second of his reign, by any means be performed, by reason of the obstacles to the settlement of Ireland aforesaid.

But I must a little go retrograde, to make my report of their affairs better understood. The Laird having met with his brother, and returned from London (as before mentioned), came home, (his second son[20] being then about the third year of his age), and industriously minded the affairs

[16] *Hill of Castlereagh.*—The site of Castlereagh,—*caislean riabhach*, "grey-castle," is somewhat over two miles in a south-eastern direction from the Long Bridge of Belfast. This castle gave name to one of the nine sub-divisions of the ancient Clannaboy, a name which is now applied to the whole territory as comprised in the two modern baronies of Castlereagh. Chancellor Cusacke, writing on the 8th of May, 1552, to the earl of Northumberland, has the following statement in reference to this district:—"The same Hugh (O'Neill) hath two castells, one called Bealefarst, an ould castell, standing uppone a ffourde that leadeth from Arde to Claneboye, which, being well repayred, being now broken, would be good defence betwixt the woodes and Knockfergus. The other, called *Castellrowghe* is fower miles from Bealefarst, and standeth uppone the playne in the midst of the woodes of the Dufferin." Reid, *Hist. of the Pres. Church*, vol. i., p. 485. Of the latter castle, Dr. Reeves remarks:—"It had been occupied successively by Bryan Fagartach O'Neill, his son Neill, and his grandson Con, when Bryan MacArt O'Neill, a relative of the earl of Tyrone, seized upon it. In 1601, it was taken by sir Arthur Chichester, and restored to Con O'Neill, who, in the preceding year, had been taken, with his retainers, into the Queen's pay. He held it, however, but a very short time, for a few months before the Queen's death, on occasion of his indulging in a grand debauch at Castlereagh with his brothers, his friends, and his followers, a riot occurred between his servants and some soldiers, in which one of them received a mortal wound. This affray was pronounced the following week to be a 'levying war against the Queen;' Con O'Neill was imprisoned in Carrickfergus, and circumstances put in that train which eventuated in the entire transfer of the south Clannaboy estates to other possessors."—*Eccl. Antiquities*, p. 347.

[17] *Two brothers.*—The two brothers were *Hugh Mergagh* O'Neill and *Toole* O'Neill.

[18] *More dorgh.*—The phrase, "for want of more dorgh," simply meant, *for want of something else, or something better, to do.* The word *dorgh* or *dargh* is evidently a contraction for *day's work*. In the county of Antrim, *dargh*, pronounced *da'ark*, is used in the sense of day's work, but only in turf-cutting time. The tenant farmers in the parish of Alloa "are subject to a *dargh* (or day's work) for every acre, or 10d per annum," in addition to the regular rent.—*New Stat Account of Scotland*, vol. viii., p. 602. These days are known as *dargh-days*. A Scottish proverb affirms that "he never wrought a good *dark* that went grumbling to it." Another common proverb is "tine needle, tine *darg*,"—said to girls who lose their needles. A *darg* of peat-moss means as much as can be converted into turf in a day. *Love-dargh* is work done for affection or good-will instead of payment. *Darghing* or *darghening* is used in Scotland for working by the day. Thus,

> "I wish they'd mind how many's willing
> To win by industry a shilling—
> Are glad to fa' to wark that's killing—
> To common *darghing*.—*Galloway Poems*, p. 9.

Dargher is used in Scotland, but not in Ulster, for a day labourer. Thus, in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. iii., p. 357, we have the following illustration:—

> "The croonin kie the byre drew nigh,
> The *dargher* left his thrift."

See Jameson, *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language.*

[19] *War against the Queen.*—The act on which Con's enemies depended, in his contemplated destruction, was doubtless the *10th Henry VII.*, *c.* 13, entitled, *An Act that no person stir any Irishry to make war*, and providing that "whatsoever person or persons fro' this day forward cause assemble, or insurrection, conspiracies, or in any wise procure or stirre Irishry or Englishry to make warre against our sovereign lord the king's authority—that is to say, his lieutenant, or deputy, or justice, or else, if any manner person procure or stirre the Irishry to make warre against the Englishry, be deemed traytour, atteynt of high treason, in likewise such as assemble an insurrection had been levied against the king's own person."—*Irish Statutes, vol.* i., p. 51.

[20] *His second son*—Afterwards so well known as sir James Montgomery of Rosemount, born in the year 1600.

in Ireland; and, by his said brother gave frequent intimations to the King, or his Secretary for Scotland,[21] of all occurrences he could learne, especially out of Ulster (which had never been fully made subject to England); which services of the Laird, and the King's promise, were by his brother renewed in the King's memory, as occasion served to that purpose. And the effects answered his pains and expectations, which was in this manner, viz.:—The Queen being dead, the King filling her (late) throne, O'Doherty soon subdued, and the Chief-Governors in this kingdom of Ireland foreseeing alteration in places, and the King's former connivance of supplies, and his secret favor to the O'Neils and M'Donnells, in counties of Down and Antrim (being now well known[22]) as to make

[21] *Secretary for Scotland.*—This official was sir William Alexander of Menstrie.

[22] *Being now well known*—Although James had been lavish in professions of friendship to Elizabeth, and more especially towards the end of her life, he really connived with the Ulster insurgents, headed by O'Neill, and actively assisted by sir James Macdonnell, of Dunluce. The king even sent supplies secretly from Scotland; in gratitude for which, O'Neill, after his victory over the English at the Blackwater, sent O'Hagan, his secretary, to Holyrood, to negotiate for additional means, which would enable him to march at once on Dublin, and proclaim his majesty king of Ireland, without longer waiting for Elizabeth's death. But the question of the succession on the queen's death was to James the most serious problem of his life, and he feared above all things, to take any steps, or adopt any policy, which might tend to thwart his eagerly-cherished hopes. Whilst conniving with O'Neill, therefore, he feared to accept his offer just then. His encouragement of the rebel chieftains, James and Randal Macdonnell, was more publicly given. He was well aware that these powerful Scots could do much either to oppose or facilitate his succession to the English throne. Whilst, therefore, he persecuted the Macdonnells of Isla and Cantire, because of their known leanings towards the English government, he cultivated the most friendly relations with the Macdonnells of Dunluce, because of their equally well-known hostility to that government. Sir James Macdonnell of Dunluce, the eldest surviving son and successor of the celebrated Somhairle Buidhe (more familiarly known as Sorley Boy), visited the Scottish court in 1597, and received a distinguished welcome. This visit is noticed in Patrick Anderson's *MS. History of Scotland* as follows:—"At this time, one sir James MacBuie (sir James MacSorley Macdonnell), a great man in Ireland, being here for the time to complain of our chief islemen, was knighted, and went with his train and dependers to visit the castle and provision therein, and gave great and noble rewards to the keepers." Birrel's *Diary* speaks of his leaving Edinburgh thus:—"The 7th of May, he went homeward, and for honour of his *bonalley* (*bon aller*, an entertainment at the commencement of a journey) the cannons shot out of the castle of Edinburgh." The *Chronicle of the Scottish Kings*, published by the Maitland Club, has the following record of Macdonnell of Dunluce:—"This sir James was ane man of Scottis bluid, albeit his lands lies in Ireland. He was ane braw man of person and behaviour, but had not the Scots tongue, nor nae language but Erse (Irish)." *After the suppression of the rebellion*, the King's evident partiality for these rebel chieftains was apparent. No sooner had he succeeded to the English throne than he wrote to Mountjoy, informing him that O'Neill's pardon had been arranged, and that all the other grants promised by Mountjoy at O'Neill's surrender should be fully accorded to the latter. The King concluded his letter by requesting Mountjoy "to *induce* Tyrone to repair personally to London, as we think it very convenient for our service, and require you so to do; and if not, that you at least bring his son." When O'Neill, soon afterwards, visited London, his distinguished reception by James astounded all men, but none more than sir John Harrington. "I have lived," writes the latter, to the bishop of Bath and Wells, "to see that damnable rebel, Tyrone, brought to England honoured and well liked. Oh, what is there that does not prove the inconstancy of worldly matters. How I did labour after that knave's destruction. I adventured perils by sea and land, was near starving, eat horse-flesh in Munster, and all to quell that man, who now smileth in peace at those who did hazard their lives to destroy him; and now doth Tyrone dare us, old commanders, with his presence and protection." O'Neill was restored in blood, obtained the restoration of his lands (excepting such as had been granted to sir Henry Oge O'Neill, and sir Turlough MacHenrie O'Neill), and, in addition, was given authority for the exercise of martial law "to be executed upon all offenders, the better to keep them in obedience." The representative of the Macdonnells fared equally well, and, as it turned out, with much greater good fortune. Sir James MacSorley the elder brother had died in 1601 at Dunluce, but his brother, Randal, obtained a grant, in the first year of James' reign, of the territories known as the Route and Glynnes, in the county of Antrim, extending from Larne to Coleraine, and containing upwards of three hundred thousand statute acres. The exceptions reserved from this immense estate were only three parts in four of the fishing of the river Bann, the castle of Olderfleet with its appurtenances, the lands belonging to the see of Down and Connor, the lately dissolved abbey or monastery of Coleraine, and the interest of all free tenants who had any estate in the premises. The "Informations" of Nial Garve O'Donnell represent sir Randal as afterwards holding very intimate relations with the King. "He (O'Donnell) saith further, that it is a common opinion among all them in the north, that sir Randal Macdonnell is a party with them (O'Neill and O'Donnell, earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel), in all plots and devices, and that he had given out, that he cares not for sir Arthur Chichester more than for an ordinary person, knowing the King will hear him and further his desires, and if he should not, he would show him another trick." Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 286–7; Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, pp. 36, 39, 40, 71.

them his friends, and a future party for facilitating his peaceable entry and possession in those northern parts of the country (if needful), it so came to pass that the said Con had liberty to walk at his pleasure (in the day time) in the streets of Carrickfergus, and to entertain his friends and tenants in any victualling house within the towne, having only a single sentinel to keep him in custody, and every night delivered him to the Marshall.[23] And thus Con's confinement (which lasted several months after the Queen's death) was the easier, and supportable enough, in regard that his estate was not seized by the escheators,[24] and that his words (at his grand debauch aforesaid) were reputed very pardonable, seeing greater offences would be remitted by his Majesty's gracious declaration of amnesty, which was from time to time expected, but delayed on the obstacles aforesaid.[25]

[23] *To the Marshall.*—The marshall, at that date, was probably Thomas Dobbin, who resided at the rere of an antique building in Carrickfergus, then the prison of the county of Antrim.—M'Skimin, *History of Carrickfergus*, 3rd edition, p. 113.

[24] *The escheators.*—Escheators from the French *Eschoir*, were officers appointed in every county to make inquests of titles, which inquests were, in all cases, to be taken by the good and lawful men of the county, impannelled by the sheriff. (14 *Edward III.*, *c.* 8; 35 *Edward III.*, *c.* 13.) *Escheat* lands or tenements were such as casually fell to the king, or to the lord of the manor, by some unforeseen contingency, such as forfeiture for treason, or the death of a tenant without heir general or special.—Wishaw, *Law Dictionary*, p. 108. From the original verb *cair*—the Provençal form of the Latin *cadere*, came the old French *chaeir*, *chaoir*, *escheir*, to fall; and the nouns *chaet*, *cheite*, a fall; and also the English words, a *cheat*, or *cheater*, the escheators having, by the very nature of their office, so many opportunities of fraud and oppression. The abuses to which this office was liable are stated as follows, in the preamble of the statute, 1 Hen. VIII., c. 8—"Forasmuch as divers of the king's subjects have been sore hurt, troubled, and disherited by escheators, and commissioners causing untrue offices to be found, and sometimes returning into the courts of record offices inquisitions that were never found, and sometimes changing the matter of the offices that were truly found, to the great hurt, trouble, and disherison of the king's true subjects, &c."—See Fisset's *History of the Commonwealth of England*, vol. ii., p. 16.

[25] *Obstacles aforesaid.*—The first act of James I. in relation to Ireland was an act of general oblivion and indemnity. The king's utter failure afterwards, through the evil influence of Chichester and Davies, in carrying out his loudly-professed purposes of good towards Ireland, is well stated by Mr. Prendergast, as follows:—"He restored the earl of Tyrone to his estates; he promised the Irish that they should henceforth hold their lands as English freeholders, instead of under the law of tanistry, and assured the degenerate English that their estates should be confirmed to them for the future against the claims of discoverers, on easy terms of composition. By these measures the perpetual war, which had continued between the nations for four hundred and odd years, and was caused, says sir John Davies, by the purpose entertained by the English to roote out the Irish, was to be brought to an end. But before many years were past these first good resolutions were abandoned. The right of the Irish to their lands was derided; and we find sir John himself sharing in the spoil. In the meantime, the king's design with regard to the Irish was to restore to the chiefs and principal gentlemen such demesnes as they kept in their own occupation, to hold as tenants by knight's service under the king; and to fix the inferior members of the clan, hitherto living the wandering life of the creaghts, in settled villages, paying certain money rents to their lords, instead of their former uncertain spendings,—the object being to break up the clan system, and to destroy the power of the chiefs. This plan seems to have been matured by the summer of 1607. On the 17th of July, in that year, sir Arthur Chichester, lord-deputy, accompanied by sir John Davies and other commissioners, proceeded to Ulster, with powers to inquire what lands each man held. There appeared before them in each county which they visited the chief lords and Irish gentlemen, the heads of creaghts, and the common people, the Brehons and Shannahs, a kind of Irish heralds or chroniclers, who knew all the septs and families, and took upon themselves to tell what quantity of land every man ought to have; they thus ascertained and booked their several lands, and the lord-deputy promised them estates in them. 'He thus,' says sir John Davies, 'made it a year of jubilee to the poor inhabitants because every man was to return to his own house, and be restored to his ancient possessions, and they all went home rejoicing.' Notwithstanding these promises, the king, in the following year, issued his scheme for the Plantation of Ulster, urged to it, it would seem, by sir Arthur Chichester, who so largely profited by it, though the highest councillor in the kingdom told him to his face, in the king's presence, that it was against the honour of the king and the justice of the kingdom. It could not be said that the flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell, earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, gave occasion to this change; for the king immediately issued a proclamation (which he reversed on taking formal possession of the earls' territory), assuring the inhabitants that they should be protected and preserved in their estates, nothwithstanding the flight of the earls; nor the outbreak of sir Cahir O'Doherty, in the month of May, 1608, as it was confined to the neighbourhood of Londonderry, which he attacked, killing the governor, who had dared to strike him. Manors of 1000, 1500, and 3000 acres were offered by this project to such English and Scottish as should undertake to plant their lots with British Protestants, and engage to allow no

In the mean time, the Laird used the same sort of contrivance for Con's escape as he had heretofore done for his own; and thus it was, viz.:—The Laird had formerly employed, for intelligence as aforesaid, one Thomas Montgomery of Blackstown,[26] a fee farmer (in Scotland, they call such gentlemen feuers[27]); he was a cadet of the family of Braidstane, but of a remote sanguinity to the Laird, whose actions are now related. This Thomas had personally divers times traded with grain and other things to Carrickfergus, and was well trusted therein; and had a small bark, of which he was owner and constant commander; which Thomas being a discreet, sensible gentleman, and having a fair prospect given him of raising his fortune in Ireland, was now employed and furnished with instructions and letters to the said Con, who, on a second speedy application in the affair consented to the terms proposed by the Laird, and to go to him at Braidstane, provided the said Thomas would bring his escape so about as if constrained, by force and fears of death, to go with him. These resolutions being, with full secrecy, concerted, Thomas aforesaid (as the Laird had formerly advised) having made love to the Town Marshall's daughter, called Annas Dobbin[28] (whom I have often seen and spoken with, for she lived in Newtown till Anno 1664), and had gained hers and parent's consents to be wedded together. This took umbrages of suspicion away, and so by contrivance with his espoused, an opportunity, one night, was given to the said Thomas and his barque's crew to take on board the said Con, as it were by force, he making no noise for fear of being stabbed, as was reported next day through the town.

The escape being thus made and the bark, before next sun-set, arriving safe at the Larggs,[29] in

Irish to dwell upon them. For the security of the Plantation, all Irish who had been in arms were to be transplanted with their families, cattle, and followers, to waste places in Munster and Connaught, and there set down at a distance from one another; while those who should be suffered to remain were to remove from the lands allotted to planters, to places where they could be under the eye of the government officers. . . . The Irish gentlemen who did not forfeit their estates received proportions intended to be three-fourths of their former lands, but often only one-half or one-third (as the English were 'their own carvers'), as immediate tenants of the king Their lands were liable to forfeiture if the chief took from any of his former clansmen any of his ancient customary exactions of victuals; if he went coshering on them as of old; if he used gavelkind, or took the name of the great O, whether O'Neill or O'Donnell, O'Carroll or O'Connor. On his death, his youthful heir was made ward to a Protestant, to be brought up in Trinity College, Dublin, from his twelfth to his eighteenth year, in English habits and religion—often after this enforced conformity all the more embittered, like sir Phelim O'Neill, against English religion. The wandering creaghts were now to become his tenants at fixed money rents. He covenanted that they should build and dwell in villages, and live on allotted portions of land, 'to them as grievous as to be made bond slaves.' Unable to keep their cattle on the small portions of land assigned to them, instead of ranging at large, they sold away both corn and cattle. Unused to money rents, though of victuals they formerly made small account because of their plenty, they were unable to pay their rents; and, their lords finding it impossible to exact them, and being thus deprived of their living, numbers of them fled to Spain."—*Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, Introduction*, pp. lxix.—lxxii. For a list of persons pardoned in the County of Down soon after the king's accession, see Appendix *B*.

[26] *Blackstown.*—Blackstown was the name of a farm adjoining the lands of Braidstane.

[27] *Gentlemen feuers.*—In Scotland a feu farmer was one who held lands by a vassal tenure instead of by military tenure. The mode of tenure is called *feu-ferme*, the rent *feu-dewtie*, and the person holding *feuer*. "In case it sall happen in time cummin ony vassal or fewar, holding lands in feu-ferme, shall failye in making of payment of his few-dewtie, he sall amitt and tine his said feu, or his said lands conforme to the civil and canon law."—(*Act Jac. vi. c.* 246. 1597.) "Lands holden in feu-ferme, payand ane certaine yearly dewtie, *nomine feodi-firmæ*, may be recognosced by the superior for non-payment of few-dewtie."—*Skene*, quoted in Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary*.

[28] *Annas Dobbin.*—For notices of the family of Dobbin of Carrickfergus, see M'Skimin, *History of Carrickfergus*, 3rd edit., pp. 40, 113, 114, 115, 119, 319, 322, 323, 331.

[29] *Larggs.*—Timothy Pont, the well-known Scottish topographer, who wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century, has the following notice of Largs:—"Neir this town did ye Scotts obtain a memorable victory under Alexander ye III., against Acho, king of Norway, quhose armies they utterly overthrew. It is a burgh of barony; it is a fyne plot, extended on ye bank of the great occeane, laying lowe. It hath also a small porte for botts on ye mouth of ye river Gogow. Upon ye north side of ye toune there is a part called by ye vulgar ye prison fold,

Scotland, on notice thereof, our valorous and well-bred Laird kept his state, staying at home, and sent his brother-in-law,[30] Patrick Montgomery (of whom at large hereafter, for he was also instrumental in the escape), and other friends, with a number of his tenants, and some servants, all well mounted and armed, as was usual in those days, to salute the said Con, to congratulate his happy escape, and to attend him to Braidstane, where he was joyfully and courteously received by the Laird and his Lady with their nearest friends.[31] He was kindly entertained and treated with a due defference to his birth and quality, and observed with great respect by the Laird's children and servants, they being taught so to beheave themselves. In this place the said Con entered into indenture of articles of agreement, the tenor whereof was that the said Laird should entertaine and subsist him, the said Con, in quality of an Esq., and also his followers, in their moderate and ordinary expenses; should procure his pardon for all his and their crimes and transgressions against the law (which indeed were not very heinous nor erroneous), and should get the enquest to be vacated, and the one-half of his estate (whereof Castlereagh and circumjacent lands to be a part) to be granted to himself by letters patent from the King; to obtain for him that he might be admitted to kiss his Majestie's hand, and to have a general reception into favour; all this to be at the proper expenses, cost and charges of the said Laird, who agreed and covenanted to the performance of the premises on his part. In consideration whereof, the said Con did agree, covenant, grant, and assign, by the said indenture, the other one-half of all his land estate, to be and enure to the only use and behoof of the said Laird, his heirs and assigns, at which time the said Con, also signing and registering; but no sealing of deeds being usual in Scotland, he promised by an instrument in writing to convey part of his own

quher ther was a grate number of Danes enclosed and taken prisoner at ye battail of ye Lairgs." *Fairlie Castle*, now in ruins, Pont describes as, in his time, "a strong toure, and very ancient, beautified with orchards and gardens." *Kelburne Castle*, he states, "is a goodly building, veill planted, having very beautiful orchardes and gardens, and in one of them a spatious roume, adorned with a christalin fontane, cut all out of the living rocke." *Knock Castle* is "a pretty dwelling, seatted on the mane occeane, and veill planted." *Skelmorlie Castle*, "seated on the mane occeane, is a fair veill built house, decorred with orchards and woodes, the inheritance of Robert Montgomerie, laird thereof, who holds it off ye earles of Glencairn." The following notice of Largs parish is abridged from the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 360:—"No parish in the west of Scotland, and few in the Highlands, can afford such a variety of beautiful and romantic scenes. The hills which begin to rise in the neighbouring parishes of Greenock, Kilmalcolm, Lochwinnock, Kilburnie, and Dalry, meet in a kind of general summit at the eastern boundary of Largs, from which they gradually descend as they approach the shore, till they terminate at last in a variety of abrupt declivities, some of which are almost perpendicular, as if part of their base had been torn away by force."—Paterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 298, 301.

[30] *His brother-in-law.*—Patrick Montgomery had married Christina Shaw of Greenock, sister to the sixth laird's wife.

[31] *Nearest friends.*—The following account of Con's escape is preserved in a manuscript written by the Rev. Andrew Stewart, who was Presbyterian minister at Donaghadee from 1645 to 1671:—"On these beginnings they proceed. The wife endeavours her husband's delivery, and Montgomery to have a vessel ready to send for him upon notice given. The woman, therefore, returning with what speed she could to Ireland, had access when she would into the castle of Carrickfergus, where her husband was; sometime to bring in clothes, sometime drink, sometime meat, and never, almost, without some appearance of a good errand. At last she had appointed a boat to come from Bangor, which, being light, might even come under the castle, and receive Con out at a window at a certain hour, and thus to effect it. For one day she came into the chamber with two big cheeses, the meat being neatly taken out, and filled with cords, well packed in, and the holes handsomely made up again. Those she brought to him without any suspicion of deceit, and left him to hank himself down from the window at such a time when, by moonshine, he might see the boat ready, and so begone as it was already contrived. All this is done accordingly, and Con brought over to the church of Bangor, where, in an old steeple, he is hid, and kept till such time as Hugh Montgomery might be advertised to send a relief for him. And indeed it was not long till, wind and weather serving, there is a boat sent with Patrick Montgomery, afterwards of Creboy, in Ireland, to carry Con away. And away he went, and was well and kindly entertained in Scotland by the family of Broadstone, till Hugh made ready and went to London, to do what he could to bring his desires to pass."

to give unto the said Patrick[32] and Thomas,[33] as a requital of their pains for him, which he afterwards performed, the said Laird signing as consenting to the said instrument, the said agreements being fully ordered and registered (as I was told) in the town council book of the Royal Burgh of Air or Irwine, the original of that indenture to the Laird I had, and shewed to many worshipful persons, but it was burnt with the house of Rosemount, the 16th February, 1695.[34]

Upon the said agreement the said Laird and Con went to Westminster, where the said George had been many months Chaplain and Ordinary to his Majesty, and was provided with a living in London, in Commendum,[35] worth above £200 per annum, and the Laird was there assumed to be an

[32] *Said Patrick.*—Patrick Montgomery is more than once mentioned afterwards by the author in these manuscripts. Sir Hugh's descendants represent him as a nephew of sir Hugh Montgomery; but William Montgomery speaks of him only as "brother-in-law to sir Hugh." He obtained a grant of lands from sir Hugh, at Orebay, or Craigfaye, about a mile and a half eastward from the town of Donaghadee. We quote the enumeration of Con O'Neill's grants of lands directly to Patrick Montgomery. Sir Hugh granted to him, by deed dated 19th July, 1616, the lands of *Ballykennel* and *Ballycultrum*, which he held in 1623, as appears by the *Inquisition at Downpatrick in that year*. These lands lay in Con's division, but afterwards passed into the hands of sir Hugh Montgomery, and the deed recorded by Patrick from the latter, in 1616, was, most probably, a confirmation of the grant originally derived from O'Neill. The report of the commission appointed to hold the Inquisition abovenamed was delivered into Chancery on the 22nd of June, 1624, and originally filled twenty-one membranes. This most valuable document has, unfortunately, been mutilated, the halves of all the leaves, from eleven to twenty inclusive, having been cut away. *Supplement to Eighth Report of the Irish Record Commission*, p. 468, *n.* See Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 347, *note p.*, where this record is first noticed. Extracts from this mutilated original have been printed in Morrin's *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland of the Reign of Charles I.*, 1863, pp. 225–233; and its whole contents have been published in the Appendix to the *Hamilton Manuscripts*, 1867, pp. xxix–lx. The copy to which the editor of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* had access belongs to J. B. Houston, Esq., Orangefield, near Belfast. It is probably an almost complete copy of the original MS., and contains, in addition, as appears from marginal notices, *several most interesting documents described as not being in the manuscript, but supplied from papers in the possession of Dean Dobbs*. By the kindness of Mr. Houston we are enabled to print its entire contents, including the documents abovementioned, which the reader may find in Appendix *A*, at the end of this volume.

[33] *Thomas.*—This gentleman's name is not afterwards mentioned by the author. In return for his very important services, he received grants of lands in the Ards from Con O'Neill and Sir Hugh Montgomery. The former gave him an enfeoffment, dated 25th April, 1606, of the lands of *Ballyrosbuye*, in the Gallough, between Castlereagh and Belfast, with all the appurtenances and privileges belonging thereto.—*Inquisition of* 1623. "the Rolls of Chancery is an indenture, whereby Thomas Mountgomery, of Scotland, dwelling in the Newtowne, in the higher Clandeboys, granted and conveyed to James Cowper, of Neither Manes, then (1609) residing at Comber, and Alice, his wife, half of the lands of *Ballybuskey*, in the Great Ardes—to hold in fee-farm and heritage of the right worshipful sir Hugh Montgomery, one of the esquires of his majesty's body, as of the manor of Gray Abbey, for ever.—February 6, 1609.—Morrin's *Calendar, Reign of Charles I.*, p. 3.

[34] *The 16th February*, 1695.—At page 1, the author states that he lost by this conflagration several "authentic papers and parchments," among which, we are now told, was the original indenture between Con O'Neill and the sixth laird of Braidstane. The loss of this document is to be regretted, as, unfortunately, the copy of it which was registered in the "town-council Book of the Royal Burgh of Air or Irwine," does not now exist. The Town Council Minutes of Ayr were carefully searched, but in vain; and, on the editor's application to the proper authorities in the sheriff's court, he received the following reply:—

"County Buildings, Ayr, 19th Dec., 1866.

"Dear Sir,—I have made a complete search for the document referred to in your letter of the 15th current, but have failed in finding any trace of its having been recorded in the Sheriff Court Books of this county.—I am, dear sir, yours truly,

"THOMAS KERR."

James Paterson, Esq., author of the *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, made a diligent search at Irvine for the indenture, but without success, as the following note from him will explain:—

"I went to Irvine on Thursday, and returned yesterday, and I am sorry to say that there is not a vestige of the contract between Con O'Neil and the laird of Braidstane to be found. Mr. Gray, the town clerk, gave me every facility of search. The Record of Deeds and the Town Council Minutes have not been preserved farther back than 1659; but he thought it might be among the loose papers. These consist of documents of various kinds—deeds, accounts, portions of Town Council Minutes, &c., some of them dating back to 1594, 1601, &c.; but although I looked carefully over them all, no trace of the contract could be found. I regret this result; but it is at all events satisfactory to ascertain that the record does not exist.

"Edinburgh, 15th June 1867."

[35] *In Commendum.*—*Commenda* was a term of the canon law, which, in its original sense, was applied when the custody of a vacant benefice was committed to one who would discharge the spiritual duties without meddling with the profits, and who was thus said to hold the office or trust *in commendam*. This practice of honorary custody soon degenerated, however, into an actual reception of the profits, and the device of holding livings *in commendam* was found to be a convenient method of entirely evading the canon law against pluralities. The dispensation to

Esq. of the King's body, and after this was knighted, and therefore I must call him in the following pages by the name of Sir Hugh Montgomery, who made speedy application to the King (already prepared), on which the said Con was graciously received at Court, and kissed the King's hand, and Sir Hugh's petition, on both their behalfs, was granted, and orders given, under the Privy Signet, that his Majesty's pleasure therein should be confirmed by letters patent, under the great seal of Ireland, at such rents as therein expressed, and under conditions that the lands should be planted with British Protestants, and that no grant of fee farm should be made to any person of meer Irish extraction;[36] but in regard these letters took no effect, as in next paragraph appears, I shall make no further mention thereof, but will proceed to what afterwards happened to the said Sir Hugh and Con.

hold a *commendam* could only be given by the crown, and was generally granted to favourites, as a means of supplementing small livings. But now, by 6 and 7 William IV., c. 77, sec. 18, no ecclesiastical dignity, benefice, or office can be held *in commendam*.—Wharton, *Law Lexicon*, p. 15; *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. vii., p. 398.

[36] *Meer Irish extraction*.—The *meer* Irish, or such of the Irish as had no free or English blood, were forbidden by law to purchase land. "Though the English might take from the Irish, the Irish could not, even by way of gift or purchase, take any from the English. In every charter of English liberty, as it was called, granted to an Irishman, besides the right to bring actions in the King's Courts, there was given an express power to him to purchase lands to him and his heirs; without this he could not hold any so acquired. The exchequer officers constantly held inquisitions for the purpose of obtaining a return that certain lands had been aliened to an Irishman, in order thereupon to seize them into the hands of the crown as forfeited. . . . The Parliament Rolls are full of cases where the inquisitions are set aside for the finding having been malicious and untrue, the parties complained of not being Irish, but English. They prove, however, that no Irishman could take lands by conveyance from an Englishman; and this continued to be the law until the year 1612, when sir John Davies framed an Act abolishing the distinction of nations. But the prohibition practically prevailed after the passing of the Act; for, by plantation rule, the English were forbidden, under pain of forfeiture, to convey any of the lands taken from the Irish in the extensive plantations of Munster, Ulster, and Leinster to any Irishman, and the Irish there could only aliene to English; so that the Irish must be always losing, and the English gaining, by any change. The prohibition was again extended to the whole nation by the Commonwealth government; and when the lands forfeited for the war of 1690 came to be sold at Chichester House, in 1703, the Irish were declared by the English Parliament incapable of purchasing at the auction, or of taking a lease of more than two acres. Shortly afterwards, another Act disqualified them for ever from purchasing or acquiring any lands in Ireland, and declared the purchase void."—Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland, Introduction*, pp. l.—lii.

CHAPTER III.

NOW these affairs, as also Con's escape and journey with Sir Hugh, and their errand, took time and wind at Court, notwithstanding theirs (and the said George's) endeavours to conceal them from the prying courtiers (the busiest bodies in all the world in other men's matters, which may profit themselves), so that in the interim one Sir James Fullerton,[1] a great favourite, who loved ready money, and to live in Court, more than in waste wildernesses in Ulster, and afterwards had got a patent clandestinely passed for some of Con's lands,[2] made suggestions to the King that the lands granted to Sir Hugh and Con were vast territories, too large for two men of their degree,[3] and might serve for three Lords' estates, and that his Majesty, who was already said to be

[1] *Sir James Fullerton.*—It is rather remarkable that the particular branch of the Fullerton family to which sir James belonged has not been discovered, although he was probably a native of the parish of Dundonald in Ayrshire, where the Fullertons have resided numerously since the time of David II. He was, no doubt, of humble origin, and had made his own way into a distinguished position, else we should have certainly heard something of his family history. Commencing in the humble capacity of a teacher, in connexion with his friend, James Hamilton, he became eminently distinguished as a political agent of James I., occupying several high and lucrative places, after the accession of that king to the English throne, and receiving extensive grants of lands both in this country and in England. In establishing his school at Dublin in 1587 (to which he appears to have brought Hamilton as an assistant), there is no evidence that he had any other object or design, than simply to discharge the duties of a teacher. When Fullerton and his associate had become well-known in Dublin, and by their talents and popularity contributed in some degree to make Scotland and Scotsmen respected in this country, James VI. secured their service as political agents, and through them, smoothed the way for his acceptance by the Irish leaders, when he should be admitted, on the death of Elizabeth, to the English throne. In both cases the king was most fortunate in the choice of his men, and he afterwards acknowledged their services in a very liberal manner. Fullerton received the honour of knighthood on the accession of James, and lived at the English court, holding among other appointments those of gentleman of the bed-chamber, master of the privy purse to the duke of York, governor to the young prince, and master of the court of wards and liveries. For notices of the various offices to which he was appointed in Ireland, and of the very extensive grants received by him, of lands in this country, the reader may consult Erck's *Repertory of the Inrolments of the Patent Rolls of Chancery in Ireland*, vol. i., part ii., pp. 22, 39, 40, 41, 78, 90, 102, 249, 262. Of Fullerton's marriage, we have the following notice, in a letter written by Margaret Hay, countess of Dunfermline, to the countess of Eglinton, on the 2nd March, 1614:—"No newis (news) for sartintie, but ser James Fullartine is to be merit with my ladie Kellos, it is dowin or now."—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 195. Sir James died in 1630, without issue, and bequeathed his property to his "deare and well-beloved wife, the lady Bruce." Her brother, Thomas, lord Bruce, baron Kinloss, was his sole executor.—M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii., p. 294. Thomas Bruce above-named was the third baron Kinloss. His father, Mr. Edward Bruce, of Clackmannan, obtained a grant of the lands which had belonged to Kinloss Abbey, and was created baron Kinloss in 1601. His elder son, Edward, the second baron, was killed in a duel, at Bergen-op-Zoom, by sir Edward Sackville, in 1613. The narrative of that celebrated and bloody affair, as given by Sackville, afterwards earl of Dorset, may be found in the *Guardian*, Nos. 129 and 133. On the death of lord Edward, without issue, his title and estates went to his younger brother Thomas abovementioned, who, in 1633, was created earl of Elgin. *New Stat. Account of Scotland, County of Elgin*, p. 205; Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 447—450.

[2] *For some of Con's lands.*—We have not been able to discover the names of these lands. Sir James Fullerton had lands and tenements granted by the crown, in the counties of Westmeath, Cork, Antrim, Tipperary, Waterford, Sligo, Dublin, Roscommon, Kildare, Queen's County, Limerick, and Donegal, but none in the county of Down. His Antrim grants lay principally in the towns of Carrickfergus and Larne. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.*, pp. 7, 8. The absence of any record of such lands in the Patent Rolls, as those referred to in the text, may be accounted for by the grant having been irregularly or clandestinely obtained.

[3] *For two men of their degree.*—This argument of sir James Fullerton was probably the one which had most weight with the king in making up his mind to set aside the original compact between Con and sir Hugh at Braidstane. P. 27, *supra*. It was found that a grand

overhastily liberal, had been over-reached as to the quantity and value of the lands, and therefore begged his Majesty that Mr. James Hamilton[4] who had furnished himself for some years last past with intelligencies from Dublin, very important to his Majesty, might be admitted to a third share of that which was intended to be granted to Sir Hugh and Con. Whereupon a stop was put to the passing the said letters pattent, which overturned all the progress (a work of some months) that

mistake had been made by preceding sovereigns in granting lands in Ireland too liberally and extensively to individuals, and that the grants thus made had altogether failed in the objects they were originally intended to promote. In the provinces of Leinster and Munster, where favoured individuals had obtained immense tracts of forfeited lands, it was found that the grantees soon forgot or ignored the terms of the contracts by which they held their possessions, building castles, and assuming a semi-royal state, whilst the unfortunate natives, whom they were bound to protect and encourage, were driven into the woods and mountain fastnesses of the land. There they lived without security, or industry, or improvement of any kind, and were thus absolutely driven into conspiracies and insurrections. This great mistake in former Plantations determined James I., and his advisers, to offer the forfeited lands in Ulster to undertakers, in comparatively small proportions, and to impose such conditions on the holders as would tend to the mutual benefit of all classes. Such was undoubtedly the original plan contemplated in the Plantation of Ulster, although it was afterwards unfortunately abandoned.

[4] *James Hamilton.*—James Hamilton was eldest son of Hans Hamilton, the first Protestant minister, after the Reformation, settled in the parish of Dunlop, Ayrshire. The *Maitland Club* has published a curious old *Register of ministers, exhorters, and readers, and of their stipends, after the period of the Reformation*, and in this register the following entry occurs in reference to the parish of Dunlop:—"John Hamilton, vicar and exhorter, the thryd of the vicitrage, extending to XXVI li., providing he wait on his charge betym, 1567." As there is no doubt among Ayrshire genealogists that this John was the identical Hans above-named, it is presumed that Hans or *Hanis* Hamilton, the name by which he is usually known, is a corruption of the Latin *Johannes*.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 43. The *Hamilton MSS.*, which were written about the close of the seventeenth century by some member of the Hamilton family in Ulster, describe James Hamilton, at p. 4, "as one of the greatest scholars and most hopeful wits of his time, insomuch that he was noticed by King James and his grave council as one fit to negotiate among the gentry and nobility of Ireland for promoting the knowledge and right of King James's interest and title to the crown of England, after Queen Elizabeth's death, and on this account was advised to write a book of his said interest, which was done to very good effect. . . . . Therefore he was called to keep a public Latin school in Dublin, being instructed in the meanwhile, and creditably supplied for conversing with the nobility and gentry of Ireland, for the king's service above-mentioned, as he was very serviceable and acceptable therein." This account embodies the now generally accepted story that both Hamilton and Fullerton, two humbly-born young men, were specially appointed to Ireland as political agents of James VI., on their leaving college, and that they opened a school in Dublin only to conceal the real purpose of their residence there. Neither of them has left any record from which this representation could be sustained. Ussher, who knew them well, and intimately, never hints at any such improbable arrangement; but, on the contrary, speaks of them as coming to settle originally at Dublin "*by chance*" (M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii., p. 292), or, as other young Scotchmen had settled, as teachers, in other localities. John Strype, author of the *Life* of that *sir Thomas Smith*, to whom Queen Elizabeth granted the territory of the Ards, speaks of James Hamilton, p. 182, as "once a schoolmaster, tho' afterwards made a person of honour;" and the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, evidently using the language of some family documents left by his grandfather, the first viscount, describes Hamilton in the text as "furnishing himself for *some years last past* with intelligencies from Dublin, very important to his majesty." In Birch's *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, there is a reference to the school taught by Fullerton and Hamilton in Dublin, but no hint that these gentlemen were *originally* sent there in the capacity of political agents. On the contrary, he describes them as simply the channel through which certain English lords sent their letters, containing professions of allegiance to King James, immediately prior to the death of Elizabeth. "There was," says Birch, "a Scots gentleman of great learning and parts, sent out of Ireland to be chief governor for the duke (afterwards Charles I.). This gentleman, whose name was sir James Fullerton, had been at first usher of the Free School, in Dublin, while another Scotsman, Mr. James Hamilton, afterwards knighted, and at last created viscount Claneboy in Ireland, was master of it. The first foundations of their fortunes being laid at Dublin, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by conveying the letters of some great lords in England, who worshipped the rising sun, to King James, and his letters back to them, that way being chosen as more safe than the direct northern road."—M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. ii., pp. 292, 293; *Hamilton MSS.*, edited by T. K. Lowry, Esq., p. 5, *note*. The book said to to have been written by James Hamilton is unknown, at least so far as we are aware. The story seems to have originated in a statement of Dr. Richard Parr, in his *Life of Archbishop Ussher;* but Parr rests his statement on no authority, and it was taken for granted that he had obtained it from Ussher. But we have no evidence that Ussher had ever heard of the royal appointment claimed for Fullerton and Hamilton. His remarkable expression, that these teachers had come to Dublin "by chance," implies that if he had heard the story of their appointment originally as political agents, he did not believe it. All that can be advanced in favour of the generally accepted account of this matter is stated in Dr. Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, pp. 2, 3, and *notes*.

Sir Hugh had made to obtain the said orders for himself and Con.[5] But the King sending first for Sir Hugh, told him (respecting the reasons aforesaid) for what loss he might receive in not getting the full half of Con's estate, by that defalcation he would compensate him out of the Abbey lands and impropriations, which in a few months he was to grant in fee, they being already granted in lease for twenty-one years,[6] and that he would also abstract, out of Con's half, the whole great Ardes for his and Mr. James Hamilton's behoof, and throw it into their two shares; that the sea coasts might be possessed by Scottish men,[7] who would be traders as proper for his Majestie's future

[5] *For himself and Con.*—The account of this transaction given by our author differs *in toto* from that of the *Stewart Manuscript*: the latter represents the laird of Braidstane, not as concealing his designs from courtiers, but as revealing them to James Hamilton, who had given up his fellowship in Dublin College, and was then with his friend, sir James Fullerton, living in great favour at the Court of James I. Montgomery, when applying to Hamilton for assistance in the affair, is further represented as promising "a half of his two parts, if by his friends and means he might have access to work out Con's pardon, and have the king's gift of the lands to be divided among the three; for it was thought sufficient for them all. Mr. James Hamilton, glad of this, makes way, first with the Hamiltons, then with others of the English and Scottish nobility, that now Montgomery is well heard and especially respected by his majesty, and in a word, the grant is given out,—Con has his life and a third part, Montgomery has a third, and Mr. James Hamilton has a third part of Con O'Neill's estate in Down." The introductory part of this extract is undoubtedly apocryphal. The laird of Braidstane did not require to seek access to the king through the intervention of Hamilton. Braidstane's own brother, George, as events proved, was a special favourite with James, having acted as his agent in England, as Hamilton had done in Ireland. The earl of Eglinton, besides, was a very influential nobleman, ready at all times to espouse and support his kinsmen's plans. Again, the division of Con O'Neill's lands into three parts very much disgusted Montgomery, and was an arrangement altogether different from the original compact between him and O'Neill, at Braidstane. Hamilton's position as agent for sir William Smith gave him a knowledge of the situation and extent of Con's lands, and enabled him, especially when assisted by sir James Fullerton's influence, successfully to combat Montgomery's original plan. Hamilton was charged with betraying the trust reposed in him by sir William Smith, who believed he had a prior claim to most, if not all, the lands in dispute. John Strype, the writer of sir Thomas Smith's *Life*, when referring to this matter, says:—"I have been informed by some of that worshipful family, that sir William Smith, nephew to our sir Thomas Smith, was meerly tricked out of it by the knavery of a Scot, *one Hamilton* (who was once a schoolmaster, tho' afterwards made a person of honour), with whom the said sir William was acquainted. Upon the first coming in of King James I. he minded to get these lands confirmed to him by that king, which had cost sir Thomas (besides the death of his only son) £10,000, being to go into Spain with the English ambassador, left this Hamilton to solicite this his course at court, and get it dispatched. But sir William being gone, Hamilton discovered the matter to some other of the Scotch nobility. And he and some of them begged it of the king for themselves, pretending to his majesty, that it was too much for any one subject to enjoy."—*Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, 1698, p. 182.

[6] *For twenty-one years.*—An extensive grant of abbey lands in the counties of Down, Antrim, and Cork, was made to John Thomas Hibbots and John Kinge, of Dublin, Esqrs., on the 6th of December, 1604, to hold for twenty-one years, trees, mines, and minerals excepted, at the yearly rent of £25 13s 8d. Irish. The following church lands, in Down, were included in this grant, viz.—"1. The site, ambit, and precinct of the late monastery of Bangor, consisting of the abbey, with all the houses, manses, gardens, churchyard, and curtilages to the same belonging, the towns, villages, or hamlets, of Bangor, Balleportavo, Ballefridon, Ballemeean, Ballowe, Ballevullecragh, Ballecormache, Ballemacconnell, Ballecrohane, Ballehunne, Ballenoghue, Ballonore, Carrowslanclackanduff, Callosneseron, Carrownereigh, Ballemowne, Carroghraloghele, Ballesebane, Ballenbarnen, Balleneardogh, Ballencellor, Ballemulle, Ballesallogh, Balleocrane, Ballecrotte, Balleshalle, Ballemegh, Ballemachores, Ballemajor, with all the tithes, great and small, of the premises. 2. The site, circuit, and precinct of the monastery of Leigh, or Grey Abbey, otherwise Jugo Dei, with all houses, gardens, manses, orchards, and tithes to the same belonging, lying in seven towns near and about the said monastery — viz., Corballie, Ballibrenny, Ballenboly, Ballevaltragh, Ballecaslane, Ballevallanee, Ballecullemanagh; and three other towns, called Ballitungraunge, Ballieedon, and Corballen, in Lecale, being the estate of the said Gray Abbey, the lands formerly granted to Rice Ap-Hughe excepted. 3. The priory of Holliwood, and the site thereof, with all messuages, lands, and tithes in the five towns of Ballekeille, Ballimannacke, Ballacultracke, Ballaenderrie, and Balleknocknegonie. 4. The site of the late priory of Newton, with all manses and tithes in three villages, parishes, or hamlets called Newton, Killcowman, and Barnes, near said priory. 5. A certain island or lough called Inischargy, eight villages or townlands being about or near said island, viz.—Enischargie, Ballegarvagan, Ballecurkubben, Balliabakin, Ballerodine, Ballilimp, and Balliglassarie, in Bangorbreg, 1 qr., the the church quarter of Inischargie, 1 qr.—the quarter of Carmonie, the Fisher's quarter, the advowson of the rectory or vicarage of Inischargie, parcel of the estate of Brian Oge O'Flynne, attainted."—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.*, pp. 38, 39.

[7] *Possessed by Scottish men.*—This arrangement was in accordance with the original plan to be followed out in the Plantation. To the *servitors*, or those who had served

advantage, the residue to be laid off about Castlereagh (which Con had desired), being too great a favour for such an Irishman.[8]

All this being privately told by the King, was willingly submitted to by the said Sir Hugh, and soon after this he and Con were called before the King, who declared to them both his pleasure concerning the partitions as aforesaid, to which they submitted. On notice of which procedure, Mr. James Hamilton was called over by the said Sir James Fullerton, and came to Westminster, and having kissed the King's hand, was admitted the King's servant (but not in a great while knighted, therefore hereafter I shall make mention of him as Sir James Hamilton, in its due place); all which contrivance brought money to Sir James Fullerton, for whose sake and request it was the readilyer done by the King. Sir Hugh and Mr. Hamilton met and adjusted the whole affair betwen themselves. Whereupon letters of warrant to the Deputy, dated 16th April, 3d Jacob., 1605,[9] were granted

the crown either in a civil or military capacity, were assigned the positions of greatest danger. In this instance, the coast was to be placed in the possession of British settlers for the double purposes of trade, and of security, in cases of insurrection among the natives. Con O'Neill, as well as all other native chieftains permitted to become settlers, were obliged to fix their residences in the open country, and in unguarded places, where, from their exposed position, they were under constant inspection, and thus compelled to live peaceably. On the other hand, the positions of greatest strength and command were held by the British settlers, thus reversing the state of affairs adopted in the south during the reign of Elizabeth; and thus, as it was supposed, taking effectual means for security against the Irish, who could no longer form their hostile designs unseen, on the mountains, or in the wooded glens.

[8] *For such an Irishman.*—That is for a mere Irishman, having no free or English blood in his veins. Con O'Neill's preference for Castlereagh was induced no doubt by his natural wish to retain the ancient residence of his fathers, and because this district, more than any other portion of his territory, must have been endeared to him by family associations and traditions. As compliance with his wishes in this instance involved no derangement of the original Plantation scheme, he was indulged so far as to obtain that third part of his own property which he preferred. The castle has now entirely disappeared, but some of the stones remain, having been used in building a wall around the place on which the "grey" old structure stood. The stone-chair on which the chieftains of southern Clannaboy were inaugurated, and which was originally placed at a little distance from the castle, now rests at Rathcarrick, in the county of Sligo, the seat of a Mr. Walker, for whom it was purchased in 1832, and "with whom," we are told, "it will be preserved with the care due to so interesting a monument." The stone-chair had been subjected to various indignities in Belfast, from the time of its removal from Castlereagh in 1750, until its redemption by Mr. Walker, nearly a century later. It had done duty as a seat in the butter-market; it had lain obscurely amid the rubbish of an old wall in that most vulgar locality; and it had been finally tumbled into a yard in the rere of some house in Lancaster Street. It is quite clear, therefore, that Belfast was not worthy of this relic, and the probability is that had Mr. Walker not interposed, the inauguration chair or throne, would have long since been broken up, and its fragments built into some ignoble wall. *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., p. 208.

[9] *16th April, 3 Jacob.*, 1605.—A copy of this letter from King James I. to sir Arthur Chichester, was found among the papers left by sir James Balfour, and has been printed in the *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club*, vol. i., pp. 270–3. See also Erck, vol. i. p. 245, *where it is printed from the Rolls*. The king, at the "humble suite of Con M'Neale M'Brian Fertagh O'Neale, Esq., and at the humble suite, and in consideration of the faithful service done unto us by our well-beloved Hugh Montgomery, Esq., and James Hamilton, our servaunte," directs Chichester to have a grant of Con's whole territory made to Hamilton, under certain conditions. The letter was "given under our signet at our manor of Greenwiche." The conditions are repeated in the Tripartite Indenture between Con, Montgomery, and Hamilton, which the reader may see in the Inquisition of 1623, at the end of the volume. The king's letter directed that Hamilton should be permitted to hold these lands by the desirable tenure of "free and common soccage only, and not *in capite*, nor by soccage *in capite*, nor by knight's service." The feudal tenure known as knight's service, although once considered the most honourable, had become very unpopular, even among the representatives of those Norman nobles by whom it was originally introduced. Indeed, compared with its injurious and oppressive character, the cuttings and cosherings and exactions connected with Irish tenures, were but as mere child's play. By the military tenure of knight's service, the tenant and his heirs were bound to perform the service of a knight to the landlord and his heirs—an obligation which, in most cases, was impracticable, and when so, imposed a ruinous expense in providing substitutes. But, in addition to his military services, the tenant was bound to incur, on his lord's behalf, certain incidental expenses known as *aids, reliefs, primer seisins, wardships, marriages, and fines upon alienation*. An *aid* was levied to assist in rescuing the lord from captivity, or to constitute his son a knight, or to provide a marriage dowry for his daughter. A *relief* was a sum paid to the landlord by the heir when the latter attained his majority, for permission to enter on the actual possession of his estate. *Primer seisin* was a year's profit given to the crown in case of the

to pass all the premises, by letters patent, under the great seal of Ireland, accordingly, in which the said Sir James Fullerton obtained further of the King, that the letter to the Deputy should require him that the patent should be passed in Mr. James Hamilton's name alone, yielding one hundred pounds per annum to the King; and in the said letter was inserted that the said lands were in trust for the said Mr. Hamilton himself, and for Sir Hugh Montgomery, and for Con O'Neill, to the like purport already expressed.

Then the said Con, Sir Hugh Montgomery, and Mr. Hamilton entered into tripartite indentures, dated ult°. of the said April, whereby (inter alia) it was agreed that unto Con and his followers their moderate ordinary expenses from the first of August preceding the date now last mentioned being already paid them, should be continued them, 'till patents were got out for their pardons, and also deeds from Mr. Hamilton for Con's holding the estate, which the King had condescended to grant him. Soon after this, Mr. Hamilton went to Dublin to mind his business and to ply *telis extremis* for the furtherance of it.[10]

All this being done, and Sir Hugh having no more business (at present) at Whitehall, he resolved with convenient speed to go through Scotland into Ireland, to follow his affairs, which he did

heir being of age when succeeding to the family property. *Wardship* was simply a power vested in the king, to plunder minors, which power the king had the right to sell to others, who generally performed this work without much scruple. Sir Thomas Smith, who was secretary of state in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and to whom she granted the Ards, among other possessions, in the year 1572, speaks of this power of wardship as follows:—"Many men do esteem wardship by knight's service contrary to nature, that a freeman and gentleman should be bought and sold like a horse or an ox, and so change guardians at first, second, or third hand, as masters and lords. The king having so many wards, must needs give or sell them, and the grantee or buyer has no natural care of the infant, but only of their own gain; thus, they will not suffer a ward to take any great pains, either in study or any other *hardness*, lest he should be sick and die, before he hath married the buyer's daughter, sister, or cousin, for whose sake he bought him, and then all the money which he paid for him would be lost. The guardian doth but seek to make the most of his ward as of an ox or other beast." *Marriage* was the right of the lord or guardian to provide a wife or husband for his ward if under age, and for the discharge of this duty he always took good care to remunerate himself liberally. In the exercise of this power, the most flagrant deceptions were very often practised. In *tendering* such marriages, the lords or warders sometimes imposed old husbands or wives on their youthful wards, by a stratagem to which lord Bacon alludes, as follows, in his *Maxims*:—"If I covenant with my ward that I will tender unto him no other marriage than the gentlewoman whose picture I delivered unto him, and that picture hath about it *ætatis suæ anno* 16, and the gentelwoman is seventeen years old; yet, nevertheless, if it can be proved that the picture was made for that gentlewoman, I may, notwithstanding the mistaking, tender her well enough." The tenure known as *sovage*,—from *soc* the French for the coulter or share of a plough,—simply implied at first certain services in husbandry, generally plough-service, performed by the tenant to the lord of the fee. These services included also other humble but very useful operations, such as carrying out manure to the fields, and making hedges. This species of tenure was confined principally to the class anciently called villeins, now tenant-farmers. Socage *in capite* was considered much more honourable, because it meant holding *immediately from the crown*, but it was felt to be very oppressive, as the tenant had no specified time of tenure, and was subjected to many capricious exactions. These grievous systems of tenure have been all happily swept away, and the laws providing for their abolition have done more, according to Blackstone, for the freedom of property than *Magna Charta* itself. An ordinance for abolishing the Court of Wards and Liveries was passed on the 24th of February, 1645, and was very much improved in 1656, by the assembly known as Barebone's Parliament. The Plagiary Act of 12 Charles II., c. 24, formally went over the work which had already been thus substantially done during the commonwealth. The evils of the feudal tenures had become so unpopular that they could not be revived at the restoration, but compensation was given to the king for acquiescing in their abolition. The Act of 12 Charles II., is entitled, an *Act to take away the Court of Wards and Liveries and Tenures in Capite, and by Knight's Service, and Purveyance, and for settling a Revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof.* All lands are now, with slight exceptions, held by the tenure of *free* and *common* soccage, or in other words, exemption from the oppressive exactions imposed by the old feudal tenures, especially knight's service. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. ii., p. 63; Amos, *English Constitution in the reign of Charles the Second*, pp. 209—211; Knight's *Political Dictionary*, as quoted in MacNevin's *Confiscation of Ulster*, pp. 132—3.

[10] *For the furtherance of it.*—The sooner the terms of this agreement could be fulfilled, the sooner would James Hamilton be free from responsibility and expense. A complete copy of this *Tripartite Indenture* is contained in the Inquisition of 1623.

so soon as he had renewed his friendship with the English and Scotish Secretaries;[11] and laid down further methods, with his said brother, of entercourse between themselves for their mutual benefit; and the said Con, well minding Sir J. Fullerton's interposition for Mr. Hamilton (whereby he was a great loser), and that the patent for his lands was to be passed in Mr. Hamilton's own name, and only a bare trust expressed for his, Con's use, in the letters of warrant aforesaid, he thought it necessary that Sir Hugh and he should look to their hitts. They therefore took leave at Court; (and being thoro' ready) they went to Edinborough and Braidstane, and after a short necessary stay for recruits of money, they passed into Ireland, taking with them the warrant for Con[12] his idemnity, pardon, and profit.

Mr. Hamilton having gone to Dublin, as aforesaid, then, (viz.) on the 4th July, 1605, (being two months and four days posterior to the said tripartite indenture, a second office was taken,[13] whereby all the towns, lands, manors, abbeys, impropriations, and such hereditaments in upper Claneboys[14]

[11] *English and Scotish Secretaries.*—These officials were sir Robert Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury, and sir William Alexander, afterwards earl of Stirling.

[12] *Warrant for Con.*—This warrant is not recited in the Inquisition of 1623.

[13] *A second office was taken.*—This Inquisition, mainly respecting church lands and revenues, was taken at Ardquin, in the Ards, on the 4th July, 1605, and in pursuance of the Tripartite Indenture above-mentioned. The commissioners on that occasion were William Parsons, Esq., surveyor-general of Ireland; John Dallway, Esq.; Robert Barnwall, Esq.; and Lawrence Masterson, Esq. The jurors were John White, lord of the Dufferin, Esq.; Christ. Russell, of Bright, Esq., James Dowdall, of Strangford, gent.; George Russell, of Rathmullan, gent.; John Russell, of Killough, gent.; James Stackpoole, of Ardglass, gent.; Simon Jordan, of the same, gent., [,] of [,] gent.; Robert Sword, *alias* Crooley, of Ballidonnell, gent.; William Meriman, of Ballynebregagh, gent.; Gillernow Oroney, of Srow, gent.; Patrick Russell, of St. John's Point, gent.; Robert Hadsor, of Cullevaile, gent.; Owen M'Rorie, of Down, gent.; Simkin Fitzwilliams, of Grange, gent.; and Redmond Savage, of Saul, gent. The jurors found that the territory of Claneboy embraced the lesser *patriæ* of Upper Clandeboy, le Great Ards, le Little Ards, and Kilultagh, in which were comprised the minor districts or clanships of the Sleught Henrickies, the Kellies, the Sleught Neales, the Durninges, the Sleught Hugh Bricks, the Sleught Brian-Boy, the M'Gillechrenes de le Gallagh, the Mulchreines de le Tawne, the Sleught Owen M'Quinn, and the Sleught M'Carteglane, with others. The territory of Great Ardes in Claneboy, contained within itself certain lesser territories or habitations of families called the Sleught Mortagh M'Edmond, the M'Gillmurres, the Sleught Brian O'Neile, the Turtars of Iniscargie, the M'Kearnyes, the Magies of Portabogagh, with others. The territory of Kilultagh, in Claneboy, contained within itself lesser territories or habitations of families called Slut Neale M'Cormock, the Hamells of Edergaowen, the Clan Rowries, the Slut Roches, Slut Brian M'Shane Oge, with others. The aforesaid jurors found that Connogher O'Hamble was prior of Holiwoode at the time of the surrender and dissolution, James M'Guilmere abbot of Movilla, John O'Mullegan abbot of Cumber, William O'Dornan abbot of Bangor, John Casselles abbot of Leigh, or Jugo Dei, otherwise Gray Abbey, and sir John Rawson, knight, prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. *Inquisitions Down, Jac. I., No.* 2. Sir John Rawson was prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, and as such possessed certain manors, &c., in county Down, as well as elsewhere through the island. Kilmainham was his seat.

[14] *Upper Claneboys.*—The territory of upper or southern Clannaboy — *Clann-Aodha-Buidhe*—was commensurate with the present baronies of Castlereagh and the Great Ards. In Dr. Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 347—8, we have the following admirably clear and concise account of the ancient and modern sub-divisions of this celebrated territory, derived principally from the inquisitions of 1605 and 1623:—"1. *Castlereagh.* This district comprised that part of Knockbreda parish which lay in the vicinity of O'Neill's residence of Castlereagh. 2. *Les Gillachrewes de le Gallagh.* This small tract comprehended a portion of Knockbreda, lying between Castlereagh and the Lagan. 3. *Slut Neales.*—That is the 'Sliocht or family of Neills.' It embraced the parishes of Drumbo, Saintfield, Killaney, with parts of Kilmore and Knockbreda, and such portions of Blaris, Lambeg, and Drumbeg, as lie in the barony of Upper Castlereagh. In Jobson's Map of Ulster (1590), the territory marked Slut M'O'Neale is bounded on the north by the Lagan, on the west by Kilwarlyn, on the east by the *Kelles*, and on the south by Kinelarty. (*MS., T.C.D.*) The *Slut M'Nele* is similarly placed on Norden's Map. (*State Papers.*) 4. *Les Mulchreives de le Tawne.* This family occupied the west side of Knockbreda, from Ballymacarret southwards. The name Maolcraoibhe, or Mulcreeve (*Four Masters*, A.D. 1490,) was anglicised by *Rice.* (Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 630). These four districts now appear united in the barony of *Upper Castlereagh.* 5. *Slut Henrickies.* Occupied part of of Killinchy and Kilmood in Lower Castlereagh, adjoining a small portion of Killinchy and Kilmore, which they held in the upper barony. The name was probably derived from *Sliocht Enrí Caoich*, 'Tribe of Henry the Blind,' a branch of the Clannaboy O'Neills. (MacFirbis's *Gen. MS.*, p. 121). 6. *Slut Kellies.* They occupied the greater part of Comber and Tullynakill. On Norden's Map the name

and Ardes, were found to be in the King; it bearing a reference (as to spiritual possessions) for more certainty unto the office taken concerning them, primo Jac. Ao. 1603,[16] and also it was shuffled into it that Killough[17] was usually held to lye in the county of Down; this office being returned and inrolled in September then next following, it was (by inspection thereof) found to vary from the jurors' briefs and notes, and from many particulars in the office taken 1st Jac. and the matter of Killulta was amiss.[17]

About this time, the inquisition found against Con and his followers for the feats at Belfast aforesaid, being vacated and taken off the file in the King's Bench Court, and the pardon for himself and all his followers, for all their other crimes and trespasses against law being passed under the great seal, and the deed of the 6th Nov., 1605,[18] from Mr. Hamilton of Con's lands, being made to himself; Con then returned home in triumph over his enemies (who thought to have had his life

Kellies is laid down in the situs of Comber, and *Slut Kellies* a little W.S.W. of Drumboe. Jobson's Map places *the Kellies* between Castlereagh and Dufferin on the east and south, and Slut M'O'Neale and Kinelarty on the west. The family was originally settled near Drumbo. 7. *Slut Hugh Brickn.* That is *Sliocht Aodh breac*, 'the family of freckled Hugh.' Their territory contained the N.E. portion of Comber, S.W. of Newtownards, and S.E. part of Dundonald, lying principally between Scrabo and the town of Comber. 8. *Slut Bryan Boye.* Occupied five townlands in the N.E. of Holywood parish. 9. *Slut Dunnings, and Slut Owen Mac Quin.* These families occupied some townlands in Holywood, in Dundonald, and in the adjacent part of Newtownards. The five districts last named are comprised in the barony of Lower Castlereagh. On the establishment of the baronial names the ancient territorial ones gradually sank into disuse: even the generic name Clanneboy, having forsaken the family in whom it originated, and the territory to which it belonged, is now only known as a joint-title with Dufferin, in the Baronage of Ireland."

[16] *Ao.* 1603.—This Inquisition, of 5th November, 1603, is largely quoted by Archdall, in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*, pp. 109, 110, 121. He refers to it as being then preserved in the Chief Remembrancer's Office. The list of the Inquisitions formerly kept in that office, is to be found, *for* county Down, in Supplement to the Eighth Report of Irish Record Commission. (Reports, vol. ii., p. 593.) There the Inquisition of 1603 appears under Jac. I., No. 2, as *Abbatia de Leigh* [*i.e.*, Gray Abbey] *&c. al'*.

[17] *Killough.*—Killough is a misprint for Killultagh or Killulta. This territory was anciently known as *Coill-Ulltach*, "Wood of Ulster." It was not, strictly speaking, a part of Clannaboy, north or south, but was generally regarded as a territory or district *per se*. It is now included in the county of Antrim, and (with the small additions of the parish of Tullyrusk, three townlands of Derriaghy, and the east portion of the parish of Camlin) constitutes the present barony of *Upper Massareene*. Dr. Reeves defines Killulta as containing the present parishes of Ballinderry, Aghalee, Aghagallon, Magheramesk, Magheragall, and the portion of Blaris north of the river Lagan.—*Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 234, 347. The reader will find an account of the boundaries of Killulta and a list of its townlands in the Inquisition of 1623; also, Calend. of Pat. Rolls, Jac. I., p. 73.

[17] *Killulta was amiss.*—In other words, this territory had been reckoned as a part of the county of Down, in the Inquisition of 1605, whereas it should not have been so included, or misplaced.

[18] *6th Nov.*, 1605.—By Indenture of this date, James Hamilton conveyed to Con O'Neale the lands of Ballynagnockan, Ballynaghabricke, Ballybrinan, Ballyruwan, Ballycarney, Ballyclogher, Ballycrossan, Ballycarrycroogh, Ballycorweh, Ballycargie, Ballicardigman, Ballidallaghane, Ballydromboe, Ballefullaghmacke, Ballideremore, Balligromebegg, Ballinegarwye, Ballibolliwood, Ballihawnewde, Ballyfimebrenye, Ballylemoghan, Ballylary, Ballylisnereen, Ballycloghany, Ballyliscowegranagh or Ballyligan, Ballyliscrumelaghan, Ballyloghgar, Ballylistoodry, Ballymmylagh, Ballymaltane, Ballinemoney, Ballymolagh, Ballyonnulvalegh, Ballyogheli, Ballyskeghan, Ballytemplebrome, Ballytemplehlarisse, Ballytullaghmistikineoll, Ballynechallen, Ballytallowre, Ballylischahan, Ballycarroweveigh, Ballitullaghbreckan, Ballycreigenasastanagh, Ballycargeeneveigh, Ballicarrid, Ballycloinemore, Ballydrumhock, Ballimagrowen, Ballilonbegg, Ballihaliske, Ballarecrannen, Ballydeyan, Ballydromveyne, and Ballygonemagh, all lying in the territory of *Slut O'Neale;* and also the towns of Negasstane and Ballylaggegowan, in *Slut Kellies;* also Ballynehredagh, Ballinefeigh, Ballyknockcoshnakill, Ballilisnehroyne, Ballimaskerit, Ballicrevine, Ballirosboy, Balligulvalley, Ballicregogie, and Ballicastlereagh, with their appurtenances, privileges, &c.; also one market to be held at Castlereaghe every Thursday, weekly, for ever; and one fair to be held at Castlereaghe on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, yearly, for ever, with court of pie powder, court leet, and court baron—to be held for ever of the king,' at the rent of £23 16s. Irish. Con O'Neale to furnish, in addition, two horsemen and four footmen, well equipped, to attend the hostings of the chief governor in Ulster. O'Neale was prohibited by the terms of this indenture from granting any estate of freehold or inheritance out of said lands to any of the mere Irish. He was also bound to release James Hamilton from all covenants contained in one pair of the tripartite indentures made between him of the first part, Hugh Montgomery, Esq., of the second part, and James Hamilton, of the third part, dated 30th April last.—*Inquisition of* 1623. *This indenture is described as not in the MS. Inquisition, but supplied from the papers of Dean Dubbs.*

and estate[19]), and was met by his friends, tenants, and followers, the most of them on foot, the better sort had gerrans,[20] some had pannels for saddles (we call them back bughams),[21] and the greater part of the riders without them; and but very few spurrs in the troop, yet instead thereof they might have thorn prickles in their brogue heels (as is usual), and perhaps not one of the concourse had a hat; but the gentry (for sure) had on their done wosle barrads,[22] the rest might have sorry scull caps,

[19] *His life and estate.*—Among Con's enemies, the most formidable was supposed to be sir Arthur Chichester. The author of the *Stewart Manuscript* mentions the peril with which Con was threatened from this quarter, as follows:—"This man (Con) being rebellious, and his land falling to the King, was apprehended by the then deputy, Chichester, and was laid up in the King's castle, at Carrickfergus; a drunken, sluggish man, but he had a sharp, nimble woman to his wife. The deputy thought to have him to suffer according to law, and to be chief sharer in his lands. But divine providence had otherwise appointed. For the woman, his wife, in the greatness of her spirit, taking in high indignation, that her husband was not only captive, but appointed to an ignominious death, soon resolved that the saving his life with a part of his estate was better than to lose all. Therefore, this she strongly intends and diligently endeavours. But in a throng of thoughts how to accomplish her desire, she lights on this expedient, viz., to pass secretly to the next Scottish shore, and there light, if she could, on some good instrument for making good her design. And God leading her to Mr. Hugh Montgomery of Broadstone, in Scotland, a man sober, kind, humane, and trusty, to whom she revealed her husband's case and her own desire, saying, if Mr. Montgomery would be at pains and charge to purchase from the king her husband's life and liberty, with a third part of the estate for him and her to live on, the said Montgomery should, with their great good-will, have the other two parts, to be purchased by the King's grant. Montgomery, considering the matter wisely and maturely, entertains the gentlewoman with all kindness, till he was ripe to give her answer, which, in short, was this, that if she should find the way to deliver her husband Con out of the deputy's hands, and let him have the secure keeping of his person, with such assurance as he could give that the articles should be performed which she had proposed in her husband's name, then would he make adventure and labour for the said Con's life and liberty."—*Stewart MS.*, quoted in Dr. Reid's *Hist. Pres. Church*, vol. i., pp. 82, 83. The conduct of Hugh Montgomery contrasts very favourably with that of others who profited also by the confiscation of Con O'Neill's estates. Had it not been for his prompt and able interposition, Con would have no doubt met the inevitable doom of all *landcumers* at that period who could, in any way, be found guilty of treason. Con had no means and no friends; and when Montgomery began to expend money on his behalf, the prospect of recompense must have been but very faint, seeing that Chichester was all-powerful in Ulster.

[20] *Gerrans.*—The word *gerran* is probably a diminutive of *gabhar*, pronounced *garron*, and written *gearron*, denoting a work-horse, or hack. Spenser uses the term to denote a common country hack.—*Works*, vol. viii., p. 329. Burt, a Scottish author, employs the word to mean cheap, coarsely-made animals, employed in the drudgery of the farm. Thus, vol. ii., pp. 29—30, he says:—"This bog was stiff enough at that time to bear the country *garrons*. There is a certain lord in one of the most northern parts who makes use of the little *garrons* for the bogs and rough ways; but has a sizeable horse led with him through the deep and rapid fords." See Jamieson's *Etymol. Dictionary of the Scottish Language*. Another writer, quoted in Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. i., p. 345, describing the process of *breaking* one of these animals, says:—"Sometimes the garron was down, and sometimes the Highlander was down, and not seldom both of them together."

[21] *Back bughams.*—Bugham was probably a Scottish form of this word; but in Ulster it is *brecham*. There were back brechams and neck brechams, although the word could only be strictly applied in the latter sense, being derived from *braigh*, the 'neck,' hence *braighaidain*, or brechem, a collar. These primitive neck collars for horses were made of old stockings stuffed with straw, and, probably in some districts of Ireland and Scotland they have not yet been entirely superseded by the modern leather collar. Of the same materials the country people also manufactured their saddles, called back-brechams. In Scotland, when they indulged in the luxury of a saddle at all, it was of this description. In the *Minstrelsy of the Border*, vol. i., p. 176, we have the following allusion to this simple convenience:—

"Your armour guid ye maun na shaw,
Nor yet appear like men o' weir;
As countrie lads be a' arrayed,
Wi' branks and *brechome* on each meere."

[22] *Done wosle barrads.*—The barrad, or *Bared*, as worn by the ancient Irish, was made of woollen cloth dyed purple, blue, and green. Its shape resembled the cap of a modern grenadier, or rather it was made in the style of the old Phrygian bonnet. The Highland bonnet is the modern representative of the ancient Irish barrad. The term *doné-wosle* is used here ironically, to denote, as in Ayrshire, a class of small farmers, although the word was expressive of much higher rank in former times. It is derived from *duine*, 'a man,' and *uais*, 'noble,' and was originally used only in reference to noblemen. We have the following illustration in Pitscottie's *Chronicle*, edit. of 1814, p. 357:—"The king passed to ye Illes, and caused many of the great *Dunny-Vassilis* to show their holdings and fand mony of thame in non-entrie, and therefore took thame to his awin crown." In Colville's *Mock Poem*, i., 57, there is this verse:—

"Some, sir, of our *Duniwessels*
Stood out, like Eglintoune and Cassils;
And others, striving to sit still,
Were forced to go against their will."

Subsequently, the term came to denote a gentleman of only secondary rank,—generally a cadet of a noble family, who received his name from the lands he occupied, although

otherwise (in reverence and of necessity) went cheerfully pacing or trotting bare-headed. Con being so come in state (in Dublin equipage) to Castlereagh, where no doubt his vassals (tagg-ragg and bob-tail[74]) gave to their Teirne More,[75] Squire Con, all the honour and homage they could bestow, presenting him with store of beeves,[76] colpaghs,[77] sheep, hens, bonny blabber,[78] rusan butter[79] (such as it was); as for cheese I heard nothing of it (which to this day is very seldom made by the Irish[80]), and

holding them at the will of his chief. Of this secondary meaning, we have an illustration in Garnet's *Tour in the Highlands of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 200:—"He was born a *Duine-uasial*, or gentleman; she, a vassal, or commoner of an inferior tribe, and whilst ancient names and customs were religiously adhered to by a primitive people, the two classes kept perfectly unmixed in their alliances." In Ritson's *Songs*, also, at vol. ii., p. 55, there is the following use of the word in its secondary meaning:—

> "Boreland and his men's coming,
> The Camerons and Macleans coming,
> The Gordons and Macgregors coming,
> A' the Duinewassilie coming."

The dunny-vassal of this secondary rank enjoyed the privilege of wearing a feather in his bonnet, which indicated his relationship to the chief. In sir W. Scott's novel of *Waverley*, vol. ii., p. 233, the author, in describing one of the characters, says:—"His bonnet had a short feather, which indicated his claim to be treated as a *Duinhe-wassell*, or *sort of gentleman*"—which implies that the term had come at last to be applied to persons of still humbler rank than the recognised gentleman.—*Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, vol. v., p. 208; Jamieson's *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*.

[74] *Tagg-ragg and bob-tail.*—*Tag*, in this sense, simply means any worthless appendage. The phrase *tag-rag* is older than the time of Holinshed. In his *Description of England*, book ii., chap. 23, he says—"Of the other two, one is reserved for comlie personages and void of lothsome diseases; the other is left for *tag* and *rag*. The poet Spenser, in his *State of Ireland*, uses the phrase in a similar sense:—"For upon the like proclamation there, they all came in both *tagg* and *raggs*." The word *bob-tail* was added to complete the phrase, but when, or by whom, it would be difficult to discover.—See Richardson's *English Dictionary*, and Nare's *Glossary*.

[75] *Teirne More.*—*Tighernach Mor*. See note, p. 21, *supra*.

[76] *Beeves.*—*Beeves*, as the plural of beef, has been in use at least since the beginning of the fourteenth century.

[77] *Colpaghs.*—Colpaghs were two-year-old heifers or bullocks. The Irish word *Colbthach* denotes a *cow-calf*, and *Colpindach* was the common Scottish word to denote, according to Skene, "ane young beast, or kow, of the age of ane or twa yeiris, quhilk is now called a *cowdach or quoyach*." *Calpich*, the name of a payment made to Celtic chiefs, was derived from *colbthach*, a cow,—in many instances the only article that could be given by the tenant.

[78] *Bonny-blabber.*—This word is generally written *bonny-claber*, for which it is probably here a misprint. It is evidently derived from *boinne*, the common Irish word for milk, and *clabar*, a well-known Scotch word for *mud*—the phrase *bonny-clabar* meaning simply thickened milk. The lord-deputy Wentworth, writing to lord Cottington, from Boyle Abbey, on the 13th of July, 1635, sneeringly refers to this article of food as follows:—"'Tis true, I am in a Thing they call a Progress, but yet in no great Pleasure for all that. All the Comfort I have is a little *Bonneyclabber*; upon my Faith, I am of Opinion it would like you above Measure, would you had your Belly full of it, I will warrant you, you should not repent it, it is the bravest, freshest Drink you ever tasted. Your Spanish Don would in the Heats of Madrid hang his Nose and shake his Beard an Hour over every sup he took of it, and take it to be the Drink of the Gods all the while. The best is, we have found his Majesty's Title to the County of Roscommon, and shall do the like I am confident for all the other three Counties; for, the Title is so good there, there can nothing be said against it."—Strafford's *Letters and Despatches*, vol. i., p. 441. In more modern times the term *bonny clabber* has been invariably applied to sour or stale buttermilk.—*Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. ii., new series, p. 25, *note*.

[79] *Rusan butter.*—In modern Irish, *rusg* means the bark of a tree, and *rusgan* a vessel made of bark; the latter word is probably that used in the text as an adjective, the *g* being lost. Small barrels, about the size of the modern firkin or keg, and made each from a single piece of wood, with the exception of the lid and bottom, preceded the staved and hooped vessels of modern times. Sir. W. R. Wilde has described specimens of these ancient vessels, which have been deposited in the Eastern Gallery of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and are numbered 36 and 37. They are small barrels, each made from one portion of the trunk of a sallow tree, having the *rusg* or bark, and enclosing the substance known as *bog-butter*.—*Catalogue of the Antiquities of Animal Materials in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, pp. 212, 267. "In enumerating the food of the Irish," says Sir Wm. R. Wilde, "Petty mentioned 'butter made rancid by keeping in bogs.' When I originally read the statement of Petty, I came to the conclusion that he was wrong, and that this bog butter was much older than his time; but I have learned to correct that opinion. Why or wherefore the people put their butter in bogs I cannot tell, but it is a fact that great quantities of this substance have been found in the bogs. It is invariably converted into a yellowish-white substance like Stilton cheese, and in taste resembling spermaceti; it is, in fact, changed into the animal substance called *adipocere*. . . . It was first found in Finland, in 1736. About the year 1820, a quantity of it, then called *mineralin-tallow*, was discovered on the borders of Loch-Fyne, in Scotland. . . . Since 1817, numerous discoveries have been made of it throughout almost every county in Ireland. It is almost always enclosed in wood, either in vessels cut out of a single piece, as in large *mathers*, or in long firkins. If the butter is allowed to remain too long in the bog, it loses its acidity and weight, dries up, and acquires a rancid taste."—*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vi., pp. 369—372.

there was some greddan meal strowans,[30] with snush[31] and bolean,[32] as much as they could get to regale him; where I will leave him and them to congratulate each other's interview, till other occasions to write of him offer themselves, and he gave them not many months after this time. But good countrymen (Erinagh or Gelagh[33]), Irish or English, if you believe not this treat as aforesaid, neither do I, because I could not see it, nor was I certainly informed; many histories have stories in them, for writers make King's and Gentlemen's speeches which, perhaps, they never uttered; however, the worst on my part in this is, that it is a joke, and such I hope you will allow it, and also the Pope's own country Italian proverb, used in the holy city, and the mother (church) Rome itself,

[30] *By the Irish.*—Although *cheese* was not among the offerings presented on this occasion to the chief of Clannaboy, it was also known as an article of food. Probably, however, its use was superseded in a great measure by rusan butter. A military gentleman, named Bodley, visited Lecale in 160½, and reported that *cheese* was among the articles of food supplied to him rather too frequently for his comfort. *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 89. Quantities of cheese *(cáise)* have been also found in bogs, but in every instance without any covering. Sometimes it has been found still retaining on its surface the impress of the cloth with which it was surrounded in the press. Dr. Wilde describes two specimens of ancient Irish cheese deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and numbered 43 and 44. The former is a globular mass, very light, dry, and crumbly, and more like Stilton than any other in the collection. This specimen bears the impress of the cloth, and has also some leaf-marks on its surface. No. 44 is a cheese of a brick colour, 7½ inches long, by 3½ inches deep, marked all over with the impressions of the cloth, which appears to have been of a much finer texture than that which enveloped No. 43. It has also a raised cross on one side, evidently derived from the press, and at the ends may be seen the marks of the folds of the cloth.—*Catalogue of the Antiquities of Animal Materials in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, pp. 268—269. The author's statement, however, that cheese "to this day is very seldom made by the Irish" was perfectly correct in its general sense; and the fact that "he heard nothing of it" as among the commodities given to the O'Neill is an evidence of the truthfulness of his description. Curiously enough Pliny expressed his surprise that some peoples who thickened their milk into a pleasant curd and rich butter, should not also have manufactured it into cheese, and Strabo mentions this circumstance as an evidence of the ignorance of the Britons in matters of domestic comfort and economy. The Germans were satisfied with coagulated milk, and the ancient Irish, although they knew well the process of cheese-making, generally preferred the use of bonny-claber and rusan butter.—Logan, *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii., p. 109.

[30] *Greddan meal strowans.*—This phrase denoted *measures of oatmeal*, varying in number according to the amount due to O'Neill by each vassal or tenant. *Strowans* is evidently intended for *sroan*, a measure containing a gallon and a-half of oatmeal. Oatmeal and butter were always given to the chiefs by measure, and these refections were therefore known as *sorren*, another form of *sroan*, or measure.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iv., p. 244. See also Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland*, pp. 74, 75. *Greddan* meal was so called from the Irish word GREAD to scorch, because the husks were *burned* from the grain as a preparation for grinding it. This process answered nearly the same purpose as modern *kiln-drying*, with this difference, that the bread made from *greddan* meal was known to be more wholesome, though not of such strengthening quality as that prepared by the kiln.—Martin, *Western Islands of Scotland*, 1703, p. 204. Originally, the *straw* was burned as well as the husks, and this old practice required to be prohibited by Act of Parliament. In more modern times, the process was conducted so as to preserve the straw. The usual method, for instance, at a late period, in Badenoch, and other places in Scotland, was to switch the grain from its husks with a stick, and then put it in a pot, not *on* the fire but pushed into the fire, whilst a person keeps stirring it with a pot-stick, or *speilag*. This manner of preparation is called *araradh*. "I have seen," says a gentleman from Laggan (a district of Cantire), "the corn cut, dried, ground, baked, and eaten in less than two hours." It was usual in such districts for labourers when returning from their daily toil, each to carry home to his cabin as much oats in sheaf as might be necessary for the next day's consumption. Sometimes it required to be converted into brochan, or strowans (bannocks), by the hands of his wife or daughter, for the family supper, an hour after his arrival.—Logan, *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 98.

[31] *Snush.*—This word is probably a misprint for *smush*, spelled *smaois*, and pronounced *smooish*. It is given in the supplement to O'Reilly's *Irish Dictionary*, and signifies *marrow*. The phrase *boiled to smush* is still in use.

[32] *Bolean.*—Bolean is evidently a misprint for *bolcan*—an Irish word commonly used to denote *soft cheese*. *Mulachán*, pronounced *mullahawn*, is another form of this word, and is the one given in O'Reilly's *Dictionary*. The article thus named was some preparation of milk, but evidently different from the bonny-claber above mentioned.

[33] *Gelagh.*—Gelagh, a corruption of *Gallaibh*, an Irish phrase used to designate the ancient Englishry in the north of Ireland. The people known as such had not acknowleged the sovereignty of the O'Neills since the remote period when the latter ruled as *Riogha Uladh*; but Shane O'Neill re-established his authority for a time over them, requiring the tribute usually paid by them to the early princes of his race.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 105, *note*.

viz.—*Si non e vero e ben trovato*—if it be not truth, it is well invented for mirth's sake; and so I intended it, for it is not unlikely.[34]

But before I recount the after actions I mean to treat of, I must mention two transactions more between him and Sir Hugh, viz: On 14th March, the same 3d Jac., according to English suputation, Ano. 1605, but by the Scottish account, 1606 (for they have January for the first month of their year,[35] as the almanacks begin the calendar), Con specifying very honorable and valuable considerations him thereunto moving, makes and grants a deed of feofment[36] of all his lands unto Sir

[34] *Is not unlikely.*—It is highly probable that some such scene as that described in the text occurred at Castlereagh on the grand occasion of Con's safe return. The various useful commodities mentioned by the author as presented to O'Neill by his people, were not given as gifts, but evidently as *rents*. Although the author speaks in a somewhat depreciatory tone of the whole affair, similar scenes were of daily occurrence in Scotland, where the Highland chiefs and border lairds reckoned their revenues, not in money, but by chauldrons of various kinds of victuals. Oatmeal, cheese, calved cows, coal, lime, marts (beeves slaughtered), wood, honey, fish, wool, poultry, eggs, butter, &c., &c., were the means by which rents were paid.—*Transactions of Iona Club*, pp. 161—177. In the year 1600, the rental of the marquis of Huntly, then the most potent lord in Scotland, included, besides the "silver mail," or money rent, the following substantial items, under the head of "ferm victual," viz., 3,816 bolls, besides which there were 55 bolls of custom meal, 436 of multure beir, 108 of custom oats, 83 of custom victual, 167 marts, 483 sheep, 316 lambs, 167 grice (young pigs), 14 swine, 1,389 capons, 272 geese, 3,231 poultry, 700 chickens, 5,284 eggs, 4 stone of candle, 46 stone of brew tallow, 34 leats of peats, 990 ells of custom linen, 94 stones of custom butter, 40 barrels of salmon, 8 bolls of teind victual, 2 stone of cheese, and 30 kids.—*Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 315. Even so late as the year 1717, the rentals of thirty-eight estates (forfeited in that year because of their owners joining the Prince Pretender) were found to be greatly composed of payments in kind. The earl of Wintoun's rents amounted to £3,393, of which only £266 7s. 9d. was paid in money, the remainder being paid in barley, oats, straw, capons, hens, coal, and salt. The earl of Southesk's rent amounted to £3,271 10s., of which more than two-thirds was paid in oatmeal, swine, and poultry. And so with all the other estates, including those of Linlithgow, Keir, Panmure, Wedderburn, Ayton, Kilsyth, Bannockburn, East Reston, Mar, Invernitie, Auchintoul, Bowhouse, Nutthill, Bowhill, Lathrisk, Glenbervie, Preston-Hall, Woodend, Fairney, Nairn, Dumboog, Fingask, Nithsdale, Kenmure, Lagg, Baldoon, Carnwath, Duntroon, Drummond, &c., &c.—Charles, *History of Transactions in Scotland in* 1715–16, *and* 1745–6, vol. i., pp. 433–448.

[35] *First month of their year.*—The change in England and Ireland, from the *old style* to the *new*, is comparatively of recent date, for prior to the September of 1752, our *civil* or *legal* year began on the day of the Annunciation, the 25th of March. The so-called *historical* year, however, had for a long period commenced on the day of the Circumcision, the 1st of January. The latter arrangement prevailed almost exclusively on the Continent, and Scotland early adopted it, from the intimate connexion of that country with France. To avoid the confusion that prevailed in England and Ireland from the discrepancy between the legal and historical year, it was determined by Act of Parliament that both should commence with the 1st of January. This Act was entitled *An Act for regulating the commencement of the year, and for correcting the Kalendar now in use.* By its operations the old style ceased on the 2d of September, 1752, and the next day, instead of being called the 3d, became the 14th of September. The confusion that had previously existed on this important matter is easily imagined. As an illustration, it may be mentioned that, in describing the year between the 1st of January and the 25th of March, civilians regarded each day within that period as belonging to one year and historians to another! Thus, while the former wrote *January 7th*, 1658, the latter wrote *January 7th*, 1659, though both agreed that from the 25th of March all the ensuing months were in the year 1659. To prevent the mistakes which might naturally be expected to arise from such an uncertain arrangement, the doubtful part of each year was usually written in accordance with both modes, by placing two figures at the end; the upper being the civil or legal year, and the lower the historical—thus:

February, 164^{8}_{9}—civil year.
—historical year.

Hence, whenever we meet with a date thus written, the lower figure always indicates the new style, or year now used in our calendar. M'Skimin, in a note at p. 45 of his *History of Carrickfergus*, refers to the inconvenience of the former system as follows:—"In Morrison's (Moryson's) *History of Ireland* frequent mention is made of *old style* and *new style*, in treating of events which took place in 1601–2; and in Thurlow's *State Papers* some of the official letters are dated *old style* and some *new style*; and in many old books we find dates marked thus—1701–2 or 170½. Hence, our chronology is still in confusion from the uncertainty of dates." There is perplexity, but there need be no uncertainty as to any particular date. The reader may see a lengthened explanation of the cause of the change from the old computation in the *Notitia Historica* of Sir H. Nicholas. See also Soane's *New Curiosities of Literature and Book of the Months*, vol. i., pp. 111–112.

[36] *Deed of feoffment.*—This deed of feoffment made by Con O'Neil to sir Hugh Montgomery in 1606, was in pursuance of articles drawn up and signed by them, on the 24th of December, 1605. Sir Hugh Montgomery is described as of *Bryanstown*, Scotland, which is no doubt an error of the transcriber for *Braidstane*. The "very honourable and valuable considerations" moving Con to this act are specified at length in the articles thus:—"The

Hugh Montgomery (then returned from Braidstane to prepare habitations for his family). John M'Dowel of Garthland,[37] Esq., and Colonel David Boyd,[38] appointed to take and give livery of seizin[39] to Sir Hugh, which was executed accordingly the 5th September following, within the six months limited by the statutes in such cases made and provided, the other was added from Con conveying by sale unto Sir Hugh Montgomery, the woods growing on four townlands therein named—this sale was dated the 22d August, 4th Jaco., 1606.[40] Patrick Montgomery and John Cashan[41] being Con's

said Conn O'Neale, in respect of the pardon and estate of land which he hath obtained from his majesty, by means of said sir Hugh, and in consideration of the great sums of money the said sir Hugh disbursed for said Conn; he, the said Conn, doth for himself and his heirs covenant that he will, at any time hereafter, upon request, by feoffment, grant to the said sir Hugh, his heirs and assigns, for ever, all those his lands situated in the Upper Clanneboy, which Mr. James Hamilton, by his deed, dated the 6th of November last, conveyed to the said Conn; the said sir Hugh yielding such and no other rents, duties, and services than the said Conn is bound to pay the said James Hamilton. *Item*, that the said Conn, his heirs and assigns, shall not convey or encumber the premises to any person but the said sir Hugh and his heirs, he or they paying as much as any other person shall do, still reserving power to lease any parcel of said lands to his brethren, Hugh O'Nealê and Tool O'Neale, or to any other loyal subject, with reservation of the usual rents and clauses of recovery. *Item*, the said Hugh covenants within eight days after such feoffment made, to reinfeof the said Conn, and the heirs male of his body in the premises, to hold in fee tail of said sir Hugh and his heirs, paying the rents and services due to the king, so long as the said Conn continues a loyal subject, and shall not commit any unlawful act to forfeit said lands. *Item*, said sir Hugh covenants that should said Conn, or the heirs male of his body, by unlawful means forfeit said lands, the said act of forfeiture not being committed against said sir Hugh, that said sir Hugh and his heirs do pass an estate over of said lands to next lawful heir male of the body of said Conn, to hold as the said Conn, or his heirs male do hold same. *Item*, they both covenant to do no wrong to each other, but shall defend each other's tenants from unlawful invasions, and be umpires between all their tenants' disputes. *Item*, that said Conn shall seal a deed or any sufficient obligation for £1000, for observing the aforesaid; the said sir Hugh to do the same. 24th December, 1605."—*Inquisition of* 1623. *These articles are described in the margin as not in the manuscript, but extracted from a MS. belonging to Dean Dobbs.*

[37] *John M'Dowel of Garthland.*—John M'Dowel was descended from a long line of Galloway princes. He died in 1611. His estate of Garthland, anciently written *Gairachloyne*, in Wigtonshire, was eight miles south of Lochnaw.—Agnew, *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, p. 28.

[38] *Colonel David Boyd.*—Colonel David Boyd was a cadet of the Kilmarnock family. On the 2d of August, 1609, Conn O'Neil, with the consent of sir Hugh Montgomery, granted to colonel David Boyd the townland of Ballymacharret, with one parcel of land without the woods, called Stranmore, in the parish of Knockcolomchille, in Upper Claneboy, bounded between the river of Belfast, and the water of Stracharean, and the townland called Ballymurty—To hold of the said Conn O'Neale, and his heirs male of his body, in free and common soccage, yielding the rent of £2 yearly, together with the rent reserved to the king, as it is due out of other townlands, reserving to the said Conn the right of patronage of the kirk of Glencolumchille, within the parish whereof the said lands lie. These lands came afterwards by conveyance into the possession of James Cathcart, and passed from the latter to James Hamilton, lord Clannaboy, before the year 1623.—*Inquisition of* 1623; *Ulster Inquisitions*, Down, No. 40, Car. I.

[39] *Livery of seizin.*—"This livery of seisin," says Blackstone, "is no other than the pure feodal investiture, or delivery of corporeal possession of the land or tenement, which was held absolutely necessary to complete the donation."—*Commentaries*, book ii., c. 2. The original meaning of *Livery* is something given out at stated times, and in stated quantities, as clothes of a certain pattern to distinguish the servants or adherents of the donor, or the supply of victuals or horse provender to which certain members of the household were entitled. *Seisin* is probably of Celtic origin, from the Gaelic word *sàs*, to lay hold of, to fix, or adhere to.—Wedgwood, *Dictionary of English Etymology*.

[40] *Dated 22d August*, 1606.—This grant was made by indenture, conveying to sir Hugh Montgomery, for the consideration of £317, the "four townlands of Ballynadoulaghan, Ballynalessan, Ballycorraghan, and Ballynacarney, alias Drumbricklan, in Slut McNeales, with the appurtenances, courts leet, and royalties, as also all the timber, trees, woods, underwoods, and all other trees lying, being, or growing within the country called Slut McNeales and the Kelly's country, and they having liberty to take by digging, burning, or in any other way whatsoever most beneficial to their interest (preserving the liberty of the tenants to cut all kinds of timber, oak excepted, necessary for their buildings, and that they shall have ingress and egress and regress thro' all the lands granted to Con by James Hamilton, for the purpose of cutting and carrying away the woods and underwoods, to any place they think proper, either by river, land, or sea, and that they may remain, converse (?), or build houses on any of the lands, for the better enabling them to dispose of said woods, and that they shall have power to dig, remove, and on the said lands—To hold to the said sir Hugh Montgomery, his heirs and assigns, of the king, his heirs and successors, as of the castle of Carrickfergus, in free and common soccage, as said Con doth, and should hold the same, yielding to the king 2 pounds sterling, being part of Con O'Neale's rent which he yields to the king out of his whole lands."—*Inquisition of* 1623.

[41] *John Cashan.*—In December, 1607, sir Hugh Montgomery enfeoffed John Cashan or M'Hassan, of the lands

attorneys, took and gave livery of seizin; accordingly this much encouraged the plantation, which began in May this year. Likewise the said Mr. Hamilton (as he had done to Con) by deed dated next day after that conveyance to Con, viz., on the 7th November, 1605, grants to Sir Hugh Montgomery divers temporal and spiritual (as they call them) lands in Clanneboys and Great Ardes, thus part of the trust and covenants in the tripartite indenture was performed to him.[42] So Sir Hugh

of Ballynacroie, which he held in 1623. In 1629, Hugh M'Cashan (probably a son of John, and named after sir Hugh Montgomery) held the lands of Ballygrange, alias Kilmanagh, in the parish of Gray Abbey. This is stated in the grant of sir Hugh to his second son, James Montgomery. See also *Inquisitions*, Down, No. 75, Car. I.

[42] *Was performed to him.*—"The jury find a feofment made by James Hamilton to Hugh Montgomery, dated 7th November, tertio Jacobi, of the towns and lands of Ballykencade, Ballygortgribbe, Ballytullochbrackane, Ballymylough, and Ballynemony, in the territory of Upper Claneboys; also the moiety or one half of the residue of the said country or territories of Upper Claneboy and Great Ardes, which the king by pattent, dated the 5th of November *anno regni tertio*, granted to James Hamilton for ever, and the moiety of the residue of all other castles, manors, &c., in the Upper Claneboy and Great Ardes, of which Neal M'Brien Fertagh O'Neale, or his father Brien Fertagh O'Neale were in their lives seized, or out of which they received any rents, duties, or cuttings, and which are granted to James Hamilton by said patent. This grant which is given at length in the Inquisition of 1623, concludes as follows:—"*And also* James Hamilton did grant to Hugh Montgomery, one market at Greyabbey every Friday, and one Fair on St. Luke's day and two days after, with Court of Pie Powder, liberty to make chases, warrens, &c., in the moiety of the premises granted with the moiety of other privileges granted to him by the king, and one court leet to be held within the territory of Great Ards, and one court leet to be held within the territory of Claneboy, with all profits and advantages thereto appertaining, and also several courts in the said moiety of the said premises by these patents granted, to inquire of all such matters as in courts barons, within the realms of England and Ireland, and to hold pleas every Thursday from three weeks to three weeks, of all such matters, debts, covenants, trespasses, accounts, and contracts whatsoever, which in debt or damage do not exceed the sum of 40 shillings, made due or perpetrated in any hundreth, barony, manor, place, town, village, hamlet, or borough, within the said moiety of the said country or territory by these patents granted to the said Sir Hugh, his heirs, or assigns, by his and their writing shall assign and declare; and all profits arising therefrom—to hold to the said sir Hugh, his heirs, and assigns for ever (except as before excepted) as fully as was granted to the said James Hamilton, of the king, as of the castle of Carrickfergus, in free and common soccage, at the rent of £32 10s 8d Irish payable to the king, &c., to find two able horsemen and an half, and six footmen, well armed for 40 days to serve the chief governor at hostings in Ulster, with covenants for payments, &c., livery and seizin.—*Inquisition of* 1623. The court of *Pie Powder* was a necessary adjunct to the fair, and was originally established for the purpose of settling all disputes arising therein. It was a very summary court of justice (as the circumstances required it to be), for it was intended to arrange difficulties between parties who had come from distant places to attend the fair, and whose occupation of pedlars, or travelling merchants, required that immediate jurisdiction should in all cases be had. It was usual, therefore, for transgressors to be arrested, the cause tried, and judgment given in the space of one hour. Respecting the name and the object of this court Daines Barrington has the following remark:—"I cannot but here take notice that the etymology of the word *Pipowder* seems to be mistaken by most of the writers upon the law, who derive it from *pes pulverisatus*, or dusty foot; now *pied puldreaux*, in old French, signifies a *Pedlar*, who gets his livelihood by vending his goods where he can, without any certain or fixed residence. In the *burrow laws* of Scotland an alien merchant is called *pied puldreaux*, and likewise *ane farand man*, or a man who frequents fairs; the court of *Pipowder* is, therefore, to determine disputes between those who resort to *fairs*, and these kind of pedlars, who generally attend them."—*Observations on the more ancient Statutes*, p. 423. The following is Skene's account of the institution:—"*Pede-pulverous*, ane French word, *pied puldreux, dustie fute*, or ane vagabond, speciallie ane marchand, or cremar (German *krämer*, a dealer or trader), quha hes na certaine dwelling-place, quhair the dust may be dicht from his feet or schone. To quhom justice shuld be summarillie ministred within three flowinges and ebbings of the sea. Ane pedder is called ane merchand, or cremar, quha beirs ane pack or creame (the German *kram*, 'wares,' or 'commodities') upon his hack, quha are called beirares of the *puddill* by the Scottesmen in the realme of Polonia, quhair I saw ane great multitude in the town of Cracowia anno Dom. 1569."—*De Verborum Significatione*, at the end of Skene's *Lawe and Actes*, fol., Edinb., 1597, as quoted by Soane in his *New Curiosities of Literature, and Book of the Months*, vol. ii., pp. 161-2, *note*.—Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 322; Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*, edited by H. J. Todd. The court *leet* was another franchise or privilege conveyed by the terms of this grant. *Leet* is the Dutch *laet*, a peasant tenant, subject of a certain jurisdiction; *laet-banke*, the court of the tenants, *court-leet*. In England *court-leet* is the court of the copyhold tenants opposed to *court-baron*, that of the freeholders of the manor, copyhold or lease being a servile tenure.—Wedgewood, *Dictionary of English Etymology*, vol. ii., p. 324. Cowell, as quoted in Latham's *Johnson's Dictionary*, says of the word *leet* that "it seemeth to have grown from the Saxon *Lathe*, which was a court of jurisdiction above the wapentake or hundred, comprehending three or four of them, otherwise called *thirsking*, and contained the third part of a province or shire; these jurisdictions, one and other, be now abolished and swallowed up in the county court." Blackstone, in his *Commentaries*, book iv., c. 19, says "the other general business of the leet and tourns was to present by jury all

returned from Dublin, and (as hereafter shall be said) taking possession, he went forthwith to Braidstane, and engaged planters to dwell thereon.

Now, on the whole matter of Sir Hugh Montgomery's transactions with and for Con O'Neil, the benefits done to him will appear very considerable, as the bringing them to pass was very costly and difficult, as followeth, viz.,—Con (by the said transporting and mediation for him) had escaped the eminent danger of losing both his life and estate; because, by the said inquest against him, his said words (and perhaps his commands too) were proved fully enough; or they might have been entered therein, and also managed (in future) so dexterously by the covetors of benefit arising out of the forfeitures, as to make him guilty of levying war against the Queen, which (by law in Ireland) is treason. Moreover, Con's title was bad, because *imprimis* by act of Parliament,[43] in Ireland, 11th

crimes whatsoever that happened within their jurisdiction; and not only to prevent, but also to punish, all trivial misdemeanors." In early Saxon times, however, these assemblies were held, principally, for the purpose of viewing the *frank pledges* or bonds, entered into mutually among each other by freemen, "to see each man of their pledge forthcoming at all times to answer the transgression committed by any gone away, so that whosoever offended, it was forthwith inquired in what pledge he was and those of that pledge either produced him within thirty-one days, or made satisfaction for his offence."—Wishaw, *Law Dictionary*. This view of frankpledge, resembled an early Irish custom, or arrangement known as *Kincogish*, so called from *Cin*, 'crime,' 'debt,' 'liability,' and *comhfogus*, 'kindred,' or 'relations.' By the Brehon law, the tribe was collectively responsible for the crimes of any of its members. By the *11th Edward IV., c.* 4, this Irish custom of *Kincogish* was made law, the statute binding every head of every clan, and every representative of every family, to bring forward for punishment any member of that sept, or of that family, convicted of crime. This statute, which seems to have lain dormant from the time of its enactment, was put in force against the *Tories* after the Restoration. Marcus Trevor, first viscount Dungannon, concludes a letter to sir George Rawdon, written on the 8th December, 1666, as follows:—"I had like to have forgot informing you that my lord-lieutenant and council are determined now to put in practice the ancient custom of *Kincogish* against these Tories, which will certainly reduce them, or root out their whole generation." The writer did not probably know of the statute when he thus speaks of the executive as about to revive an *Irish Custom.—The Rawdon Papers*, p. 225. See also Spenser's *View of Ireland*, p. 451; and Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 169, *note*. Another power or privilege conferred by the terms of the foregoing grant from Hamilton to sir Hugh Montgomery was that of making free *chase and warren*. A *chase*, from the French *chasse*, was a large extent of woody ground lying open and specially intended for such wild animals as were hunted for amusement. It was less than a forest, but larger than a park. Only the king could own a forest, whilst any of his subjects, on whom the right was conferred, might hold a chase. It was not enclosed like a park, and differed from the latter "in that a man may have a chase in another man's ground as well as in his own; being indeed the liberty of keeping beasts of chase, or royal game, therein, protected even from the owners of the land, with a power of hunting them thereon." *Free warren*,—from the old high German *Giwar*, 'security'—"is a franchise conferred as the phrase implies, for the preservation or custody of beasts and fowls of warren, which, being *ferœ naturæ*, every one had a natural right to kill as he could; and this franchise gave the grantee a sole and exclusive power of killing such game, as far as his warren extended."—Wishaw, *Law Dictionary*, pp. 57, 334. We have the following illustrations of this term quoted in Richardson's *New English Dictionary*:—"Fulvius Herpinus was the first inventor of *warrens* as it were for winkles, which he caused to be made within the territorie of Tarquiny, a little before the civile warre with Pompey the Great."—Philemon Holland's *Translation of Plinie*, Book ix., c. 56. "Whereas in parks and *warrens*, we have nothing else than either the keepers and warreners lodge, or at least manor place of the cheef lord and owner of the soile." Holinshed, *Description of England*, book ii., c. 18.

[43] *Act of Parliament.*—This celebrated Act, which was passed nearly two years after Shane O'Neill's death, provides "that all the lords, captains, and people of Ulster shall be from henceforth severed, exempted, and cut off from all rule and authorytie of O'Neyle, and shall onely depend upon your imperiall crowne of England, and yeild to the same their subjection, obedience, and service for ever." The following enumeration of the lords and captains of Ulster at the date of this Act, together with the terms on which they were to hold their estates, will be interesting to the readers of Irish history:—"And where divers of the lords and captains of Ulster, as the sept of the Neles, which possesseth the countrey of Claneboy, O'Cahan, MacGwylin, the inhabitants of the Glynnes, which hath been sometime the baron Missett's (Bisset's) lands, and of late usurped by the Scots, whereof James MacConell (Macdonnell) did call himselfe lord and conqueror; MacGynes, O'Hanlon, Hugh MacNeile More; the foure septes of the MacMahouns, MacKyvan, and MacCan, hath been at the commaundemente of the said traytour Shane O'Neile, in this sharpe and trayterous warre by him levied against your Majestie, your crowne and dignitie. . . . And albeit that the said lords and captains be not able to justifie themselves in the eye of the law, for the undutifull adhering to that said traytour O'Neile, in the execution of his false and trayterous attempts against your Majestie, your crown, and dignitie, yet having regard to his great tyranny which he used over them, and the mistrust of your Majesties earnest

The said Brian, Neil, and Con, so intruding into Clanneboys and the Great Ardes, in those days of general confusion, and (for peace sake) winked at, they continued their possession, and at some times more avowedly (by reason of the fewness and weakness of the English garrisons) did take up rents, cuttings,[50] duties, and cesses,[51] coshering[52] also upon their underlings, being therein assisted by their kindred and followers, whom they kept in pay, as soldiers, to be ready on all occasions (when required) to serve him.

treasons hee had plunged himselfe, offending God and her Maiesty, how hee had abused her fauours, disturbed her kingdom, disobeyed her lawes, wronged her subjects, abandoned all ciuility, and wrapped himselfe in the uery tarriers of destruction; so that nothing remained, but to flie to the refuge of her princely clemency, which had so often restored both his life and honour. Heere my lord-deputy intercepted his oratory, with disclaiming all circumlocution, or defence of the courses he had so disorderly undertaken; nay, he would not heare a word of iustifying his dependancy on Spaine, or admission of that enmity towards England, withall applying some instructions worthy of so great a commander's name, intermingled with reprehensions full of authority and eloquence, he admitted him to stand neerer, and (after an houre or more) gave him leaue to be couered, using him with honourable respect, both at his bord and priuate conferences, and so within two daies brought him as a trophe of his uictories into Dublin, with a full resolution to carry him into England, and present him to her Maiestie."—Pp. 40, 41. The full title of this Tract is as follows:—*The True Exemplary, and Remarkable History of the Earle of Tirone: Wherein the manner of his first presumption, affrighting both England and Ireland with his own and the King of Spain's forces, and the misery of his ensuing detection, downefall, and utter banishment, is truly related: Not from the report of others, or collection of authors, but by him who was an eye-witness of his fearfull wretchednesse and finall extirpation. Written by T. G., Esquire. London, Printed by G. P. for Ralph Rownthwaite, and are to be sold at the signe of the Floure-de-Luce and Crowne, in Paule's Church-yard.* 1619. Gainsforde's *Life of Tirone*, although curious in some respects, is to be read with caution. He appears to have been but a political pamphleteer who wrote courageously on the winning side. He is supposed to be the author of a curious old play, entitled *The Siege of Tredagh*, in which he introduces himself and the earl of Tyrone among the *dramatis personæ*.—*MS. Notes of William Pinkerton, Esq.*

[50] *Cuttings.*—Cuttings were taxes imposed by Irish chieftains on their vassals to meet sudden or extraordinary emergencies, and were felt to be the more grievous because unexpected. The word *cutt* is still applied in many country districts, although inappropriately, to the cess raised for county purposes. It may be inferred from the following passage quoted in Richardson's *English Dictionary*, that the ancient cutting was a formidable impost:—"Secondly, by imposing continual taxes and tallages, worse than *Irish cuttings*, being sometimes the tenth, sometimes the fifth, sometimes the third, sometimes the moiety of all the goods both of the clergy and laity."—*State Trials*, anno 1607.

[51] *Cesses.*—Probably identical with *sess* or *assess*, from *assesso*, to impose a tax, which was never imposed except by an *assize (nisi ab assessu)* of men appointed for that purpose. "A subsidy," says Camden, "we call that which is imposed on every man, being *cessed* by the poll, man by man, according to the valuation of their goods and lands." In Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 227, we have the following explanation of this word:—

"*Eudox.* But what is that which you call *cesse?* It is a word sure unusual among us here; therefore, I pray you expound the name.

"*Iren. Cesse* is none other than that which yourselfe called *imposition*, but it is in a kind unacquainted perhaps unto you."

The word *cess* is derived originally from the Irish *cios*, and was applied to more than one tax or impost. In addition to their regular rents and duties, the vassals of an Irish chief were required, almost as a general rule, to pay the *cios-cosanta*, or cess for protection, the people of almost every district or clan having to be protected from the people of other adjoining districts or clans. This tribute when imposed on the English settlers in Ireland was known among them as *black-mail*. Another *cios* or cess was imposed on all exempted from military service under the *brataeh* or banner of the chief in every *Gairm Sluiagh*, 'calling of an army,' a Hosting.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 105.

[52] *Coshering.*—The term *coshering* is supposed to be derived from *cios-ri*, king's cess, which was exacted when the chieftain could not make it convenient to billet himself and his train, if in time of peace, or his staff in time of war, in the houses of the clansmen belonging to his family. This primitive way of support could only be practised in the rudest state of society, and was considered by the English as altogether objectionable. The very first printed statute, anno 1310, is intended to abolish the practice of cosherie, and another act was passed, in 1634, for the same object. Although thus checked, and in certain districts entirely prevented, by the operation of these enactments, the custom was revived in some degree after the wide-spread confiscations of the seventeenth century, "when some of the kindliest feelings of human nature conspired to renew this ancient custom, in order to support the families of the fallen chiefs."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iv., p. 245. The poor Irish peasantry, with characteristic kindliness of heart, were always ready to share their scanty meals with cosherers, come from what quarter they would, pitying them as persons who had seen better days, and who were compelled to wander about as strangers in their own land. This sympathy was deepened in consequence of the stringent and cruel measures passed from time to time against these ruined Irish gentry. An Act, passed in 1636, *For the suppression of cosherers and idle wanderers*, describes them as "young gentlemen of this kingdom that have little or nothing to live on of their own . . . . but live cosherring on the country, and sessing themselves and their followers, their horses

cendants, intruded by strong hands, and extruded the true lineal heir.[47] And Con's immediate predecessors, Brian Fortagh O'Neill, &c., Con's reputed grandfather, and father, were intruders (as himself also was) into the Queen's right and possession, in those troublesome times especially, whilst Hugh O'Neill, whom the Queen restored to his predecessor's possessions, and to the title of Earl of Tireowen (alias Tireogen[48] in Irish speech), rebelled and ravaged over all Ulster, and most other parts in Ireland, until the latter end of the year of the Queen's reign, of whose death he had not heard till he had submitted himself prisoner to the Lord Deputy Chichester, in Mellefont.[49]

and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, p. 285.

[47] *True lineal heir.*—We have here, in a few words, a correct account of the Irish tanist law, which was occasionally cruel in its operations, but, as a general rule, answered the purposes of its adoption very well. The history of every county in Ireland would probably afford illustrations of the evils of the tanist law, as well as of its advantages. In almost every instance, however, it was found to operate for the advantage of the clan in general, and the depression of the lineal heirs. Thus, in the county of Antrim, Sorley Boy Macdonnell succeeded as chief of the Ulster Scots, although his elder brother James who died in 1565, left sons whose claims to the position were backed up, but in vain, by the English authorities. And Randall Macdonnell, who became first earl of Antrim, although he assisted zealously in setting aside Celtic customs, must have nevertheless taken advantage of the provisions of the tanist law, when, early in 1603, he appeared before James I. as representative of the Antrim Macdonnells, to the exclusion of the sons of his elder brother, sir James, who died in 1601.

[48] *Earl of Tireogen.*—*Tir-Eoghain*, 'the country of Eoghan' so called from Eoghan (pronounced Owen), son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, whose descendants, called the *Cinel-Eoghain*, or Race of Owen, gave name to Inis-Eoghain or Inishowen, and in process of time, occupied a large tract of Ulster, which was subsequently divided into the counties of Tyrone and Armagh. Hugh O'Neill, last earl of Tyrone, of the first creation, was the son of Ferdoragh, and grandson of Conn, first earl of Tyrone. On the murder of his father, by Shane O'Neill, Hugh, as a young orphan nobleman, was protected by the state, and resided during some years in London. He commanded a troop of horse during Desmond's rebellion so much to the satisfaction of the civil and military authorities that he received from the Exchequer a yearly allowance of one thousand merks. Whilst bearing himself loyally in outward appearance to the Government, he was secretly making arrangements, at least as early as 1592, to assume the name and position of *The O'Neill* in Ulster. He soon afterwards threw off the mask and entered upon that terrible conflict with the English power which reduced Ulster to a wilderness, and ended in the extinction of his family and name as a governing power in the North. For an account of his temporary restoration by James I., see p. 24, *supra*. Fynes Moryson, who has written an account of Hugh O'Neill's rebellion, describes him as a man of "mean stature, but strong in body, able to endure labours, watching, and hard fare; being withal industrious and active, valiant, affable, and apt in the management of great affairs; and of a high, dissembling, subtle, and profound wit; so as many deemed him born either for the great good or ill of his country."—*Ulster Journal*, vol. ii., p. 5.

[49] *Mellefont.* — The author erroneously states that O'Neill's submission was made to "lord-deputy Chichester," the latter not being appointed deputy until February, 1603-4. The submission was made to lord-deputy Mountjoy in the preceding year. In 1602, Mountjoy received private intelligence of the Queen's dangerous illness, and, anxious to bring the rebellion to a close as speedily as possible, sent sir William Godolphin and sir Garret Moore to O'Neill, with a protection for his safe conduct, dated Tredagh (Drogheda), 24th March, 1602-3. On the 27th, sir Garret Moore rode to Tullaghoge, near Dungannon, and had an interview with O'Neill, and on the 29th sir William Godolphin presented him with the lord-deputy's safeguard or protection. O'Neill met Mountjoy the next day at Mellifont, five miles north-west from Drogheda, in Louth, and surrendered himself on his knees. On the 31st of March, he made his submission, in writing, in the presence of a large assemblage. In a tract now very rare, written by Thomas Gainsforde, O'Neill's submission is represented as abject in the extreme. "At his first entrance into the roome, euen at the threshold of the doore, hee prostrated himselfe groueling to the earth, with such a deiected countenance, that the standers by were amazed, and my lord-deputy himselfe had much adoe to remember the worke in hand. For whether the sight of so many captaines and gentlemen; whether ashamed of himselfe, when he saw such a number of his own nation spectators of his wretchednesse; whether the consideration of his fortunes, that had thus embased him contrary to expectations; whether the view of my lord to be his judge, whom once hee reputed to be at his mercy; whether hee repented this course of submission, and degenerating begging of life, when a noble death had beene both honourable, and the determiner of misery; or whether man's naturall imperfection, to bee confounded and altred with affliction, depressed his spirits, I know not, but it was one of the deplorablest sights that euer I saw: and to looke vpon such a person, the author of so much trouble, and so formerly glorious, so deiected, would have wrought many changes in the stoutest heart, and did no doubt at this instant raise a certaine commisseration in his greatest aduersary. After a while the deputy beckned him to come neere; believe it, hee arose; but with such degrees of humility, as if misfortune had taught him cunning to grace his aduersity. For hee passed not two steps, before hee yeelded to a new prostitution, which might well bee called a groueling to the ground, and so, by diuided ceremonies, fell on his knees, beginning an apology for some of his actions, but at euery word confessing in how many

The said Brian, Neil, and Con, so intruding into Clanneboys and the Great Ardes, in those days of general confusion, and (for peace sake) winked at, they continued their possession, and at some times more avowedly (by reason of the fewness and weakness of the English garrisons) did take up rents, cuttings,[50] duties, and cesses,[51] coshering[52] also upon their underlings, being therein assisted by their kindred and followers, whom they kept in pay, as soldiers, to be ready on all occasions (when required) to serve him.

treasons hee had plunged himselfe, offending God and her Maiesty, how hee had abused her fauours, disturbed her kingdom, disobeyed her lawes, wronged her subjects, abandoned all ciuility, and wrapped himselfe in the uery tarriers of destruction; so that nothing remained, but to flie to the refuge of her princely clemency, which had so often restored both his life and honour. Heere my lord-deputy intercepted his oratory, with disclaiming all circumlocution, or defence of the courses he had so disorderly undertaken; nay, he would not heare a word of iustifying his dependancy on Spaine, or admission of that enmity towards England, withall applying some instructions worthy of so great a commander's name, intermingled with reprehensions full of authority and eloquence, he admitted him to stand neerer, and (after an houre or more) gave him leaue to be couered, using him with honourable respect, both at his bord and priuate conferences, and so within two daies brought him as a trophe of his uictories into Dublin, with a full resolution to carry him into England, and present him to her Maiestie."—Pp. 40, 41. The full title of this Tract is as follows:—*The True Exemplary, and Remarkable History of the Earle of Tirone: Wherein the manner of his first presumption, affrighting both England and Ireland with his own and the King of Spain's forces, and the misery of his ensuing detection, downefall, and utter banishment, is truly related: Not from the report of others, or collection of authors, but by him who was an eye-witness of his fearfull wretchednesse and finall extirpation. Written by T. G., Esquire. London, Printed by G. P. for Ralph Rownthwaite, and are to be sold at the signe of the Floure-de-Luce and Crowne, in Paule's Church-yard.* 1619. Gainsforde's *Life of Tirone*, although curious in some respects, is to be read with caution. He appears to have been but a political pamphleteer who wrote courageously on the winning side. He is supposed to be the author of a curious old play, entitled *The Siege of Tredagh*, in which he introduces himself and the earl of Tyrone among the *dramatis personæ*.—*MS. Notes of William Pinkerton, Esq.*

[50] *Cuttings.*—Cuttings were taxes imposed by Irish chieftains on their vassals to meet sudden or extraordinary emergencies, and were felt to be the more grievous because unexpected. The word *cutt* is still applied in many country districts, although inappropriately, to the cess raised for county purposes. It may be inferred from the following passage quoted in Richardson's *English Dictionary*, that the ancient cutting was a formidable impost:—"Secondly, by imposing continual taxes and tallages, worse than *Irish cuttings*, being sometimes the tenth, sometimes the fifth, sometimes the third, sometimes the moiety of all the goods both of the clergy and laity."—*State Trials*, anno 1607.

[51] *Cesses.*—Probably identical with *sess* or *assess*, from *assesso*, to impose a tax, which was never imposed except by an *assize (nisi ab assessu)* of men appointed for that purpose. "A subsidy," says Camden, "we call that which is imposed on every man, being *cessed* by the poll, man by man, according to the valuation of their goods and lands." In Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 227, we have the following explanation of this word:—

"*Eudox.* But what is that which you call *cesse?* It is a word sure unusual among us here; therefore, I pray you expound the name.

"*Iren. Cesse* is none other than that which yourselfe called *imposition*, but it is in a kind unacquainted perhaps unto you."

The word *cess* is derived originally from the Irish *cios*, and was applied to more than one tax or impost. In addition to their regular rents and duties, the vassals of an Irish chief were required, almost as a general rule, to pay the *cios-cosanta*, or cess for protection, the people of almost every district or clan having to be protected from the people of other adjoining districts or clans. This tribute when imposed on the English settlers in Ireland was known among them as *black-mail*. Another *cios* or cess was imposed on all exempted from military service under the *bratach* or banner of the chief in every *Gairm Sluiagh*, 'calling of an army,' a Hosting.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 105.

[52] *Coshering.*—The term *coshering* is supposed to be derived from *cios-ri*, king's cess, which was exacted when the chieftain could not make it convenient to billet himself and his train, if in time of peace, or his staff in time of war, in the houses of the clansmen belonging to his family. This primitive way of support could only be practised in the rudest state of society, and was considered by the English as altogether objectionable. The very first printed statute, anno 1310, is intended to abolish the practice of cosherie, and another act was passed, in 1634, for the same object. Although thus checked, and in certain districts entirely prevented, by the operation of these enactments, the custom was revived in some degree after the wide-spread confiscations of the seventeenth century, "when some of the kindliest feelings of human nature conspired to renew this ancient custom, in order to support the families of the fallen chiefs."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iv., p. 245. The poor Irish peasantry, with characteristic kindliness of heart, were always ready to share their scanty meals with cosherers, come from what quarter they would, pitying them as persons who had seen better days, and who were compelled to wander about as strangers in their own land. This sympathy was deepened in consequence of the stringent and cruel measures passed from time to time against these ruined Irish gentry. An Act, passed in 1636, *For the suppression of rookers and idle wanderers*, describes them as "young gentlemen of this kingdom that have little or nothing to live on of their own . . . . but live coshering on the country, and sessing themselves and their followers, their horses

This being the pickle wherein Con was soused, and his best claim but an unquiet possession, usurpation and intrusion against the laws of the kingdom, neither his ancestors nor himself being released from that attainder aforesaid, nor he anywise set *rectus in curia* for joining with Hugh O'Neil, it must needs follow, by all reasonable consequences, that Sir Hugh Montgomery had done many mighty acts for the rescue and welfare of Con himself, his friends and followers, as hath been fully proved were done for him and them; the very undertaking and prospect of which welfare could not but be very strongly obliging on Con O'Neil, kindly and with hearty thanks to accept of and to agree to the articles signed to Sir Hugh Montgomery at Braidstane, aforesaid.

and their greyhounds, sometimes exacting money to spare them and their tenants, and to go elsewhere for their *eaught* and *adraugh*, viz., supper and breakefaste . . . being commonly active young men, and such as seek to have many followers . . . apt upon the least occasion of insurrection or disturbance . . . . to be heads and leaders of outlaws and rebels."—Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p, 2, *note*. These active young gentlemen were the sons of dispossessed fathers, who were doomed to see prosperous strangers in the occupation of their lands, and who, in fact, had no hope but in times of commotion and rebellion. A great outbreak and massacre of the strangers occurred in 1641, and after an interval of twenty years, came another Act, in 1656, for the attainder of more rebels, and the expulsion of a still greater number of cosherers. In that dismal interval no less than "*forty thousand* of the old English and Irish nobility, and gentry and commons, who had borne arms in the ten years' war (1642—1652), were forced to abandon wives and children, home and country, and embark for Spain." This Act was so framed as to transplant the hapless families of these rebels to Connaught, and to transport the more troublesome to the English plantations in America. "And whereas," says the Act of 1656, "the children, grandchildren, brothers, nephews, uncles, and next pretended heirs of the persons attainted, do remain in the provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, having little or no visible estates or subsistence, but living only and *coshering upon the common sort of people* who were tenants to or followers of the respective ancestors of such persons, waiting an opportunity, as may justly be supposed, to massacre and destroy the English, who as adventurers or souldiers, or their tenants, are set down to plant upon the several lands and estates of the persons so attainted," are to transplant or be transported to the English plantations in America.—Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 163, *note*. These hapless cosherers and wanderers generally carried their ancient title-deeds about with them, wrapped up in old handkerchiefs, thus exciting the pity of the people generally, and also the fears and hatred of such as had possession of their lands. The sight of these memorials naturally aroused a dangerous state of feeling among the families, descendants, and kindred of the dispossessed proprietors, and therefore the House of Commons that assembled after the Restoration made provision that all title-deeds should be forcibly taken from such wanderers. Again, in the year 1707, came another Act to deal with such cosherers as were created by the forfeitures that followed 1688, and who were then alleged to make common cause with the tories or robbers. Archbishop King writes as follows:—"The ancient owners had still such influence and respect from their tenantry and the Irish generally, that they maintained them in their idleness and in their coshering manner. These vagabonds reckoned themselves great gentlemen, and that it would be a great disparagement to them to betake themselves to any calling, trade, or way of industry; and therefore either supported themselves by stealing or torying, or oppressing the poor farmers, and exacting some kind of maintenance either from their clan or sept, or from those that lived on the estates to which they pretended. And these pretended gentlemen (together with the numerous coshering popish clergy that lived much after the same manner) were the two greatest grievances of the kingdom, and more especially hindered its settlement and happiness."—*State of the Protestants of Ireland*, 4to, pp. 27—8. The Act of 6th Anne, chap. ii. (1707), describes them as "pretended Irish gentlemen, who will not work, but wander about demanding victuals, and coshering from house to house among their fosterers, followers, and others," and then orders them, on presentment of any grand jury of the counties they frequent, to be seized and sent on board the Queen's fleet, or to some of the plantations in America. Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 178; *Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. iii., new series, pp. 174–5.

CHAPTER IV.

WE have in the foregoing narrative a few of the many generous acts of the 6th Laird of Braidstane; let me trace him on the back scent, as well as I can for want of papers, and of the original articles of Braidstane, between him and Con alone,[1] and of the consequencial proceedings thereupon interrupted by Sir James Fullerton,[2] 2d Jac., till we find the time about which he was knighted, pursuant to which I observe, *imprimis* by the letters patent passed (5th November, 3d Jacobi, Ao. 1605), to Mr. James Hamilton, who therein is named James Hamilton, Esq., and called by the King his servant.[3] Our 6th Laird is stiled Sir Hugh Montgomery, knight, in which patent the letters to the said Deputy Chichester[4] for passing it (dated 16th April foregoing[5]), that Nov^r. is *intermini* recited. Item in a deed, 1st October, that same year 1605, it appears that James Hamilton, Esq., servant to the King, (as aforesaid) pursuant to the first trust, grants unto our said

[1] *And Con alone.*—By these "original articles," which were burned among other papers at Rosemount, Con had granted the half of his lands to sir Hugh Montgomery.—P. 27, *supra.*

[2] *James Fullerton.*—P. 30, *supra.*

[3] *King his servant.*—In this, and the two succeeding paragraphs, the author recapitulates, for the purpose of showing that Hugh Montgomery was knighted in 1605, and, consequently, had precedence of James Hamilton, who at that date was only an esquire and servant of the king. In the king's letter of the 16th April (see p. 33, *supra*), the laird of Braidstane is styled Hugh Montgomery, Esq.; but in the grant to Hamilton of the 5th of November following, he is styled sir Hugh Montgomery; so that he must have received the honour of knighthood in the interval between these dates. Hamilton was no doubt well content to allow the precedency in honor to Montgomery, whilst he enjoyed the more substantial boon of having this immense grant drawn out in his own name.

[4] *Deputy Chichester.*—Sir Arthur Chichester was the second son of sir John Chichester of Raleigh, in Devonshire. He commenced his public career by robbing one of the queen's purveyors, for which offence he was compelled to retire to France, where he soon became distinguished as a soldier. Queen Elizabeth pardoned him, probably because she thought that she had as much need for his military services as Henry IV. of France. Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 318; Granger, *Biographical History of England*, vol. ii., p. 98. On Chichester's return, he was sent to Ireland to assist in the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, and proved himself a willing and effective instrument in carrying out Mountjoy's ruthless policy of extermination against the native Irish. English writers, and among them old Fuller, delight to tell how Chichester was so instrumental in *ploughing and breaking up* the barbarous Irish nation, and then sowing the soil with the *seeds of civility*. The preparatory process consisted simply in the remorseless and wholesale destruction of human life, and all kinds of property. He proceeded on the conviction that the sword, even when wielded against helpless women and children, was not sufficiently destructive, and therefore called to his work all the horrible agencies of famine and pestilence. Describing a journey which he made from Carrickfergus, along the banks of Loughneagh, into Tyrone, Chichester says:—"*I burned all along the lough, within four myles of Dungannon, and killed* 100 *people, sparing none of what quality, age, or sex soever, bezydes many burned to death; we kyll man, woman, and child; horse, beast, and whatsoever we find.*" On another occasion, after his return from a similar expedition into the Route, he writes—"I have often sayd and wrytten that it is famine that must consume them; our swordes and other indeavoures worke not that speedie destruction which is expected." See an interesting Contribution, by Wm. Pinkerton, Esq., in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. v., p. 209, and *note*. Thomas Gainsforde, the writer of *The True Exemplary, and Remarkable History of the Earl of Tyrone*, already quoted, refers to the dire calamity inflicted at that period on the helpless inhabitants of Ulster. "For the sword-men," says he, "perished with sicknesse and famine the next yeere following, and the poore *calliots* (old women) devoured one another for meere hunger, and showed us the lamentable effects of a calamitous warre and afflicted country"—p. 37. The writer expresses his gratification on the advancement of Chichester to the chief-governorship as follows:—"By this time is sir Arthur Chichester lord deputy, who watched these parts of the North more narrowly than any other before him. First, because of his long experience and residence amongst them, as being governor of Knogfergus, *and a laborious searcher of Lagh Con* (Strangford Lough) *with all the territories adjacent*,"—p. 47.

[5] 16th *April foregoing.*—P. 33, *supra.*

Laird (by the name of Sir Hugh Montgomery, Knight, one of the Esqrs. of his Majesty's body), the abbey and lands of Movilla, &c., which is a prior date by a month and five days to the patent last named.[6] This was so early done because abbey lands were first passed. James Hamilton, Esq., by patent, dated 20th July the said year, 1605, Sir Hugh Montgomery not being then come to Dublin, but in September y^e^ next month following, the said 20th July notwithstanding all the expedition he and Con had made through Scotland, that they might look to their hitts aforesaid.[7]

Item, I observe by the tripartite indenture, dated ult^o^. April, 1605, aforesaid, that James Hamilton, Esq., was to bear equal share in the expences of Con and his followers from the 1st of August preceding that indenture.[8] This August was A^o^. 1604, which was 2d Jacobi, and was many months after Con was brought to Whitehall by our Laird, in all which time, and till the said letters to the Deputy, dated the 16th of April, 1605, our said Laird and his brother George, the Dean, had solicited Con's pardon, and the grant for half of his estate, the other moiety to the Laird himself, and obtained the King's letters of warrant to the Lord Deputy to pass letters patent conformably to the said articles at Braidstane. But this affair taking time, and wind, at Court, was interrupted by Sir James Fullerton, as you have already heard; and that thereupon the said Con and Hugh Montgomery, of London, Esq., and James Hamilton, of London, Esq., adjusted affairs between themselves, so that it seems our Laird was knighted in April, 1605, or not long afterwards, but of Knights Bachellor[9] no record is kept, so that for want thereof I must desist my inquiry.

[6] *Patent last named.*—Hamilton began by granting sparingly to his rival. This grant was, by indenture, dated the 1st of October, *anno tertio Jacobi*, and James Hamilton, in consideration of £106 5s. 0d. English, commonly called old silver, every pound containing four ounces troy weight, to be paid to him at Martinmas following, granted the scites, &c., of Movilla, Gray Abbey, and Newtone, with the several particular townlands and premises, and all the tithes and royalties belonging to the same, before granted to said James Hamilton by letters patent, to hold for ever, at the rent of £5 16s. 8d. to the king, on condition of payment of said sum of £106 5s. 0d. on the day appointed. For a recital of the possessions and appropriations of the several religious houses above-mentioned, see the Inquisition of 1623.

[7] *Their hitts aforesaid.*—There is some portion of the *Manuscript* omitted in this passage. The 20th of July was the date of the letters patent granting the whole lands to Hamilton, in his own name. The "*hitts*," of which the author speaks more than once, consisted, principally, in the arrangement between Con and Sir Hugh, by which the former was bound not to alienate his lands to any one without the knowledge of the latter. P. 40, *supra*. Sir Hugh's hitts seem to have been no match for Hamilton's tactics. The latter "was so wise," says the *Stewart MS.*, "as to take, on easy terms, endless leases of much more of Con's third part, and from *other despairing Irishes*, than Sir Hugh had done."

[8] *That indenture.*—One of Con O'Neill's inducements to enter into this Tripartite Indenture was "in consideration of much costs, charges, and expenses which they, the said Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton, have been at, and shall be at, as well in procuring and passing the said Con O'Neale MacBrian Feartagh O'Neale his said pardon, and the grant of the said territories, castles, manors, lands, hereditaments, premises, or so much thereof as by the king's majesty shall be pleased to grant unto the said James Hamilton, and also in bearing and paying the said Con O'Neale and his followers, their moderate and ordinary charges whatsoever in England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well since the beginning of the month of August last past, before the date of these pattents, as also untill the said pardon and grants of the said territories so passed under the great seal of Ireland, shall be deemed, assured, and conveyed by the said James Hamilton unto and between Con O'Neale, &c." The last clause of the Tripartite Indenture is as follows:—"It is mutually covenanted, &c., between the said Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton that all and every sum or sums whatsoever, as from the beginning of August now last past, hath been disbursed and laid forth by them for touching or in anywise concerning the said Con O'Neale and his affairs, and that hereafter shall be laid forth and disbursed by them for touching and concerning the procuring and passing of the said pardon and grant, or for touching and concerning the divisions aforesaid, and all assurances whatsoever thereupon to be had, made, and perfected, and otherwise concerning the premises, shall be equally paid and borne, by and between the said Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton, without fraud or *covin*, upon account, to be made by and between them." —*Inquisition of* 1623. *Covin* means a fraudulent arrangement between two or more to the prejudice of a third.

[9] *Knights Bachellor.*—Bachelor, from *bas-chevalier*, was a term used to designate the humblest, although the most ancient, order of knighthood. Knights bachelors are so termed to distinguish them from *bannerets*, the chief or superior order of knighthood. "The functions of a knight were complete when he rode at the head of his retainers assembled under his banner, which was expressed by the

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[2] *James Fullerton.*—P. 30, *supra.*

[3] *King his servant.*—In this, and the two succeeding paragraphs, the author recapitulates, for the purpose of showing that Hugh Montgomery was knighted in 1605, and, consequently, had precedence of James Hamilton, who at that date was only an esquire and servant of the king. In the king's letter of the 16th April (see p. 33, *supra*), the laird of Braidstane is styled Hugh Montgomery, Esq.; but in the grant to Hamilton of the 5th of November following, he is styled sir Hugh Montgomery; so that he must have received the honour of knighthood in the interval between these dates. Hamilton was no doubt well content to allow the precedency in honor to Montgomery, whilst he enjoyed the more substantial boon of having this immense grant drawn out in his own name.

[4] *Deputy Chichester.*—Sir Arthur Chichester was the second son of sir John Chichester of Raleigh, in Devonshire. He commenced his public career by robbing one of the queen's purveyors, for which offence he was compelled to retire to France, where he soon became distinguished as a soldier. Queen Elizabeth pardoned him, probably because she thought that she had as much need for his military services as Henry IV. of France. Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 318; Granger, *Biographical History of England*, vol. ii., p. 98. On Chichester's return, he was sent to Ireland to assist in the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, and proved himself a willing and effective instrument in carrying out Mountjoy's ruthless policy of extermination against the native Irish. English writers, and among them old Fuller, delight to tell how Chichester was so instrumental in *ploughing and breaking up* the barbarous Irish nation, and then sowing the soil with the *seeds of civility*. The preparatory process consisted simply in the remorseless and wholesale destruction of human life, and all kinds of property. He proceeded on the conviction that the sword, even when wielded against helpless women and children, was not sufficiently destructive, and therefore called to his work all the horrible agencies of famine and pestilence. Describing a journey which he made from Carrickfergus, along the banks of Loughneagh, into Tyrone, Chichester says:—"*I burned all along the lough, within four myles of Dungannon, and killed* 100 *people, sparing none of what quality, age, or sex soever, besydes many burned to death; we kyll man, woman, and child; horse, beast, and whatsoever we find.*" On another occasion, after his return from a similar expedition into the Route, he writes—"I have often sayd and wrytten that it is famine that must consume them; our swordes and other indeavoures worke not that speedie destruction which is expected." See an interesting Contribution, by Wm. Pinkerton, Esq., in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. v., p. 209, and *note*. Thomas Gainsforde, the writer of *The True Exemplary, and Remarkable History of the Earl of Tirone*, already quoted, refers to the dire calamity inflicted at that period on the helpless inhabitants of Ulster. "For the sword-men," says he, "perished with sicknesse and famine the next yeere following, and the poore *calliots* (old women) devoured one another for meere hunger, and showed us the lamentable effects of a calamitous warre and afflicted country"—p. 37. The writer expresses his gratification on the advancement of Chichester to the chief-governorship as follows:—"By this time is sir Arthur Chichester lord deputy, who watched these parts of the North more narrowly than any other before him. First, because of his long experience and residence amongst them, as being governor of Knogfergus, *and a laborious searcher of Legh Con* (Strangford Lough) *with all the territories adjacent*,"—p. 47.

[5] 16th *April foregoing.*—P. 33, *supra.*

Laird (by the name of Sir Hugh Montgomery, Knight, one of the Esqrs. of his Majesty's body), the abbey and lands of Movilla, &c., which is a prior date by a month and five days to the patent last named.[6] This was so early done because abbey lands were first passed. James Hamilton, Esq., by patent, dated 20th July the said year, 1605, Sir Hugh Montgomery not being then come to Dublin, but in September y^e^ next month following, the said 20th July notwithstanding all the expedition he and Con had made through Scotland, that they might look to their hitts aforesaid.[7]

Item, I observe by the tripartite indenture, dated ult^o^. April, 1605, aforesaid, that James Hamilton, Esq., was to bear equal share in the expences of Con and his followers from the 1st of August preceding that indenture.[8] This August was A^o^. 1604, which was 2d Jacobi, and was many months after Con was brought to Whitehall by our Laird, in all which time, and till the said letters to the Deputy, dated the 16th of April, 1605, our said Laird and his brother George, the Dean, had solicited Con's pardon, and the grant for half of his estate, the other moiety to the Laird himself, and obtained the King's letters of warrant to the Lord Deputy to pass letters patent conformably to the said articles at Braidstane. But this affair taking time, and wind, at Court, was interrupted by Sir James Fullerton, as you have already heard; and that thereupon the said Con and Hugh Montgomery, of London, Esq., and James Hamilton, of London, Esq., adjusted affairs between themselves, so that it seems our Laird was knighted in April, 1605, or not long afterwards, but of Knights Bachellor[9] no record is kept, so that for want thereof I must desist my inquiry.

[6] *Patent last named.*—Hamilton began by granting sparingly to his rival. This grant was, by indenture, dated the 1st of October, *anno tertio Jacobi*, and James Hamilton, in consideration of £106 5s. 0d. English, commonly called old silver, every pound containing four ounces troy weight, to be paid to him at Martinmas following, granted the scites, &c., of Movilla, Gray Abbey, and Newtone, with the several particular townlands and premises, and all the tithes and royalties belonging to the same, before granted to said James Hamilton by letters patent, to hold for ever, at the rent of £5 16s. 8d. to the king, on condition of payment of said sum of £106 5s. 0d. on the day appointed. For a recital of the possessions and appropriations of the several religious houses above-mentioned, see the Inquisition of 1623.

[7] *Their hitts aforesaid.*—There is some portion of the *Manuscript* omitted in this passage. The 20th of July was the date of the letters patent granting the whole lands to Hamilton, in his own name. The "*hitts*," of which the author speaks more than once, consisted, principally, in the arrangement between Con and Sir Hugh, by which the former was bound not to alienate his lands to any one without the knowledge of the latter. P. 40, *supra*. Sir Hugh's hitts seem to have been no match for Hamilton's tactics. The latter "was so wise," says the *Stewart MS.*, "as to take, on easy terms, endless leases of much more of Con's third part, and from *other despairing freiks*, than Sir Hugh had done."

[8] *That indenture.*—One of Con O'Neill's inducements to enter into this Tripartite Indenture was "in consideration of much costs, charges, and expenses which the said Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton, have at, and shall be at, as well in prosecuting and [illegible] said Con O'Neale MacBrian Fe[illegible] pardon, and the grant of [illegible] manors, lands, hereditaments, premises, or so much thereof as by the king's majesty shall be pleased to grant unto the said James Hamilton, and also in bearing and paying the said Con O'Neale and his followers, their moderate and ordinary charges whatsoever in England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well since the beginning of the month of August last past, before the date of these pattents, as also untill the said pardon and grants of the said territories so passed under the great seal of Ireland, shall be deemed, assured, and conveyed by the said James Hamilton unto and between Con O'Neale, &c." The last clause of the Tripartite Indenture is as follows:—"It is mutually covenanted, &c., between the said Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton that all and every sum or sums whatsoever, as from the beginning of August now last past, hath been disbursed and laid forth by them for touching or in anywise concerning the said Con O'Neale and his affairs, and that hereafter shall be laid forth and disbursed by them for touching and concerning the procuring and passing of the said pardon and grant, or for touching and concerning the divisions aforesaid, and all assurances whatsoever thereupon to be had, made, and perfected, and otherwise concerning the premises, shall be equally paid and borne, by and between the said Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton, without fraud or *covin*, upon account, to be made by and between them." —*Inquisition of 1623.* *Covin* means a fraudulent arrangement between two or more to the prejudice of a third.

[illegible] from *bas-chevalier*, was [illegible] lest, although the most [illegible] knights bachelors are so [illegible] *bannerets*, the chief or [illegible] he functions of a knight [illegible] e head of his retainers [illegible] ch was expressed by the

Item, we have heard also how that after the said overthrow given to the Laird and Con by Sir James Fullerton's procurement of a letter of warrant to the Lord Deputy, Arthur Lord Chichester,[10] dated the 16th April, 1605, aforesaid, was granted to pass Con's estate and some abbey lands, by patent, to James Hamilton, Esq., in his sole name, in trust for himself, our Laird and Con, and that y^e^ last day of y^e^ said April, y^e^ tripartite indenture was made between the said three persons.[11]

Now to faciliate the performances thereof, Mr. Hamilton returned soon to Dublin with an order for an inquisition on the lands of the said Con, and on y^e^ abby lands, which was held the 4th July, 1605, and being returned enrolled in Sept. next following, and wherein was a reference (for more certainty) unto the office taken 1st Jac. A°. 1603, and from which and y^e^ jurors and breefs the last above said inquisition did much vary, as hath been before now related.[12] However, Mr. Hamilton, y^e^ 20th of y^e^ said July, passed letters patent in his own name, of the premises;[13] and Sir Hugh Montgomery being arrived in Ireland, with Con, they went to Dublin as aforesaid, where, pursuant to the former said agreements, he did, 1st October next following (as is said), grant the lands of Movilla, Newton, and Gray Abbey,[14] &c., to Sir H. Montgomery; then on the 5th Nov., 1605, passed a more ample patent of Con's estate,[15] and of all the abby lands therein; and, pursuant to agreement with the said Con, Mr. Hamilton grants him his lands in and about Castlereagh, y^e^ very next day[16] after the date of the said ample patent last above mentioned. So Con's whole affair being done for him, and he releasing Sir Hugh Montgomery and Mr. Hamilton of all contracts and expenses relating thereunto, soon returned to Castlereagh, where I left him treated by his friends and followers as before herein is briefly related. In this dispatch is seen Sir Hugh Montgomery's kindness to Con and himself.

Observe further, as aforesaid, that the said Mr. Hamilton, on the 7th day of the said November, 1605, again grants to Sir Hugh Montgomery, the lands of Newtown, Gray Abbey, &c. This was done the next day after Mr. Hamilton had given the deed to Con. No doubt this dispatch pleased

term *lever bannière*. So long as he was unable to take this step, either from insufficient age or poverty, he would be considered only as an apprentice in chivalry, and was called a *knight bachelor*, just as the outer barrister was only an apprentice at law, whatever his age might be."—Wedgewood, *Dictionary of English Etymology*.

[10] *Arthur Lord Chichester.*—See note 4, *supra*. Chichester had received the honour of knighthood from Elizabeth in 1595, and was created baron Chichester of Belfast in 1612. His enormous grants from the crown in the counties of Antrim, Tyrone, and Donegal, are recited at length in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* of the reign of James I., pp. 49, 120—22, 161, 169. Yet although this man may be said to have been gorged to repletion by the possession of forfeited lands, we find him, in what he calls a "*Note of some of his most materiall services*," during the first nine years of his official career in Ireland, actually taking credit to himself for self-denial in refusing to make certain grants to the natives, as other chief governors had done, and which grants would, says Chichester, "have bin verie profitable unto me, if I had preferred myne owne private gaine before yor Maties service, and good of the comon-wealth." He died in 1625, without issue, his only child, a son, having gone before him, in 1606. He was buried in the church of St. Nicholas, Carrickfergus, where a grand monument was erected to his memory. For an account of his funeral procession, see *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ix., pp. 193—6; for the pompous inscription on his tomb, see M'Skimin, *History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 149—51.

[11] *Said three persons.*—See Inquisition of 1623, Appendix A.

[12] *Before related.*—P. 36, *supra*.

[13] *Of the premises.*—This is the date of the grant to Hamilton of the "Abbeys, Monasteries, and other religious Houses of Holywood, Movilla, Black Abbey, Gray Abbey, Newton, and Bangor."—*Inquisition of* 1623.

[14] *Gray Abbey, &c.*—P. 42, *supra*.

[15] *Ample patent of Con's estate.*—This princely territory, including Upper Clannaboy and the Great Ards, contained two hundred and thirty townlands, or sub-divisions of various extent. The reader may find the denominational names of these sub-divisions recorded in the Inquisition of 1623, at the end.

[16] *Ye very next day.*—Namely on the 6th of November. The author has recorded these several dates with great accuracy. The *MS. Inquisition of* 1603 also mentions this grant on the same date. It included sixty-seven townlands immediately adjoining Castlereagh, among which were the Knock and Ballymacarrett. P. 36, *supra*.

every of the three parties for their respective private reasons: Con being contented to the full for aught I find to the contrary, and Sir Hugh with whatever he got *(de bene esse)* in part for the presents,[17] that they both might more closely follow the plantations they were bound to make, and therefore Sir Hugh, also, after a small stay, returned from Dublin, and on the 15th January of the same year 1605, livery of seizin of Con's lands was taken by Cuthbert Montgomery,[18] and given to Sir Hugh in trust for Con's use,[19] and much about the same time livery of seizin was given to Sir Hugh, pursuant to the said deed, dated the 7th of November abovesaid, Jo. Shaw and Patrick Montgomery, Esqrs., being appointed attornies by Mr. Hamilton to take and deliver the same accordingly.

These few last rehearsals, being the sum of the chief transactions between Mr. Hamilton, trustee aforesaid, and Sir Hugh Montgomery and Con before A°. 1606, I thought it necessary to be recapitulated before I proceed to other matters done between them after the 22d of August, 1606, on which day the said Con had sold to Sir Hugh Montgomery the woods of four town-lands[20] as aforesaid, and then I will (as well as I can) give the narration of Sir Hugh promoting and advancing his plantation after the last mentioned August. But first I must intimate two things, of which I shall not write hereafter: The first is that Mr. Hamilton and Sir Hugh were obliged in ten years' time, from November, 1605, to furnish British inhabitants (English and Scotch Protestants) to plant one-third of Con's lands granted to himself.[21] The second thing was that Mr. Hamilton passed another patent in February, 1605, which is posterior as you now see to that of the 5th of November the same year, according to English account or supputation current in Ireland,[22] by virtue of which patent in November now mentioned, it was that Mr. Hamilton gave the deeds aforesaid of the 6th and 7th of the same month, unto Con and Sir Hugh, as is (herein) before remembered.

These two remarks being made, I now go on with Sir Hugh Montgomery's plantation, which began about May, 1606,[23] and thus it was, viz:—Sir Hugh, after his return from Ireland to Braidstane, in winter 1605, as he had before his coming into Ireland, spoken of the plantation, so now he conduced his prime friends to join him therein, viz:—John Shaw of Greenock,[24] Esq., whose sister

[17] *For the presents.*—Hamilton's conduct did not satisfy sir Hugh Montgomery, who, in 1618, obtained by arbitration a larger amount of church lands. *De bene esse* is a phrase in law which means to take any act as *well done for the present.*

[18] *Cuthbert Montgomery.*—*Cuthbert* was a prevailing Christian name among the Montgomerys of Largs, and to that branch the gentleman here mentioned most probably belonged.

[19] *For Con's use.*—This property was re-granted to Con by sir Hugh Montgomery, pursuant to articles made between them, on the 24th December, 1605.—*Inquisition of* 1623.

[20] *Four town-lands.*—P. 41, *supra.*

[21] *Granted to himself.*—Montgomery and Hamilton were so bound by the original terms of the grant from the crown, but more particularly by the Tripartite Indenture. The following is the obligatory passages in the latter document:—"And the said James Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery, for themselves, their heirs, executors, &c., do severally covenant, promise, grant, and agree, that they shall, and within ten years next ensuing the date of these pattents, cause and procure such and so many English and Scotch persons as shall be sufficient to inhabit and dwell under him the said Con and his heirs, in and upon one third part of the aforesaid territories, castles, manors, lands, and premises which shall be assured and conveyed unto him, the said Con, and his heirs, the said persons paying and doing to the said Con and his heirs, such reasonable rents, duties, and services as shall be agreed and concluded upon by and between him, the said Con or his heirs, and them, the said English and Scotch persons, for inhabiting the said third part of the moiety of the premises or any part thereof."—*Inquisition of* 1623.

[22] *Current in Ireland.*—P. 40, *supra.*

[23] *About May*, 1606.—On the 22d of November, 1605, sir Hugh Montgomery, preparatory to his coming as a settler in Ireland, received a grant of denization from the crown, by which he was made free of the yoke of servitude of the Scotch, Irish, or any other nation, and made capable of holding and enjoying all the rights and privileges of an English subject. *Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I.*, p. 84; see also Erck's *Repertory, &c.*, p. 235. By this arrangement an alien was constituted a subject, and was called *donaison* (denizen), because his legitimation proceeded *ex donatione regis.*

[24] *John Shaw of Greenock.*—P. 11, *supra.* This John

Elizabeth he had married divers years before that time, and Patrick Montgomery of Black House,[25] Esq., who married the said John Shaw's sister, Christian. These two Gentlemen had been in Ireland, and given livery of seizin as aforesaid to Sir Hugh, who also adduced the afore mentioned

Shaw was a younger son of John (or James) Shaw, laird of Greenock, who was son of Alexander Shaw of Sauchie, by his second wife, Elizabeth, a daughter of William Cunningham of Glengarnock. John (or James) Shaw, father of the gentleman mentioned in the text, married, in 1565, his cousin, Jean, daughter of John Cunningham of Glengarnock, and, besides this John who came to the Ards, left James, his successor, and at least two other sons.—Crawford, *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 4to, 1818, p. 125. On the 19th July, 1616, sir Hugh Montgomery conveyed by deed to "John Shaw, for ever, all these two new townlands, containing about xiiᶜᵉ acres, Scottish measure, in the 2 old townlands called Ballycheskeve and Ballingamoye, in the Great Ardes, adjoining to Lord Clancboy's lands in the south; Thomas Montgomery on the north; John Herriott and Robert Allen on the west; and the main sea on the east; with appurtenances, paying 40s English, King's rent, total 52s, paid at All Saints and May Day, or eight days after." John Shaw was in peaceable possession of this property in 1623.—*Inquisition of* 1623. Harris, in his *Ancient and Present State of the County of Down*, p. 59, states that, in 1744, there stood a house near the market cross of Newtownards with the Shaw Arms inscribed in front; which arms consisted of a "star in the middle of three cups, and the crest a phœnix." This house had been probably built by John Shaw, who dwelt at Newtownards, although he held lands at more than one place in the district. "The armorial bearing of this family," says Crawford, "is, azure, three covered cups, Or; supported by two savages, wreathed about the middle; and for a crest, a demi-savage; with this motto—*I mean well.*"—*History of the Shire of Renfrew*, p. 126. Several members of this family of Shaw are mentioned by the author in his memoirs. A rent-roll of the Donaghadee property, in 1718, contains the name of John Shaw, esq., of Gemaway, the representative of the original John Shaw abovementioned—Gemaway or Gannaway, being the more modern form of Ballygamoye, one of the denominational names in the grant of 1616, from sir Hugh Montgomery. Members of this family settled also at Ballygelly and Ballytweedie, in the county of Antrim. The sixth earl of Eglinton (Greysteel), writing, on the 22nd of June, 1648, to his son, colonel James Montgomery, then serving in Ulster, says:—"Gif ze have gottin any halkis (hawks) for me, send them over; for it is tyme they war maid: your brother has a rid on alreadie. Also caus send the two deir to me that captaine Drummond promised me; and caus scheir sume gras and put in beside them. What fraught ze agrie for I sall pay it upon sicht of zour letter; and gif there be any mae young anes in the cuntrie, speik *Bellie Gellie*, and sum otheris to get me sum." The earl had written to his son, on the previous day, respecting certain weighty affairs, political and military, concluding his letter thus:—"I tak God to witness I deill frielie with zow, both for zour honour and well, and desyres zow to tak the counsell of my lord Airds, Generall Major Munro, sir James Montgomerie, and *William Schaw*, whom I know will deill faithfullie with zow, and honouris and respectis zow, and spair not to show my letter to them all, and remember my love and service to them."—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 287. In June, 1657, a marriage was contracted between James Shaw, eldest son of James Shaw of Ballygellie, and his cousin, Elizabeth Brisbane of Largs. The estate of the Brisbanes was, by the marriage contract, settled on the heirs male of James Shaw, he taking the surname and arms of Brisbane, and his father paying £20,000 Scots, to be applied in providing for the family of John Brisbane the younger. In 1671, James Shaw, or Brisbane, acquired the estate of Over Kelsoland, and soon afterwards the estate of Knock, both in the parish of Largs. There is a letter of remission from James II., dated 26th February, 1686, to this James Shaw, or Brisbane, for certain fines that had been imposed on him in consequence of his wife's persistent attendance on Presbyterian conventicles.—Law, *Memorials*, p. 271, as quoted in Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 308. A William Shaw, on the 23d June, 1703, purchased for the sum of £1350, the towns and lands of Carmavy consisting of 484 acres, lands in Ballyrobin 88 acres, and two mills, all which had been part of the forfeited estate of sir Neal O'Neill.—*Inrolled 15th January*, 1703. *Fifteenth Report of Irish Record Commission*, p. 360. Against O'Neill's estate he had the following claims, viz.—1. £660 penalty; by assignment, dated the 14th February, 1697; Witnesses, James Young, John Shaw, of a judgment obtained in Trinity Term, 1688, in the exchequer, on a bond dated 14th February, 1686. 2. £1320 penalty; By counter-bond, dated 14th February, 1686. 3. £300 penalty; by bond, with warrant of attorney, dated 25th April, 1680, and assigned to the claimant (William Shaw) by deed dated 31st October, 1694; Judgment entered in the common pleas in Hilary Term, 1688. 4. £22 rent-charge on *Ballytweedye*; by deed dated the 6th of July, 1686; Witnesses, Bryan O'Neill, Will. Shaw, and others. 5. £705 13s. 1d., being a sixth part of the arrears, portions, interest, and maintenance money, secured on sir Neal O'Neill's estate. By articles of agreement, dated the 15th July, 1699.—*List of the Claims as they are entered with the Trustees at Chichester House, on College Green, Dublin, on or before the Tenth of August*, 1700, pp. 203, 328. The late Henry William Shaw, who died at Glen-Ebor, county of Down, in the month of November, 1867, was the last representative in the main line of the Shaws of Ballytweedy, and probably of Ballygannaway. The family of Balligellie is not extinct, although it has long ceased to own its ancestral lands.

[25] *Blackhouse.*—P. 28, *supra*. The lands of *Blackhouse* formed a portion of the superiority of Skelmorlie-Cunningham in the parish of Largs. Patrick Montgomery inherited Blackhouse from his father, John Montgomery, who was of the Braidstane family, and who died at the close of the year 1600. His son, Patrick, became the owner of the whole superiority of Skelmorlie-Cunningham, and of extensive landed property in the Ards, especially at Creboy, or Creighboy, in the parish of Donaghadee. He died in 1629, and by his wife, Christian Shaw of Greenock, left three sons. Hugh, the eldest, died in 1630, and was succeeded by his brother

Colonel David Boyd,[26] who bargained for 1000 acres, in Gray Abby parish, Scottish Cunningham measure, at 18 foot 6 inches to the perch or pole. Sir Hugh also brought with him Patrick Shaw, Laird of Kelseland[27] (his lady's father's brother), and Hugh Montgomery,[28] a cadet of the family of Braidstane, and Mr. Thomas Nevin,[29] brother to the Laird of Mouck Roddin and Cunning-

John, an officer in the army. The latter was slain at the battle of Dunbar, in September, 1650, and was succeeded by his son, named Patrick, who sold the greater portion of his Scottish property in 1663. John Montgomery, son of the latter, sold the Irish estate of Creboy in 1716, and returned to occupy the remaining portion of the family property in Skelmorlie-Cunningham.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 230. The first Patrick Montgomery, mentioned in the text, besides the estate of Creboy, received a grant from his brother in-law, sir Hugh Montgomery, of the townlands called Ballyhannode and Ballogortevil, in 1616. In 1623, William Hamilton was in possession of the former, which he had obtained by assignment from Duncan M'Lee, who had a lease of the same from Patrick Montgomery, for nineteen years, commencing from the year 1616.—*Inquisition of* 1623.

[26] *David Boyd.*—Page 41, *supra* There is the following account of this grant to Boyd in the Inquisition of 1623:—"We further find that the said lord viscount Ards, by the name of sir Hugh Montgomery, by his deed of feoffment, bearing date 7th September, 1607, did grant unto Colonel David Boyde, Esq., his heirs and assigns for ever, the townes and lands of Ballymeskivie als Fitsthearton, Ballyheghlaye als Castown, Ballymechertunere als the Great Bog, Ballymaccachow, Ballytemplechrone als Owlstown, Ballygrange, and Ballychallock, being in the whole 1000 acres of land, Scottish measure, after 120 acres to every hundred acres, with appurtenances, as the same is marched and meared by the said deed, to hold all and singular the premises, unto the said Colonel David Boyde, his heirs and assigns, for ever, under the yearly rent of £16 sterling, English money, to be paid at the feast of Pentecost, and St. Martin the buschapp, by even portions, and by other services and duties as provided in the said deed. Robert Boyde, son and heir to the said Colonel David Boyde, on the 8th of December last was, and is, in quiet possession thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof, by virtue of said grant, given unto said Colonel David Boyde deceased." A king's letter was granted, directing a commission to issue to inquire by inquisition what lands, tenements, and hereditaments were purchased by colonel David Boyd, deceased, not being a free denizen of either Ireland or England, from lord viscount Montgomery of the Ards in Ulster; and of whom said lands ought to be held, and by what tenures, rents, and services, and upon the return of said inquisition, in consideration of the good and faithful services of David, to make a grant of same lands to his son, Robert Boyd. 22 March, 22 Jac. i.—*Col. Pat. Rolls, James I.*, p. 582. The above mentioned grant is thus referred to in the report of an Inquisition held at Downpatrick on the 4th of September, 1633:—"The viscount Mountgumerie was seised, as of fee, of the townes and lands mencioned in a deed indented, made the 7th September, 1607, between his lordship by the name of sir Hugh Mountgomerie of Bradston, knight, of the one parte, and colonell David Boyde, esq., of the other parte. The said colonell David Boyde was a Scottishman, borne in the kingdom of Scotland long before King James became King of England and Ireland, and at the time of making of the said deed he was not made a denison, by any letters pattents. All the rents and other duties, reserved in and by the said deed, are in arrear, since the year 1625."—*Ulster Inquisition, Down* (40), *Car. I.* The family residence of the Boyds was in Castletown, or *Ballycastle*, as the place is called in the report of a *post-mortem* Inquisition held at Downpatrick, on the 4th of October, 1636.—*Ibid.* (75), *Car. I.* Ballycastle (which is now included, with most of the other lands held by the Boyds, in the Mountstewart demesne) is supposed to have been so called from the castle occupied by Thomas Smith, jun., during the short interval between his coming to take possession of the Ards, as granted by Elizabeth in 1572, and his assassination by the natives in the following year. For further account of the Boyd family, see Appendix C.

[27] *Laird of Kelseland.*—This Patrick Shaw, being uncle of sir Hugh Montgomery's lady, must have been a younger son of Alexander Shaw of Sauchie, by his second wife, Elizabeth Cunningham. Kelsoland was the name of an estate in the parish of Largs, so called from Hugh De Kelso, or Kelcho, who owned it in 1296, and whose descendants held it, without interruption until 1624, when the property passed into the hands of the Shaws of Greenock. Patrick Shaw was not laird of Kelsoland at the time of his coming to the Ards, but having afterwards obtained the estate, the author naturally gives him the title by which he was best known. He was residing at Kelsoland in 1636, having probably returned to Scotland in 1624. Robert Kelso of Halrig, the heir male of the Kelso family, and the thirteenth in descent from Hugh De Kelso the founder, re-purchased Kelsoland from Hugh Shaw, son of Patrick. Robert Kelso's son, John, finally alienated the estate in 1671, to James Shaw of Ballygellie, county of Antrim, who, from the time of his marriage with his cousin, Elizabeth Brisbane, had taken her name. See p. 52, *supra*. From that time, Kelsoland has formed part of the Brisbane estate, in the parish of Largs.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 313, 480. For an account of the sepulchral vault of the Shaws and Brisbanes, see p. 10, note 34, *supra*.

[28] *Hugh Montgomery.*—A Hugh Montgomery, the *younger*, held lands on the estate granted to sir James Montgomery in 1629. This Hugh, who was son of a Hugh Montgomery in Scotland, held, among other lands, the island called *Islandmore*, near Greyabbey.—*Insula vocata Ilandmore possessionata per Hugonem Mountgomery juniorem et suos subtenentes, cum pertinentiis.—Ulst. Inquis., Down* (75), *Car. I.*

[29] *Thomas Nevin.*—Thomas Nevin was nephew of the first lady Montgomery of the Ards, one of her sisters having married Andrew Nevin, second laird of Monkredding, or Monkroddin, in the parish of Kilwinning. Although the Monkredding estate was small, consisting only of 700 acres adjoining the village of Kilwinning, its lairds were kinsmen of the earls of Eglinton, and appear to have

ham,[30] gentlemen, his near allys, and also Patrick Moore, of Dugh,[31] Neil[32] and Catherwood,[33] gentlemen, with many others, and gave them lands in fee farm in Donaghadee parish[34] (all which parish, except

been engaged in several confidential matters connected with the Eglinton family. In 1581, Andrew Nevin, the second laird and father of Thomas, mentioned in the text, witnessed an obligation from Margaret Maxwell, lady Giffyn, and Duncan Foster of Killmoir, her spouse, to the third earl of Eglinton. He also witnessed a bond given by the same earl in 1582, relating to a marriage contract between Robert master of Setoun and Margaret Montgomerie, the earl's daughter. In 1583, Monkredding was one of the witnesses to an obligation from Muir of Caldwell to surrender certain papers to Agnes Montgomerie, lady Sempill. — Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 253: Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. ii., pp. 221, 224. Thomas Nevin, of Ballycopland, parish of Donaghadee, obtained a grant of denization, in May, 1617.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.*, p. 326. This gentleman appears to have returned to the family estate in Ayrshire, where he died about 1651. His will, dated on the 22nd of January in that year, is preserved in Dublin, although it was written in Scotland. In this document he mentions his lands in Ireland, and his son, "Mr. Hew, in Ireland."—*MS. Notes of Rob. S. Nicholson, Esq.* On coming to the Ards, it is certain that the Nevins first settled in the parish of Donaghadee, where their descendants continued in possession of considerable landed property until late in the eighteenth century. In 1771, the lands known as the two *Ballymacrewses* were held by David and John Nevin, and had previously been in possession of Benjamin Nevin, probably their father. Besides this property, John Nevin held a part of Ballyvester, and David a part of Cannyreagh, in the same parish. In 1775, John and William Nevin held extensive house property in Donaghadee, including "the water-corn mill and wind-mill."—*MSS. in possession of Daniel De la Cherois, Esq., Donaghadee, to whose kindness the editor is indebted for the loan of many interesting Family Papers.*

[30] *Cunningham.* — This gentleman, whose Christian name was *John*, was a younger son of John Cunningham, fifteenth laird of Glengarnock, parish of Kilbirnie, and brother of Jean Cunningham, married to John Shaw of Greenock.—Crawford, *History of Renfrewshire*, p. 125; Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 119. The following notice of the grant to John Cunningham (date not given) occurs in the Inquisition of 1623:—"Wee find the said Lord Montgomery granted by Deed to Jn. Cunningham, Esqr., and the lawful heirs of his body, all and whole acres of land Scottish measure, of the lands of Ballyrincreavye and Carrownemuck, together with as much of the nearest moss as is sufficient for his House, for ever; and failing his heirs to return back to the said Lord: at the yearly rent of four pounds English, together with 11s. for his Majestie's rent, at May and Hallowmas yearly, by even portions; to be holden of the said Hugh Montgomery in free and common soccage." Alexander Cunningham, son of said John, was in possession in 1623.

[31] *Of Dugh.*—Although this Patrick Moore had lived at Deugh before coming to the Ards, he was probably one of the Moores of Muirstown, a small estate in the vicinity of Braidstane. *Deugh*, or Deughlinn, is in the parish of Carsphairn, Kirkcudbrightshire, which parish occupies the mountain ridge separating Ayrshire from Kirkcudbright.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland, Kirkcudbright*, p. 4. The Inquisition of 1623 records no fee-farm grant to Patrick Moore from sir Hugh Montgomery. In 1616, Con O'Neill leased to John William Moore, the lands of Ballynacrossan, *alias* Crossan, for the period of twenty-one years, at the annual rent of twenty-six shillings. Patrick Moore of *Aughneil* attended the funeral of the first viscount Montgomery, at Newtoune, in 1626. Quintine Moore of Aughneil obtained letters of denization in the year 1617.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I.*, p. 329.

[32] *Neil.*—Probably a member of the family dwelling at *Mains-Neill*, near Braidstane. In 1635, John Neill was *portioner* of Mains, and Archibald Neill held the property called *Muirstoun* at the same date.—Paterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 278.

[33] *Catherwood.*—The Inquisition of 1623 does not mention any grant as made by sir Hugh Montgomery to William Catherwood, although he held lands of considerable extent in the parish of Donaghadee. On the 1st of October, 1630, William and Archibald Edmonston, father and son, sold to Wiliam Catherwood the towns and lands of Ballyvester for £612, and £9 a year rent, part of the fee-farm rent of rent. The Deed recording this purchase was in possession of John Catherwood, Esq., in 1813.—*MS. Notes of J. W. Hanna, Esq.* William Catherwood attended the funeral of the first viscount Montgomery, in 1636. His son, who was styled "laird Catherwood of Ballyvester, near Donaghadee," married a daughter of John Johnson, of Ballinderry, near Portmore, county of Antrim. This lady was a descendant of the Hon. and Rev. Thomas Johnston, third son of an earl of Annandale.—Johnston, *Heterogenea*, p. 212, Downpatrick, 1803. In a Rental of the Mountalexander estate, about the year 1680, the Ballyvester property is mentioned as consisting of 360 acres, the chief rent of which was £1 13s. A later rent-roll, about the year 1700, represents William Catherwood as occupying 120 acres of Ballyvester, and Robert Catherwood 80 acres. The Will of Luke St Laurence, Esq., Donaghadee, dated 29th April, 1763, recites, among other lands, that part of Ballyvester which the testator held under "Mr. William Catherwood." In certain Deeds of Agreement, Partition, &c., between Samuel De la Cherois and Nicholas Crommelin of the first part, Richard Parsons of the second part, and Robert Carson of the third part, 1771-1775, "the part or parcel of Ballyvester, formerly in the possession of John Catherwood, and now or lately in the possession of William Catherwood and his undertenants," is frequently specified.

[34] *In Donaghadee parish.*—The lands given to Scottish gentlemen, "in fee-farm, under small chief rents," in the parish of Donaghadee, were those of Ballymacwilliam, Ballynova, Ballynecrosse, Ballynemoney *alias* Necabeagh, Ballycarrowreagh *alias* Ballynecraghed, Ballynecraboy *alias* Ballynecabry, Ballykilcolmucke, Ballyvaster, Ballycopland, Ballykillaghy, Ballydrumchay, Ballygrange, Ballybutler, Ballyfrenish, Ballyottogee, the two Ballyhayes, Carrownathan, Ballyrolly, Ballymacreevey *alias* Necreevy, Ballycoskey, Ballymoney, Ballyaughrea, Ballyenrea, Ballyganevey, Ballykilbracton, Ballydownan, and Carrowdore. —*MS. Montgomery Patent of 2 Car. I.*

some of the town parks, is under fee farm or mortgage), under small chief rents, but did not ascertain the tythes to any of them, nor would he put them into the clergy's hands, because he would keep his tenants from under any one's power but his own. Besides his Lordship considered that the contentions (which too frequently happen) concerning tythes, might breed dislike and aversion between the people and Minister; therefore he gave unto the incumbents salaries, with glebes and perquisites or book money (as they are commonly called) for marriages, christenings, burials, and Easter offerings, the clerk and sexton also had their share of dues; and the people in those days resorted to church and submitted to its censures, and paid willingly those small ecclesiastical dues, and so were in no hazard of suits in the Ecclesiastical Court, but of their landlord, if he pleased to chastise their stubborness or other misbehaviour.[35]

There came over also divers wealthy able men, to whom his Lordship gave tenements in freehold, and parks by lease, so they being as it were bound, with their heirs, to the one, they must increase the rent for the other, at the end of the term, or quit both, which makes the park lands about towns give ten shillings per acre rent now, which at the plantations the tenants had for one shilling rent, and these being taken, the tenants had some two, some three, and some four acres, for each of which they passed a boll of barley, rent. They built stone houses, and they traded to enable them buy land, to France, Flanders, Norway, &c., as they still do.

Here is to be noted, that Sir Hugh got his estate by townlands,[36] by reason of his agreement with Con O'Neil, whereas other undertakers of plantations in Ulster had several scopes of land (called *proportions*) admeasured to them, each containing one thousand acres, profitable for plough and good pasture, mountains and bog not reckoned in the number, but thrown in as an appurtenance.[37] In the Queen Elizabeth's reign, y^e^ perch or pole was 24 feet long; Parliament reduced it

[35] *Other misbehaviour.*—Sir Hugh Montgomery brought with him from Scotland two or three chaplains to minister to the spiritual wants of his colony. His arrangement for their support appears to have been liberal, although tithes were withheld, and perhaps too much was expected from the collection of "small ecclesiastical dues." Sir Hugh's plan may have worked well enough for a time; but it certainly did not, and could not, long continue to give satisfaction to the clergy or people. The former naturally soon began to regret the impropriation of their tithes, whilst the latter, being generally of Scottish birth, looked suspiciously on all 'offerings' as savouring of popery. They would willingly give yearly contributions to their pastors in the shape of *stipend*, but not as Easter or other offerings. These offerings became so oppressive throughout Ireland, generally, that in the year 1641 the people petitioned the Irish Parliament for relief, and some of the most objectionable of the exactions were then removed. See *Commons Journals of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 258–262.

[36] *By Townlands.*—"*On the townland distribution of Ireland*," the reader may see a truly learned and most valuable paper, by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., pp. 473–490. In this paper, the writer states that throughout the county of Down, "the prevailing denomination was the ballyboe or 'cowland,' sometimes called the *carewe*, from the Latin *carucata*, or plowland, which in the Bagenal Patent was estimated at three score acres. Three of these formed the quarterland, and twelve the ballybetagh. Sometimes a smaller division was in use, called the sessiagh." Of the last named denomination, Dr. Reeves in a note observes :—"Sessiagh is a different word from seisreach, but seems to convey the idea of sixth, though in reference to what standard it is difficult to say. As a measure it prevailed in Donegal, Tyrone, Armagh, and was considered the third of a ballyboe or plowland. As a townland name it occurs simply or in composition twenty-one times, and the average contents are 170 acres. In a stanza cited by the Four Masters, at 1031, we find the term *Seisedhach* in the sense of a 'measure'"—p. 477, and *note*. See also an excellent paper by W. H. Hardinge, Esq., *On Manuscript mapped Townland Surveys in Ireland, of a Public character, from their introduction to 23rd October*, 1641.—This Paper is printed in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. viii., pp. 39–55.

[37] *As an appurtenance.*—In the forfeited counties of Ulster, namely, Tyrone, Donegal, Armagh, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Coleraine (now Derry), the small sub-divisions were thrown together to form the *scope* or *proportion* intended for each undertaker. The first or largest proportion consisted of 2,000 acres; the second of 1,500; and the third of 1000, each settler being allowed only one of such lots. One-half of the whole forfeited land in each county was arranged in scopes of 1,000 acres each, whilst the other half was laid out in lots of 1,500 or 2000 acres each, thus securing the greater number

to 21 feet, y^e^ English perch being but 16 feet 6 inches, but Sir Hugh sett his land by Cunningham measure, as the planters were used to have it at home, which is 18 feet 6 inches a perch.

I desire that this brief account may serve as a sampler of Sir Hugh's 1st essay to his plantation, for it would be tedious (as it would be impossible for me) to enumerate all the substantial persons[38] whom he brought or who came to plant in Gray Abbey, Newton, and corner parishes, among whom Sir William Edmeston, 7th Laird of the antient honorable family of Duntreth,[39] was very consider-

of small proprietors. To prevent disputes, and the evils of favouritism, the lands were drawn by lot; and to make allowance for wastes, bogs, and glens, a new mode of measurement, since known as the Irish plantation measure, was adopted. These lands were all made over to the occupiers and their heirs for ever. The undertakers of 2,000 acres were to hold of the king *in capite*, each undertaker of this extent being bound within four years to build a castle and enclose a strong court-yard called a bawn, and to settle upon the lands within three years forty-eight able men, or twenty farmers of English or Scottish birth. Of these, four were to have fee-farms of 120 acres each, six to be leaseholders, each occupying a farm of 100 acres, whilst the remainder of the lands not required for a demesne, was to be let to families of cottagers, artisans, and labourers. The undertaker of 1,500 acres, or 1000 acres, was to hold by knight's service, and to erect a house and bawn within two years. An annual rent from all the lands was reserved to the crown, for every sixty English acres, the British undertaker paying 6s 8d, the servitor 10s, and the native chief 13s 4d per acre. Such as had to incur the expense of removal from England or Scotland were exempted from this charge for the term of two years. All were bound to reside on their lands within five years after the date of their patents, either personally or by such agents as might be approved by the government. The British undertakers and servitors were prohibited from alienating their lands to the Irish, lest such lands might eventually come into the possession of owners who might refuse to be bound by the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The native Irish undertakers held by the tenure of free and common soccage, and were prohibited from taking exactions or cuttings from their tenants in addition to the regular rents. They were at the same time required to see that their tenants ceased the old custom of *creaghting*, or wandering in search of pasture for their cattle, and conform to the usages of civilized life.—Harris, *Hibernica, or some Antient Pieces relating to Ireland*, part i., pp. 105–241; *Scottish Journal of Topography*, vol. i., pp. 107, 108.

[38] *All the substantial persons.*—Persons of this class generally took out letters of denization soon after they came to Ireland, sometimes beforehand. The following received such letters of denization in 1617, the majority of them having settled on sir Hugh Montgomery's estates, probably ten years prior to that date, viz.:—John Wyly of Ballyhay; Nynian Bracklie Newton of Donoghdie; Robert Boyle of Drumfad; John Montgomery of Ballymacrosse; Robert Harper of Provostoun; William Caderwood of Ballyfrenssie; John Barkley of Ballyrolly; Hector Moore of Donan; William Hunter of Donan; William Moore of Milntowne; John Thompson of Blackabbey; Charles Dumelston of Provestoun; Walter Logane of the [illegible]; Thomas Nevin of Ballicopland; William Wymis of Newtowne; William Crawford of Cuninghurn; Andrew Agnewe of Carnie; Gilbert Adare of Ardehine; Robert Wilson of Newtowne; James Williamson of Clay; Cland. Conyngham of Donoghdie; James Catheart of Ballirogane; Patrick Montgomerie of Ballycreboy; William Cuninghame of Donoghdie; Robert Montgomery of Donoghdie; William Montgomery of Donoghdie; John Peacocke of Ballidonan; John Cuningham of Kinchrivie; Hugh Cunyngham of Castlespick; David Cunyngham of Drumfad; Patrick Shaw of Balliwalter; Hugh Montgomery of Granshaghe; John Maxwell of Ballihalbert; John Montgomery of the Redene; Michael Craig of the Redene; James Cowper of Ballichosta; Thomas Agnew, Grayabbey; Quintene Moore of Aughneill; Thomas Boyde of Crowncrston; John Mowlen, of the same; Patrick Allen of Ballydonane; John Harper, John Fraser, John Moore, James McMakene, and John Aickin, all of Donaghdie; John Harper, Ballyhay; James Maxwell of Gransho; David Boyde, Glasroche; Uthred M'Dowgall of Ballimaconnell; Thomas Kelso, Ballyhacamore; David M'Ilveyne, Ballelogan; William Moore, preacher at Newton; Thomas Harvie of Newton; William Shaw of Ballykilconan; Andrew Sempill of Ballygrenie; David Anderson of Castlecanvarie; David Kennedy of Gortivillan; Allen Wilson of Newton; Matthew Montgomery of Donoghdie; John Marten of Dunnevilly; Alexander Speire of Gray Abbey.—*Calendar of Pat. Rolls, James I.*, pp. 326, 339.

[39] *Of Duntreth.*—This William Edmonston was the seventh in descent from sir William Edmonston of Culloden, who married lady Mary Stewart, a daughter of Robert III., and obtained, through this connexion, a grant, in 1452, of the lordship of Duntreath, in Stirlingshire. On the 1st of June, 1498, sir Archibald Edmonston, the second lord of Duntreath, entered into a contract with Hew, lord Montgomerie, by which John, the eldest son of the latter, was bound to marry Bessy or Elizabeth Edmonston, eldest daughter of sir Archibald; and failing Bessy, then Katern, and failing Katern, then Helen, all bound in succession to marry a son of lord Montgomerie. Although such prospective arrangements may appear strange to us, they were frequent between powerful families, and were required to cement alliances during the stormy feudal ages. For several contracts of this nature in the Eglinton family, see Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. ii., pp. 28, 52, 68, 88. In the instance above mentioned, the parties originally intended by the contract were married, but a dispensation was required from Rome, probably on the ground of relationship between John Montgomerie and Bessy Edmonston. The dispensation cost £16—a considerable sum in the fifteenth century—and was negotiated through Andrew Halliburton, a Scotch commission merchant, residing generally at Middleburgh, but carrying on business at the Fairs of Berri, Bruges, and Antwerp.—Cosmo Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 245.

able, both for purse and people, but after some years he sold his interest and settled his family in Broad Island, and there built two slated houses, on y^e^ Dalway's estate,[40] near Carrickfergus.[41]

William Edmonston, mentioned in the text, mortgaged the Duntreath estate to sir William Livingstone of Kilsythe, and invested the money thus raised in the purchase of land on the Irish coast. This step he, and his brother James, were probably induced to take in consequence of the unfortunate political troubles in which their father, sir James Edmonston, the sixth laird, had involved himself, by entering into a conspiracy against the liberty of the young king, James VI., immediately after the celebrated *Raid of Ruthven*. Three of sir James's fellow-conspirators, named Douglass, Cunningham, and Hamilton, were executed, but he having pleaded guilty, and implored the king's mercy, was permitted to live. Although he had held the high office of justice-deputy of Scotland, sir James never afterwards appeared in public life. His sons, William and James, who are described as *of Dimthriffe* (Duntreath), obtained a grant of denization, on the 18th of August, 1607, Erck's *Repertory, &c., of Patent Rolls*, p. 346, and soon afterwards appeared in the Ards. In *Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I.*, p. 105, their Scottish estate is named *Dunthriffe*. A grant from sir Hugh Montgomery, conveying to William Edmonston the lands of Ballybreen or Ballybrian, and part of Ballymenestragh, is dated the 25th August, 1607. "The Scottish contract," made on that occasion, is stated in the Inquisition of 1623, to be "now in the possession of William Edmonston, Esq., according to an order of the Council Table, bearing date the 25th of February, 1616." The lands of Ballybrian, parish of Greyabbey, were held in 1629 by Archibald Edmonston, son of William, and occupied by his undertenants, as appears by a grant in that year from the first viscount to his son, sir James Montgomery.—*MS. in the possession of Daniel De la Cherois, Esq.* These lands, together with the two Ballyvesters, in the parish of Donaghadee, had been granted, on the 20th of July, 1624, by the first viscount and his eldest son Hugh, to William Edmonston of Broad Island, Isobel his wife, and Archibald his son, in consideration of a sum of £250. On the 1st of Oct., 1630, the Edmonstons, father and son, sold the Ballyvester property to William Catherwood, for £612. Note 33, *supra*. The Inquisition of 1623 mentions that William Edmonston held considerable tithe property in Lecale, in conjunction with Hugh Kessane and Col. David Boyd. These several holdings in the county of Down were sold from time to time, the owner having permanently settled at Broadisland, in the county of Antrim, so early as the year 1609.

[40] *Dalway's Estate.*—This estate was not formally granted to John Dalway until the 4th of July, 1608. In its original dimensions it consisted of the two territories or tueghs of Ballynowre and Braden-Island, together with two parcels in Carrickfergus, the latter being bounded by premises owned by William Dobbin, Owen M'Edmond McGey, John Wills, Tho. Stephenson, Tho. Hibbotts, Wiliam Bathe, and Mary Vaughan. The names of the towns and lands in Braden-Island were Ballihill, the mountain of Arlonewater, Ballymullagh, Killroe, Whitehead, Balleslannan, Ballibantragh, Ballimullaghmoyle, Ballyharrington-Savage, Ballyalfrackaman, Ballyisland-ogree, and Clubforde. This property was granted to be held for ever at the yearly rent of £6 13s 4d., in common soccage.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.*, p. 125.

[41] *Near Carrickfergus.*—On the 26th of May, 1609, John Dalway of Brayde-Island, esq., granted to William Edmonston of Duntrath, in Scotland, esq., the towns, lands, fishings, and hereditaments of Leslanan, Whiteheade, Holmanstowne, Spearpointstowne, Islandogree, Allfrackyn, Readhall, Harington-Savage, Molaghmoyle, and Ballinvantroe, all lying within the towagh or barony of Brayde-Island; and also all other the lands which he had, or of right ought to have, within the following limits—2870 acres at the rate of 160 perches to an acre, and 21½ feet to every perch, viz., from the ford called Cloobford, on the south-west part by a bog or marshy ground to a ford or water called Beltyde-Ford, near the town or village of Beltyde; thence to a lough called Loughduffe; thence to Raven's Rock; thence by Cloghbally-Edward to Lissinusky, according to the mears between Brayde-Island and Magherimorne to Loghlarne, and by the said lough to a place called Fort-Alexander; thence further to a little stream dividing Island-Maghie and Brayd-Island to Castle-Chichester lately built, and so by the south part of the said castle to the sea; and so on by the sea-coast to Cloghocrye, otherwise the Partition-Trench, which are the bounds between the lands of Spearpointstown and the lands of Kilroute and Ballymacmurtagh to Island O'Dreyne, and so forward upon the south-west side of a small river to a trench or ditch to be made and cast up by the lands of John Dobbe and Ballyhill, directly to a place whereat a stream coming from the bog near Clubbford, fell into the said river running near Castle-Dobbe, and so forward by that stream to the said bog near Clubbford aforesaid;—the advowson and right of patronage of the rectory and vicarage of Templacurran in Brayde-Island; with free warren, hawking, hunting, fishing, and fowling within the premises; reserving to said Dalway and his heirs all the tithes and tenths of the premises, wrecks of the sea, courts leet and baron, and all the lands then in the possession or occupation of the said John Dobbe, within Brayde-Island, and all other lands, &c., which the said Dalway had or ought to have within the said towagh or barony, which were not herein mentioned to be contained within the mears and bounds before expressed; also, common of turbary, and free common of pasture without number, for all manner of cattle commonable, which the said Edmundston, his heirs and their tenants, should keep to be going and depasturing together with the cattle of the said Dalway and Dobbe in Brayde-Island, in, by, and through all that great waste, heath, or common of Brayde-Island, lying toward the W. and N.W. of Loughmorne and Beltyde, and all other the lands in Brayde-Island; except the lands of John Dobbe, and 400 acres which the said Dalway intended to lay to his manor house of Dalway, and all such lands as he had formerly granted to sir Arthur Chichester, knt., lord-deputy of Ireland—To hold to the said Edmondston, and his heirs, by fealty, suit of the said manor-court, and a rent of £160 9s. 4d. sterling, at the parish church of St. Nicholas of Carrickfergus, with a herriot upon the death of every freeholder or principal tenant, viz., the best beast or £3 English in lieu thereof, at the election of the heir of each freeholder, and to attend said Dalway with five horsemen

Therefore let us now pause a while, and we shall wonder how this plantation advanced itself (especially in and about the towns of Donaghadee and Newton), considering that in the spring time, Ao. 1606, those parishes were now more wasted than America[42] (when the Spaniards landed there), but were not at all incumbered with great woods to be felled and grubbed, to the discouragement or hindrance of the inhabitants, for in all those three parishes aforesaid, 30 cabins could not be found, nor any stone walls, but ruined roofless churches, and a few vaults at Gray Abbey, and a stump of an old castle in Newton, in each of which some Gentlemen sheltered themselves at their first coming over.[43]

when necessary.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I.*, p. 278. The Ballymena estate was at first held jointly between William Edmondston and William Adair. William Edmondston died on the 12th or 13th of September, 1626. His wife, Isobel, survived until the 13th of March, 1638.—*Ulster Inquisitions*, Antrim (3, 131), *Car. I.* On her death, his son Archibald came into full possession, and sold as much of the Red-hall estate as was required to free Duntreath from the mortgage held against it by the Livingstones. This eighth laird represented Stirlingshire in the Scottish parliament which met at Edinburgh in the year 1633, and was also a prominent actor in the political and religious affairs of Ulster. He died in 1636, leaving two sons, William, who was twelve years of age at the time of his father's death, and Archibald. William, the elder of these sons, being a deaf mute, did not succeed to the property, but he bore the Scottish title, and was well known in his life-time as the "dumb laird of Duntreath." The following story was told of his boyhood in the vicinity of Duntreath castle. Having discovered that he was frequently overlooked by the other members of the family on account of his "inability to communicate, and being in particular left at home when the rest went to church, he was found one day, on the family returning from worship, sitting among the horses in the stable. When his mother let him know that this conduct excited surprise, he imparted to her, by such means as were at his command, that seeing himself treated as if he were something less than a human being, he had thought it only right and proper that he should place himself in the society of the animals, who had the same deficiency as himself. The reproach was felt, and he was thenceforth treated more on a footing of equality, and allowed to go to church with the rest of the family." There is a portrait of the deaf and dumb laird still preserved at Cadaum House, the seat of the Edmonstons of Duntreath, and this portrait is described as presenting an aspect of intelligence much beyond what one, subject to so great a deprivation, could have been supposed to possess. His family were rigidly devoted Presbyterians, and among the good people of that persuasion he got the character of being pre-eminently pious, some even going so far as to allege that he possessed the gift of clairvoyance or second-sight. For several ridiculous illustrations of his second-sight, see the Rev. Robert Law's *Memorable Things*, from 1638 to 1684, as quoted by Chambers, in his *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 384, 385.

[42] *More wasted than America.*—This state of desolation was the result, in a great measure, of Mountjoy's ruthless [illegible] as carried out against the natives by Chichester [illegible] officers, especially in the county of Down. The following extract from Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, is an awful record of the condition to which the hapless natives were reduced:—"Now because I haue often made mention formerly of our destroying the Rebels Corne, and vsing al meanes to famish them, let me by two or three examples show the miserable estate to which the Rebels were thereby brought. Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Sir *Richard Moryson*, and the other Commanders of the Forces, sent against *Bryan Mac Art* aforesaid, in their returne homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not aboue ten yeeres old), all eating and knawing with their teeth the entrals of their dead mother, vpon whose flesh they had fed twenty dayes past, and hauing eaten all from the feete upward to the bare bones, rosting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her said entralls in like sort roasted, yet not diuided from the body, being as yet raw. . . . Captaine *Treuor* and many honest Gentlemen lying in the *Newry* can witnes, that some old women of those parts, vsed to make a fier in the fields, and diuers little children driuing out the cattel in the cold mornings, and comming thither to warme them, were by them surprised, killed and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girle breaking from them by strength of her body, and Captaine *Treuor* sending out souldiers to know the truth, they found the childrens skulles and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact. The Captaines of *Carrickfergus*, and the adjacent Garrisons of the Northerne parts can witnesse that vpon the making of peace, and receiuing the rebels to mercy, it was a common practise among the common sort of them (I meane such as were not Sword-men), to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troopes, and they dying thereupon, to bee readie to teare out one anothers throate for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the Ditches of Townes, and especiallie in wasted Countries, then to see multitudes of these poore people dead with their mouthes all coloured greene by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend vp aboue ground."—Part ii., book 3, chap. 1 (p. 271).

[43] *Coming over.*—The author's words implies an extent of desolation seldom produced even by the dire agencies of war. The destruction of all religious houses in the district was the work of sir Brian MacFelim O'Neill, who with the connivance of the English, had usurped the chieftainship of both Upper and Lower Clannaboy, when his uncle, sir Con, and his elder brother, Hugh, were prisoners in Dublin Castle. Brian's allegiance was always doubtful, but he suddenly assumed a hostile attitude on hearing that the queen had made a grant of the Ards, to sir Thomas Smith,

But Sir Hugh in the said spring brought with him divers artificers, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c. I knew many of them old men when I was a boy at school, and had little employments for some of them, and heard them tell many things of this plantation which I found true.[44] They soon made cottages and booths for themselves, because sods and saplins of ashes, alders, and birch trees (above 30 years old) with rushes for thatch, and bushes for wattles, were at hand.[45] And also they made a shelter of the said stump of the castle for Sir Hugh, whose residence was mostlie there, as

His letters of remonstrance against this apparently unexpected injustice are still preserved, and clearly indicate the writer's characteristic vigour and intelligence. On the 6th of March, 1572, he wrote from Belfast to the lord Deputy, informing him that the grant to the Smiths, father and son, had been actually made, and expressing his conviction that Elizabeth could not have thus given away his lands, had she been made aware of his (the writer's) sacrifices in her service. Knowing that the deputy was opposed to Smith's grant, sir Brian concluded his letter, which was written in Latin, by boldly announcing that her majesty's act must be cancelled. A few days subsequently he wrote to the queen *à Carrigfergusia*, remonstrating against granting his lands to Smith, and stating that the Ards belonged to his ancestors during more than fourteen descents. This letter is also written in Latin, and signed *Bernardus O Nele filius Philimei*. On the 27th March, he addressed himself to the Council in plain English, from *Knockfergus*, stating, among other matters, that "there have been certaine bookes spred in print, that it hath pleased the queen's highnes to geve unto sir Thomas Smith, knight, and Thomas Smith, his sone, some part of the countrie, the which hath bene possessed by myne ancestours above fourteene discents, as their inheritance, namelye Clandeboye." Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. i., pp. 467, 469. O'Neill evidently uses the term Clandeboye as including the Great Ardes, which it did at that period, and he reckons, probably, from the time of the conquests made in Down and Antrim by his ancestor, Hugh Boy I. The "bookes spred in print" to which he refers were several *Broadsides* issued in connection with Smith's project, one of which bore the following title :—"The Offer and Order given forth by Sir T. S., and T. S., his son, in his voyage for inhabiting some parts of the North of Ireland. The payment to begin four years hence—1750. *God save the Queen.*" *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 45. These remonstrances on the part of Sir Brian, and also the suggestions of the queen's agents in Ulster, were alike unheeded, as her majesty had set her heart on the colonisation of the Ards by the Smiths. Then came the revolt of O'Neill, during the progress of which that chieftain literally swept the country with fire and sword, burning the abbeys of Bangor, Movilla, and Comber, together with all other structures which might be made available as garrisons for the English, and completing his desolating raid by laying the town of Carrickfergus in ashes. The abbeys and other houses then destroyed were never afterwards repaired, and when sir Hugh Montgomery and his colonists arrived, only the walls remained, which, in most instances, soon afterwards disappeared. In 1573, the earl of Essex was appointed governor of Ulster, and, among other cruel and treacherous acts which rendered his government not only a failure but an infamy in history, was the assassination of sir Brian MacFelim O'Neill, whom the English had originally brought out in opposition to the interests of his own family and race. The following account of his seizure and execution is recorded in the *Annals of Ireland* under the year 1574 :—"Peace, sociality, and friendship, were established between Brian the son of Felim Bacagh O'Neill, and the Earl of Essex ; and a feast was afterwards prepared by Brian, to which the Lord Justice and the chiefs of his people were invited; and they passed three nights and days together pleasantly and cheerfully. At the expiration of this time, however, as they were agreeably drinking and making merry, Brian, his brother, and his wife, were seized upon by the Earl, and all his people put unsparingly to the sword, men, women, youths, and maidens, in Brian's own presence. Brian was afterwards sent to Dublin, together with his wife and brother, where they were cut in quarters. Such was the end of their feast. This unexpected massacre, this wicked and treacherous murder, of the lord of the race of Hugh Boy O'Neill, the head and the senior of the race of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and of all the Gaels, a few only excepted, was a sufficient cause of hatred and disgust to the Irish." After the death of sir Brian MacFelim, the Ards had a short interval of rest, during which some English farmers settled therein; but their small beginnings of prosperity were in turn swept away by the rebellion of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone. The old castle at Newton, of which only the "stump" remained, originally belonged to the O'Neills, and occupied the site now known as the *Castle Gardens*. The reader may find much interesting matter in reference to Essex's movements in Ulster by consulting Devereux's *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, 2 vols., 8vo, 1853.

[44] *I found true.* — These conversations between the author and the old men who had come to settle at Newton in 1606, occurred between 1644 and 1650. See p. 2, note 4, *supra*.

[45] *Were at hand*—On the forfeited lands of Ulster, the tenant settlers often built their first dwellings in similar fashion. The houses in Belturbet were built of *cage-work*, large trees being, no doubt, used to make the frames, and the underwood for wattles to fill up the spaces between.—Harris, *Hibernica*, p. 150. In this important matter of hastily constructing their first abodes, the settlers in the Ards and elsewhere took a lesson from the native Irish inhabitants. The dwellings of the latter, everywhere throughout Ulster, were then made of wattles, covered with sods, which they could easily remove and erect again, as they wandered from place to place in following their herds of cattle, with their wives and children, and seeking "fresh fields and pastures new," as their exigencies required. The aggregate of families thus following one herd of cattle was called a *craught*.—Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, p. 164; and Spenser's *State of Ireland*, p. 35, as quoted

in the centre of being supplied with necessaries from Belfast (but six miles thence), who therefore came and set up a market in Newtown, for profit for both the towns. As likewise in the fair summer season (twice, sometimes thrice every week) they were supplied from Scotland, as Donaghadee was oftener, because but three hours sail from Portpatrick, where they bespoke provisions and necessaries to lade in, to be brought over by their own or that town's boats whenever wind and weather served them, for there was a constant flux of passengers coming daily over.

I have heard honest old men say that in June, July, and August, 1607, people came from Stanraer, four miles, and left their horses at the port, hired horses at Donaghadee, came with their wares and provisions to Newton, and sold them, dined there, staid two or three hours, and returned to their houses the same day by bed-time, their land journey but 20 miles. Such was their encouragement from a ready market, and their kind desires to see and supply their friends and kindred, which commerce took quite away the evil report of wolves and woodkerns, which envyers of planters' industry had raised and brought upon our plantations; but, notwithstanding thereof, by the aforesaid Gentlemen's assiduity to people their own farms, which they did, Ao. 1607, after Sir Hugh and his Lady's example, they both being active and intent on the work (as birds, after payr-

in the *Journal of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. iii., p. 423.

[46] *Upon our plantations.*—These startling rumours were not without foundation, and could not be traced exclusively to "the envyers of planters' industry." The *Cethern Coille*, or 'Wood-Kern,' constituted one of Ireland's direst evils, from an early period down to the close of the seventeenth century, when the extensive woods and forests had generally disappeared. Multitudes of the natives who were driven from their habitations by the Anglo-Norman invaders took refuge in the woods, from which they preyed upon the herds and flocks of their conquerors. Strongbow in the east, De Courcy in the north, De Burgh in the west, Fitzstephen and De Cogan in the south, and De Lacy in the central plains of Ireland, were more or less surrounded and circumvented by the Cethern Coille. So early as 1297 the English settlers endeavoured to grapple with the evil by the enactment of a law against wood-kern. One passage in this Act recites that the Irish assume a boldness in their offences, by reason of the confidence they gain from the density of the woods, and the depth of the adjacent morasses; that the king's highways are often obstructed by the rapid growth of the trees, so that the wood-kern cannot be overtaken,—and therefore it was ordained that all lords of the woods and their tenants should be compelled to keep the ancient passes clear, by the removal of the growing trees and fallen timber. The woods being thus such convenient and impregnable hiding-places for such as had lost their inheritance in the plains, the clearing of the country hence became an important work with the English settlers of the Pale. In a description of Ireland written in the time of Elizabeth, it is stated that "there was then a great plenty of woods, except in Leinster, where, heretofore, for their great inconveniences, finding them to be ready hives to harbour Irish rebells, they have been cut downe, so that nowe they are enforced in those parts, for want of fewel, to burne turves." See *Paper by the late Mr. Hore in Journal of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society*, new series, vol. ii., pp. 231–33. But when the planters came to Ulster in the seventeenth century, they found the woods and morasses here in great abundance, and infested not only by the regular wood-kern but a large number of native soldiers who had served under Hugh O'Neill. In the author's *Narrative of Gransheogh*, which will be printed in its proper place, he tells of the massacre by wood-kern, of John Montgomery of Gransheogh, together with all his family, excepting the eldest son. This settler was cousin to sir Hugh Montgomery, and, prior to his settlement on the coast of Down, had married a wealthy heiress belonging to one of the numerous influential families of the Stewarts in Scotland. His reputed wealth was supposed to be the fatal cause of his murder, but it is quite as probable that the wood-kern who perpetrated the deed had been previously occupiers of the lands on which he had lucklessly settled. In Blennerhassett's *Direction for the Plantation in Ulster*, published in 1610, as quoted by Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i. p. 80, it is stated that "sir Toby Caulfield's people (county of Armagh) are driven every night to lay up all his cattle, as it were inward, and do he and his what they can, the wolfe and the wood-kerne, within culiver shot of his fort, have oftentimes a share." In Adair's *True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Edited by the Rev. Dr. Killen*, it is stated at p. 9, that "the wolf and wood-kern were greatest enemies to the first planters, but the long-rested land did yield to the labourers such plentiful increase that many followed these first essayers." See also Pynnar's *Survey of Ulster*, in Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 228. The wood-kern always found an asylum among the *creaghts* referred to in the preceding note. These communities, therefore, soon became suspected by the government, and stringent measures were enacted for their dispersion, and even for the punishment of such Irish tenants as lived outside, or at a distance from towns and villages, and who, it was alleged, connived with the wood-kern. See *Journal of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society*, old series, vol. iii., pp. 427, 428.

ing to make nests for their brood), then you might see streets and tenements regularly set out, and houses rising as it were out of the ground (like Cadmus's colony) on a sudden, so that these dwellings became towns immediately.[47]

Yet among all this care and indefatigable industry for their families, a place of God's honor to dwell in was not forgotten nor neglected, for indeed our forefathers were more pious than ourselves, and so soon as said stump of the old castle was so repaired, (as it was in spring time, 1606,) as might be shelter for that year's summer and harvest, for Sir Hugh and for his servants that winter, his piety made some good store of provisions in those fair seasons, towards roofing and fitting the chancel of that church, for the worship of God;[48] and therein he needed not withdraw his own planters from working for themselves, because there were Irish Gibeonets[49] and Garrons enough in his woods to hew and draw timber for the sanctuary; and the general free contribution of the planters, some with money, others with handycrafts, and many with labouring, was so great and willingly given, that the next year after this, viz. Ao. 1607, before winter it was made decently serviceable, and Sir Hugh had brought over at first two or three Chaplains[50] with him for these parishes. In summer 1608, some

[47] *Towns immediately.*—The settlers had all the materials for building amply supplied to them in the Ards, with the one exception of lime which could not be had nearer than Belfast, or in the vicinity of Lisburn. They had quarries of the best common building stone in every parish, inexhaustible stores of freestone at Scrabo, and timber of the largest size and in enormous quantities on the four townlands in Slut Neills, which had been secured by purchase from Con O'Neill, for the use of sir Hugh Montgomery's tenants. Slate quarries were opened at various times, and, in some instances, from an early period, at Greyabbey, Bangor, Ballywalter, and Ballydunlady in Castlereagh. Of the town of Newtownards, Harris observes, at p. 59, of his *Antient and Present State of the County of Down*, "that it is well paved, and has many neat houses in it, on the front of several of which are the dates and names of the builders cut in stone. There is a humorous, perhaps a modest inscription over the door of one of them, we know not by whom erected, which runs thus:—*Not by my merit, that I inherit.*" Nearly all the houses of the seventeenth century, having dates and names, have disappeared. In Mill Street, there is a one storey house having the inscription "J. M. E. N. 1686." In North Street is a house with the following:—"Built by John Mcullough, 1690."

[48] *For the worship of God.*—The settlers who came to the county of Down with sir Hugh Montgomery and sir James Hamilton were probably of a better and more respectable class than those who generally occupied the escheated counties of Ulster. Andrew Stewart's description of the English and Scottish settlers generally is not flattering:—"From Scotland," says he, "came many, and from England not a few, yet all of them generally the scum of both nations, who, for debt, or breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice in a land where there was nothing, or but little, as yet, of the fear of God. And in a few years, there flocked such a multitude of people from Scotland that these northern counties of Down, Antrim, Londonderry, &c., were in a good measure planted, which had been waste before; yet most of the people, as I said before, made up a body (and, it's strange, of different names, nations, dialects, tempers, breeding, and, in a word, all void of godliness), who seemed rather to flee from God in this enterprise than to follow their own mercy. Yet God followed them when they fled from him—albeit, at first it must be remembered that they cared little for any church."—Stewart's *History*, as published with Adair's *Narrative*, pp. 313, 314.

[49] *Irish Gibeonets.*—This allusion shows pretty clearly the estimate in which these settlers held the native Irish inhabitants. The actual name Gibeonites is only once applied to the people of Gibeon—2 Sam. xxi. 1—9, *Authorised Version of the Bible.* They were Gibeonites, but by race *Hivites*, who by a stratagem obtained the protection of the Israelites, and, on discovery of the stratagem, were condemned to be perpetual bondsmen, hewers of wood and drawers of water, for the congregation, and for the house of God and altar of Jehovah. (*Joshua*, ix., 17, 23, 27.) Saul violated the covenant made with this miserable people, and in a fit of enthusiasm, or patriotism, slew some of them, and planned the general massacre of the rest. (2 Sam. xxi., 1, 2, 5.) This treachery was expiated many years after, by the Israelites giving up seven men of Saul's descendants to the Gibeonites, who hung them, or crucified them, "before Jehovah," as a kind of sacrifice in Gibeah, Saul's own town. (Verses 4, 6, 9.) At the time of the writing of this scriptural narrative, the Gibeonites had become so identified with the Israelites that the historian inserts at verse 2, a note explanatory of their origin and their non-Israelitish extraction. See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible, voce* Gibeonites.

[50] *Three chaplains.*—Two of these chaplains were probably David M'Gill and James Montgomery, whose names are afterwards introduced. A *Mr. David Maxill* of Grayabbey is mentioned in the grant of 1629 from the first viscount to sir James Montgomery; he probably came as a chaplain at the commencement of the plantation, or soon afterwards.

of the priory walls[51] were roofed and fitted for his Lady and children and servants (which were many) to live in.

Now the harvests 1606 and 1607 had stocked the people with grain, for the lands were never naturally so productive since that time, except where no plough had gone, and where sea oar[52] (called wreck) is employed for dung, to that degree that they had to spare[53] and to sell to the succeeding new coming planters, who came over the more in number and the faster, because they might sell their own grain at a great price in Scotland, and be freed of trouble to bring it with them, and could

[51] *Priory walls.*—This priory, the walls of which were thus made available for the construction of a private residence, was originally a Dominican house. It "is styled by De Burgo 'Cœnobium Sancti Columbæ,' and its foundation ascribed to Walter de Burgo, A.D. 1244." Reeves, in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 55, *note*; see also Reeves, *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 13; and Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 127. Harris says:—"A convent of Dominican Friars was settled here in the year 1244, by the Savages (as it is said), in which Chapters of the Order were held in 1298 and 1312."—*State of the County of Down*, p. 56.

[52] *Sea oar.*—Sea-oar appears in Johnson's *Dictionary* as *Orrweed* or *Orewood*, which is explained "a weed either growing upon the rocks under high watermark, or broken from the bottom of the sea by rough weather, and cast upon the coast by the wind and flood." In the county of Dublin the sea weed which the people gather for manure is called by them *Woar*, which is the old English name. In Scotland, it is *wraic*; in the Channel Islands, *vraic*; and in France, *varech*. So important is this product considered as a manure that a proverb among the inhabitants of Guernsey is—*point de vraic, point de hantgard*, 'No sea-weed, no corn stacks.' The reader may see an interesting account of sea-oar, and its uses, in Cuthbert Bede's *Glencreggan, or, A Highland Home in Cantire*, vol. ii., pp. 100, 156, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164. Sea oar was employed almost exclusively in the Ards for the manufacture of kelp. "This vegetable," says Harris, "is too precious to be used much as a manure; for they turn it to a better account by burning it into kelp, which they do in such great quantities, that they not only supply the linen manufacturers in this and the neighbouring counties, but export it in abundance for the use of the glass-houses in Dublin and Bristol, as appears from the Custom-house books of Portaferry."—*State of the County of Down*, p. 43. The people of the Little Ards, especially, have an abundant supply of this very useful material, not only from the eastern shore, but also from the numerous islands of Strangford lough. In sales of property, and sub-letting of lands in the Ards, this production has its special mention as an important element in the value of such properties and farms. The Rosemount deed of sale in 1710 specifies "all kelp, wreck, and sea-weed growing or being, or that shall hereafter grow or be, on the said manor, towns, lands, rocks, and premises, or on the coasts or shores thereof, or that belong, or are reputed to belong, to the same."

[53] *They had to spare.*—This superabundance of food in the young colony, whilst it attracted additional settlers, became a source of supply to the parent country. There soon commenced with the Scottish coast a trade in grain, which occasionally supplied the inhabitants of Argyle, Galloway, and even Ayrshire, at a cheaper rate than they could grow it for themselves. To meet this difficulty, Scottish statesmen devised no other remedy than *Protection Acts*, prohibiting the importation of agricultural produce, *especially from Ireland*. By an Act passed in 1672, it was forbidden to import meal from Ireland, while the price in Scotland remained below a certain rate. But this and former Acts having the same object were often rendered futile by the necessities of Scotch consumers and the determination of traders to benefit by supplying the demand. In the April of 1695, the Scottish council determined to enforce the law by issuing an order for *staving* the grain brought in two vessels from Carrickfergus, and for handing over the vessels themselves to sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, who had seized them on their way to a Scottish port. It so happened, however, that the crop of that very summer was stricken in one night by an easterly fog, and the price of victual in the western shires suddenly rose much beyond the importation rate fixed by the sages of the Scottish Privy Council. The latter then issued one of their numerous orders, to the effect that in consequence of the "scarcity" and "distress," they would permit the importation of meal, but of no other grain, from Ireland, "to any port between the mouth of Annan and the head of Kintyre," from the 3rd of December until the first of February. Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 137. The trade in *Meal*, however, continued to be extensively carried on, until the year 1703, when a very stringent measure was enacted against the *Importation of Irish Victual*, and a Mr. Alexander of Blackhouse, in the Mearns, was appointed to collect fines from all illicit traders in Irish meal. The following are the names of certain traders who surrendered, but there were many others whom the law could not, or did not, prevent from continuing the traffic:—"Ane list of persons names trading to Irland ffor victuall these two years bygonne, and who componed with Blackhouse and his deputts:—George Dennie, John Speir, Arthure Park, James Scott, John Nevin, John Simsone in the Harbrayhead, John M'Eun *alias* young laird, William M'Eun called meikle, John M'Eun his sone, John Morisone, James Simsone, William M'Eun Maich, John Simsone Carshogale, James M'Eun, John Morisone Levan, Edward Mudie there, Robert Wardan, Alexander Kerr, John Young, John Craswell, John Wardan, John Hyndman miller in Inverkipe, Morisone in Inverkipe, Muire in Portoferrie, John Craufoord, John Alexander called ghosop, John Hunter, Matthew ffrew in Kilwinning and his partners, Duncan Campbell in Grinok, John Campbell there, M'leish in Irvine, John Gay in Newark, millar in ferry-

have it cheaper here. This conference gave occasion to Sir Hugh's Lady to build watermills[54] in all the parishes, to the great advantage of her house, which was numerous in servants, of whom she stood in need, in working about her gardens, carriages, &c., having then no duty days' works from tenants, or very few as exacted, they being sufficiently employed in their proper labour and the publique. The millers also prevented the necessity of bringing meal from Scotland, and grinding with quairn stones[55] (as the Irish did to make their graddon) both which inconveniencys the people, at their first coming, were forced to undergo.

milne. All the above-named persons and a greate many more, who live in Renfrew, Glasgow, Air, and several other places, have traded to Irland these two years bygonne, since the date of Alexander of Blackhouse's commissione, and have payed compesitions to the said Blackhouse or his deputts."—Paterson, *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i. p. 144.

[54] *Water mills.*—From this statement it is evident that the use of water-mills was unknown in the vicinity of Newtown at the commencement of the seventeenth century, although the author in his general *Description of the Ards*, printed at the end of his Memoirs, states that the Danish or Ladle mill was then in common use in such localities throughout the two baronies as afforded the necessary facilities for their erection. The Danish was an approach to the regular water-mill, and from it the latter, probably, with all its modern improvements, gradually arose. The first corn mill driven by water is supposed to have been invented and set to work by Mithridates, king of Cappadocia, about seventy years prior to the commencement of the Christian era. Curiously indeed, "that coincident with the time of the inventor, as mentioned by Strabo, is the date of a Greek epigram on water-mills, by Antipater, a poet of Asia Minor, who lived about eighty years before Christ." This epigram has been translated as follows :—

> "Ye maids who toil'd so faithful at the mill,
> Now cease from work, and from these toils be still;
> Sleep now till dawn, and let the birds with glee
> Sing to the ruddy morn on bush and tree;
> For what your hands perform'd so long, so true,
> *Ceres has charg'd the water-nymphs to do:*
> They come, the limpid sisters, to her call,
> And on the wheel with dashing fury fall;
> Impel the axle with a whirling sound,
> And make the massy mill-stone reel around,—
> And bring the floury heaps luxuriant to the ground."

It is certain that mills driven by water were known in Ireland at a very early period, and appear to have been at least as generally used in ancient as in modern times. Irish authorities, and with them Irish traditions, are unanimous in representing that the first water-mill ever known in Ireland was introduced by Cormac MacArt, who reigned during a part of the third century, and that the good king brought his millwright from Scotland. The Annals of Tighernach state that Maelodrain's *Mill* was the scene, in 651, of the slaughter, by the Lagenians, of Donchad and Conall, the two sons of Blathmac, king of Ireland, son of Hugh Slaine. Under the year 998, the Four Masters record the fall of a remarkable stone known as the *Lia-Ailbhe*, which stood on the plain of Moynalvy in Meath, and add that the king Maelsechlainn made four mill-stones of it. The ancient Brehon Laws contain frequent references to water-mills. Irish charters preserved in the *Book of Kells* mention in grants of lands made to that monastery, so early as the middle of the eleventh century, the *mill* as the common appendage to a *ballybetagh*, when the place was favourable to its erection,—a statement curiously corroborated by the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* in his *Description of Ards*, who says that a Danish mill was to be found in almost every townland, having, of course, the necessary accommodations of site and water. In the charter of lands granted to the monastery of Newry, by king Muirchertach or Murtough Mac-Loughlin, there is also ample evidence of the existence of a mill in that district in 1161. Abridged from *Memoir of the City and North-Western Liberties of Londonderry*, pp. 215, 216; See also Reeves's *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, p. 362; *Senchus Mor*, vol. i., pp. 125, 141, 163, 167, 185, 189.

[55] *Quairn stones.*—The Irish name for the quern is *bro*, but the term generally used is *lamh-bro*, 'hand-mill.' Although of very great antiquity, the quern is in use throughout some districts of Ireland at the present day. "It was also used," says the late Dr. O'Donovan, "to a late period in the Highlands of Scotland, though prohibited by the law of Scotland as far back as the reign of Alexander III., in the year 1284, when it was enacted *That na man shall presume to grind quheit, maisloch, or rye, with handmylnes, except he be compelled by storms, and be in lack of mylnes quhilk should grind the samen.* We know of no law ever having been passed against it in Ireland. We often ground wheat with it ourselves. We first used to dry the wheat on the bottom of a pot, grind in a hurry, and then eat the meal mixed with new milk." See O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, p. 83, *note*. The most primitive variety of quern is that, says Sir W. R. Wilde, "in which the upper and lower stone are simply circular discs, from twelve to twenty inches across; the upper rotating on the lower by means of a wooden handle, or sometimes two, inserted into the top, and 'fed' or supplied with corn by an aperture in the centre, analogous to the hopper, and which may be termed the 'grain-hole' or eye. The meal, in this case, passed out between the margins of the stones to a cloth spread on the floor to receive it. The upper stones are usually concave, and the lower convex, so as to prevent their sliding off, and also to give a fall to the meal. The second variety is usually called a Pot-quern, and has a lip or margin in the lower stone, which encircles or overlaps the upper, the meal passing down through a hole in the side of the former. Most of this variety are of a smaller size than the foregoing, which is evidently the more ancient and the simpler form, as well as that which presents us with the greatest diversity. The upper stone was turned by a wooden handle—sometimes by two—or, in some of the larger

set up and encouraged linen and woollen manufactory,[58] which soon brought down the prices of y^e^ breakens[59] and narrow cloths of both sorts.

[58] *Woollen manufactory.*—At the period of the English invasion (1172), the Irish had flourishing woollen manufactories, producing parti-coloured cloths in great abundance, and of excellent quality. In the 14th century, Irish woollens are said to have been extensively imported into England, and Irish serges into Italy, which appears the more remarkable, as at that period, woollen manufacture had attained to a high degree of perfection in the latter country (*Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., p. 23). This statement rests, among other authorities, on a passage in an ancient Florentine poem, written prior to the year 1364, and known by the title of *Dittamondi* or *Data Mundi*. The first earl of Charlemont, who died in 1799, had the credit of first directing public attention to this passage, in a paper written by him in 1786, and printed in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Antiquities* vol. i., pp. 17—24. The passage is as follows:—"In like manner we pass into Ireland, which among us is worthy of renown for the excellent *serges* that she sends us." After quoting other authorities in connexion with his subject, Lord Charlemont observes:—"From all these several facts, and particularly from the passage of our author, we may fairly conclude that Ireland was possessed of an extensive trade in woollens at a very early period, and long before that commodity was an article of English export. Manufactures are slow in being brought to that degree of perfection which may render them an object coveted by distant countries, especially where the people of those countries have arrived at a high degree of polish; and if in the middle of the fourteenth century the serges of Ireland were eagerly sought after, and worn with a preference by the polished Italians, there can be no doubt that the fabric had been established for a very long time before that period." This prosperous trade was continued to Ireland, with but slight interruptions until the year 1673, when English statesmen were compelled to destroy it, because English manufacturers would no longer tolerate any Irish rivals. During the viceroyalty of Lord Essex a formal overture was published for relinquishing the woollen-trade in this country, except in its lower branches, "that it might not longer be permitted to discourage English woollen manufactures." The tendency of this short-sighted policy was not only to impoverish Ireland, but to enrich France, for the Irish wool could always find a better market in France than in England. Sir Richard Cox's arguments against the impolitic course adopted in this matter drew the following candid acknowledgment from the ministers, through the mouth of Lord Godolphin:—"They were convinced all he (Sir R. Cox) said was true, but they had the strong prejudices of the people to deal with, who looked on an increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland with so jealous an eye, that they would not listen to the most reasonable arguments in its favour, and that they merely compelled the late king and his ministers to comply with them against their own judgments: That nothing could change them but their own sufferings, which could not come so quickly, as that he could expect to see the alteration: But whenever they shall feel the mischievous consequences of what they had too rashly done, he will venture to prophecy that they will attribute them to any causes, however improbable, rather than confess the necessity of admitting their brethren of Ireland into any share of their trade, and will try a thousand expedients, before they will put into execution the natural, and therefore the only one which can be effectual, and which France would give millions of money to prevent taking place."—Harris' Ware's *Works*, vol. ii., *Irish Writers*, p. 219. The evils thus predicted very soon appeared, and to meet the difficulty, such heavy additional duties were imposed, in 1698, on the exportation of woollen cloths, as amounted to an actual prohibition. Ireland was declared to be more suited to the manufacture of linen than woollen cloth, and with this consolation Ireland was forced to be content. The woollen manufacture introduced and encouraged by lady Montgomery in the Ards, was no doubt conducted pretty much according to the process described in the following extract from the pen of one who had evidently been well informed on the subject:—"At the time of the accession of William III., our farms were better suited to the woollen manufacture than the linen; our flocks were numerous, and our sheep-sheering began in May: the wool was immediately sorted and scoured; the short fine wool being preserved for grey spinning, the web made of it was called a grey web, as in an Act of Henry VIII. This was died drab, blue, or brown; and was spun on the great wheel, woven in summer, and dressed for clothes for the male branches of the family. Tuck mills were then more numerous than our bleach mills are at present (1800). The long fine wool was laid aside for the comb. This was generally spun upon the small wheel, the same as used for flax-spinning; and was died of different colours, and woven as poplin, the warp and weft being of different colours; when doubled it was woven as camlet, and worn by men in summer, or made into stockings. The middling kind of wool was made into blankets."—*Dr. J. M. Stephenson's Fasciculus second, of the Belfast Literary Society*, as quoted in Dr. Stuart's *History of Armagh*, p. 422, *note*.

[59] *Breakens.*—From the Irish *breacan*, 'a tartan plaid,' or *breacanach*, adj. 'tartan.' The *breacan-feile*, literally 'the chequered covering,' was the peculiar garb of the Highlanders from a remote period, and was also commonly worn by Ayrshiremen at the commencement of the seventeenth century. Lady Montgomery's 'breakens' were *tartans*, and the wearers of the *breacanach* were settlers from Ayrshire.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i. p. 111, *note*. It was soon afterwards objected by Englishmen to the Scots of Ulster that the Scottish dress and customs were retained by them after coming to Ireland. During a debate in the English house of commons, on the 3rd of December, 1656, on the question as to whether adventurers for land in Ireland would be permitted to occupy the forfeited estates of the third viscount Montgomery and the first earl of Clanbrassil, Major Morgan, a leading member of the house, was of opinion that these noblemen's estates "ought to be assigned them in some other part of the nation." His reason for urging this arrangement was stated by him as follows:—"For in the North, the Scotch keep up an interest *distinct in garb and all formalities*, and are able to raise an army of 40,000 fighting men at any time, which they may easily convey over to the High-

Now every body minded their trades, and the plough, and the spade, building, and setting fruit trees, &c., in orchards and gardens, and by ditching in their grounds. The old women spun, and the young girls plyed their nimble fingers at knitting[60]—and every body was innocently busy. Now the Golden peacable age renewed, no strife, contention, querulous lawyers, or Scottish or Irish feuds, between clanns and families, and sirnames, disturbing the tranquillity of those times; and the towns and temples were erected, with other great works done (even in troublesome years) as shall be in part recited, when I come to tell you of the first Lord Viscount Montgomery's funeral, person, parts, and arts; therefore, reader, I shall be the more concise in the history of the plantation, and of his loyal transactions; not indeed, with his life, for the memories (out of which I have collected observations thereof) are few, by reason of the fire, February, 1695, and other accidents, and by my removal into Scotland, since A° 1688, whereby such papers were destroyed or lost.[61]

Yet I find by a fragment (of a second information to the Herauld, concerning the Lord Viscount's coat of arms), written by Sir James Montgomery, that in a few years from the beginning of the plantation, viz. in A°. 1610, the Viscount brought before the King's muster-master a thousand able fighting men[62] to serve, when out of them a militia should be raised, and the said Sir H. (for the

lands upon any occasion; and you have not so much interest in them as you have in the inhabitants of the Scotch nation. I would have the adventurers have the land fallen to them by lot, and the other claimers (Ards and Clanbrassil) provided for elsewhere."—Burton's *Parliamentary Diary*, anno 1656. The Scottish breacan, or tartan, is a remnant of the ancient Irish *Braccon*, striped or parti-coloured, so universally worn at a very early date in this country. The Books of Leacan and Ballymote, compiled in the fourteenth century from ancient manuscripts, state that in the reign of Tigearnmas, monarch of Ireland, cloths were first dyed purple, blue, and green, and that he established the custom of using one colour in the garment of a slave; two in that of a soldier; three in that of an officer and of a young nobleman; four in that of a *Biatach*, or gentleman who held land from the crown for the maintenance of a table for strangers and travellers; five in that of lords of the district; six in that of an *ollav*, or chief professor; and seven in that of a king or a queen. The fashion of the *Braccon*, as worn among the ancient Irish, "was so admirably adapted to the manners of a martial nation," says Charles O'Connor, "that it received very little change through all ages. It helped to display action, and exhibited the actor in the most advantageous manner. It was so conveniently contrived as to cover the breast better than modern dress, while the close sleeves gave the soldier all the advantages he could require in the use of arms."—*Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, vol. v., pp. 207, 208.

[60] *At knitting.*—In more modern days, the old women knitted, and the young women span.

[61] *Destroyed or lost.*—See pp. 1, 28, *supra*. At the time of the Revolution in 1688, the author was one of many from the county Down who left Ireland. William Montgomery, of Rosmond, esq., was named in the Act of Attainder.—See King, *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, Appendix, p. 14, Dublin, 1730.

[62] *A thousand able-fighting men.*—The muster-master (from *montrer* to show) was an officer commissioned in each district, to discover the number of able-bodied men therein, together with the available arms possessed by them. He was further required carefully to enrol the men and arms in a book, to be consulted when troops might be needed for active service. From this statement of the author it is evident that a large number of settlers had come with sir Hugh Montgomery to the Ards during the first four years of his colonisation. It is to be regretted that no list of these original settlers can now be found. Among them, were several named Orr, who appear to have originally settled in the townlands of Ballyblack and Ballykeel, and were the progenitors of a very numerous connexion of this surname throughout the Ards. The earliest recorded deaths in this connexion, after their settlement in the Ards, were those of James Orr of Ballyblack, who died in the year 1627, and Janet M'Clement, his wife, who died in 1636. The descendants, male and female, of this worthy couple were very numerous, and as their intermarriages have been carefully recorded, we have thus, fortunately, a sort of index to the names of many other families of Scottish settlers in the Ards and Castlereagh. Their descendants in the male line intermarried with the families of Dunlop, Gray, Kennedy, Coulter, Todd, M'Birney, M'Cullough, Campbell, Boyd, Jackson, Walker, Rodgers, Stevenson, Malcomson, King, Ferguson, M'Quoid, Cregg, Barr, M'Munn, Bryson, Johnson, Smith, Carson, M'Kinstry, Busby, M'Kee, Shannon, M'Garock, Hamilton, Cally, Chalmers, Rea, M'Roberts, Creighton, M'Whirter, M'Kibbin, Cleland, Abernethy, Reid, Agnew, Wilson, Irvine, Lindsay, M'Creary, Porter, Hanna, Taylor, Smyth, Carson, Wallace, Gamble, Miller, Catherwood, Malcolm, M'Cleary, Pollok, Lamont, Frame, Stewart, Minnis, Moorehead, M'Caw, Clark, Patterson, Neilson, Maxwell, Harris, Corbet, Milling, Carr, Winter, Patty, Cumming, M'Connell, M'Gowan. Nearly an equal number of Orrs married wives of their own surname. These numerous descendants, bearing the surname of Orr, resided in Ballyblack, Clontinacally, Killinether,

great encouragement of planters and builders) obtained a patent dated the 25th of March, 11th Jac., which is the 1st day of A° 1613, *Stilo Anglicano*,[63] and but one day more than ten full years after the Queen's death, y° 24th March, 1602, being the last day of that year, by which letters patent Newton aforesaid is erected into a corporation, whereof the said Sir Hugh is nominated the 1st Provost, and the Burgesses are also named.[64] This corporation hath divers priviledges, the most remarkable are that every Parliament they send two Burgesses to serve therein ;[65] the other is that it can hold a court

Ballygowan, Ballykeel, Munlough, Ballybeen, Castleaverie, Conlig, Lisleen, Bangor, Gortgrib, Granshaw, Killaghey, Gilnahirk, Ballyalloly, Ballyknockan, Ballycloughan, Tullyhubbert, Moneyrea, Newtownards, Ballymisca, Dundonald, Magherascouse, Castlereagh, Bootin, Lisdoonan, Greyabbey, Ballyrea, Ballyhay, Ballywilliam, Saintfield, Ballymacarrett, Craigantlet, Braniel. The greatest number of the name lived in Ballykeel, Clontinacally, and Ballygowan. The descendants in the female line from James Orr and Janet M'Clement of Ballyblack, intermarried with the families of Riddle of Comber, Thomson, of Newtownards, Moore of Drummon, Orr of Lisleen, Orr of Ballykeel, Murdock of Comber, Irvine of Crossnacreevy, M'Creary of Bangor, Hanna of Conlig, Orr of Bangor, Orr of Ballygowan, M'Munn of Lisleen, Barr of Lisleen, Davidson of Clontinacally, Jamieson of Killaghey, Martin of Killynure, Martin of Gilnahirk, Matthews of , Watson of Carryduff, Shaw of Clontinacally, Todd of Ballykeel, Jennings of , Davidson of , M'Kibbin of Knocknasham, M'Cormick of Ballybeen, M'Cullock of Ballyhanwood, M'Kee of Lisleen, Patterson of Moneyrea, Dunwoody of Madyroe, Barr of Bangor, M'Gee of Todstown, Burgess of Madyroe, M'Kinning of Lisnasharock, Gerrit of Ballyknockan, Pettigrew of Ballyknockan, M'Coughtry of Ballyknockan, Yates of , Shaw of , Stevenson of Ballyrush, M'Kibbin of Haw, Piper of Comber, Blakely of Madyroe, Orr of Ballyknockan, Stewart of Clontinacally, Hamilton of Ballykeel, Dunbar of Slatady, Orr of Ballygowan, Malcolm of Bootan, Porter of Ballyristle, M'Connell of Ballyhenry, Kennedy of Comber, Malcolm of Moat, Orr of Ballykeel, Martin of Ballycloughan, Reid of Ballygowan, Lewis of , Orr of Clontinacally, Orr of Florida, M'Creary of , Miller of Conlig, Lowry of Ballymacashan, Harris of Ballymelady, Orr of Ballyknockan, M'Quoid of Donaghadee, Appleton of Conlig, M'Burney of , Hanna of Clontinacally, Johnson of Rathfriland, Orr of Ballykeel, Stewart of Clontinacally and Malone, Patterson of Moneyrea and Lisbane, Black of Gortgrib, Hill of Gilnahirk, Murdock of Gortgrib, Kilpatrick of , Gregg of , Huddlestone of Moneyrea, M'Culloch, of Moneyrea, Steel of Maghrescouse, Erskine of Woodburn, Campbell of , White of , Clark of Clontinacally, M'Fadden of Clontinacally, Hunter of Clontinacally and Ravara, Orr of Castlereagh, M'Kean of , M'Kittrick of Lisleen, Frame of Munlough, Garret of Ballyknockan, Kennedy of Tullygirvan, Orr of Munlough, Dickson of Tullygirvan, M'Clure of Clontinacally, Porter of Beechhill, Dinwoody of Carrickmadyroe, Strain of Newtonards, Burns of Cahard, Kennedy of Tullygirvan, M'Calla of Lisdoonan, M'Bratney of Raferey, Harrison of Holywood, Piper of Moneyrea, MacWilliam of Ednaslate, Patterson of Tonachmore, Wright of Craigantlet, Boden of Craigantlet, Henderson of Ballyhaskin, Morrow of Belfast, M'Quoid of Braniel, M'Lean of Ballykeel, Neilson of Ravara, Crawford of Carrickmadyroe, M'Gown of Crossnacreevy, Orr of Ballybeen.—*MS. Geneology of the Family of James Orr of Ballyblack*, drawn up from inscriptions on tombstones, by the late Gawin Orr of Castlereagh.

[63] *Stilo Anglicano.*—See pp. 18, 40, 51, *supra*.

[64] *Burgesses are also named.*—See Appendix D.

[65] *To serve therein.*—The following is a list of the members of Parliament for the borough of Newtown, from 1613 to 1800 :—

1613, April—George Conyngham, Esq., Loghriscoll.
James Cathcart, Esq., Ballenyane.
1634, June—Hon. Hugh Montgomery, Master of the Ardes, Newtown.
1639, Mar. 2—Hon. Hugh Montgomery, Newtown.
John Trevor, Esq., Balleclender.
1640, Feb.—Hon. George Montgomery, Ballylessan, vice H. Montgomery, sick.
1640, March—G. Montgomery.
1661, April 18—William Montgomery, Esq., Rosemount.
Charles Campbell, Gent., Donaghadee, Dublin.
1692, Sept. 26—Robert Echlin, Esq., Rush, Dublin.
Thomas Knox, Esq., Dungannon, Tyrone.
1695, Aug. 19—Clotworthy Upton, Esq., Castle Upton, Antrim.
Charles Campbell, Esq., Dublin.
1703, Sept. 21—George Carpenter, Esq., Longwood, Hants.
Charles Campbell, Esq., Dublin.
1704, Feb. 23—Brabazon Ponsonby, Esq., Bessborough, Kilkenny, vice Carpenter absent on the Queen's service in England.
1713, Oct. 29—Brabazon Ponsonby, Esq., Bessborough, Kilkenny.
Charles Campbell, Esq., Dublin.
1715, Nov. 4—Richard Tighe, Esq., Dublin.
Charles Campbell, Esq., Dublin.
1725, Nov. 9—Hon. Wm. Ponsonby, Bessborough, Kilkenny, vice Campbell, deceased.
1727, Nov. 8—John Denny Vesey (Bart.), Abbyleix, Queen's County.
Robert Joeelyn, Esq., Dublin.
1739, Oct. 23—Hon. John Ponsonby, Bishops' Court, Kildare, vice Jocelyn, Lord Chancellor.
1750, April 26—Chambre Brabazon Ponsonby, Esq., Ashgrove, Kilkenny, vice Vesey, Lord Knapton.
1761, May 2—Hon. Richard Ponsonby, Dublin.
Redmond Morres, Esq., Rathgar, Dublin.
1768, July 16—Hon. John Ponsonby, Bishops' Court, Kildare.
Thomas Le Hunte, Esq., Dublin.
1769, Oct. 30—Sir William Evans Morres, Bart., Kilcreen, Kilkenny.
1775, Oct. 10—Cornelius O'Callaghan (the elder), Esq.
Arthur Dawson, Esq.
1776, June 18—John Browne of the Neale, (Bart.)
James Summerville, Esq.
1783, Oct. 4—William Brabazon Ponsonby, Esq.
Lodge Morres, Esq.
1785, Jan. 20—Right Hon. John Ponsonby.
Sir William Evans Ryves Morres, Bart.
1788, Feb., 4—Henry Alexander, Esq., vice Ponsonby, deceased.
1790, July, 2—Hon. Richard Annesley,
John La Touche, Esq.
1796, Mar., 2—John La Touche, jun., Esq.
1798, Jan., 9—Rt. Hon. Sir John Blacquiere, K.B.
Robert Alexander, Esq.

every 2d Friday for debt, trespass, and damage, not exceeding three score six shillings and eight pence sterling. The town hath in it an excellent piece of freestone work of eight squares, called the cross, with a door behind, within are stairs mounting to the towers, over which is a high stone pillar, and proclamations are made thereon; on the floor whereof at each square is an antique spout which vented claret, King Charles the 2d being proclaimed our King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. A°. D°. 1649.[66]

1800, Feb., 3—Hon. Dupre Alexander, vice Robt. Alexander.

The foregoing list has been kindly supplied by T. K. Lowry, Esq., Editor of the *Hamilton Manuscripts*.

[65] *Ao Do* 1649.—Although Charles II. did not actually succeed to the throne until the year 1660, the drift of events in Ireland encouraged his adherents to proclaim him at the date mentioned in the text. Ormond by able and unwearied efforts, had united the Catholics of the South with the Protestants of the North, in support of the royal cause. The former engaged to maintain an army of 17,000 men at their own expense, to be employed against the forces of the Parliament; whilst in Ulster, there was formed a union, although short-lived, between the royalists and covenanters, for the same object. Jones, the parliamentary commander in Dublin, and Coote, who held the same position in Londonderry, were almost entirely shut up within the limits of their respective garrisons. Monk, then a zealous republican, held Belfast for the parliament, but in consequence of the union between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, he was obliged to retire to Lisburn, thence to Dundalk; the latter place, with Newry, Drogheda, and several other garrisons soon afterwards declaring for the young king. At this crisis, too, the royal fleet, commanded by Prince Rupert, rode triumphantly off the Irish coast. The inhabitants of Newton in the Ards appear to have deeply participated in the passing gleam of royalist success which was so soon to be succeeded by a long-continued gloom. The English parliament had forgotten Ireland for a time in its anxiety to defeat the royalists in England and Scotland. This task was triumphantly executed by Cromwell at the battle of Worcester, and was very soon succeeded by the utter dispersion of the Irish royalists also. The market cross, the principal scene of the rejoicings referred to in the text, has been described by Harris, as follows:—"Before it (the market house) stands a neat octagon building of hewn stone, adorned with a slender stone pillar at top of the same form, which serves the town for a market-cross. In each side of the octagon, measuring to five feet four inches, is a niche curiously wrought, and adorned with an escallop shell. It is ten feet ten inches high from the pedestal to the cornish, and a belt of stone in an architrave runs round it, through which, at every angle, a stone spout projects itself, consisting each of one entire stone, a foot and a half long, to convey the water from the roof; and all these spouts are set off with variety of carved work, some of them terminating in a dog's head, and others in those of other animals. On the top of the pillar, springing out of the roof a lion, carved in stone, is placed in a sitting posture. The room within serves as a watch-house for the town. On every face of this octagon are different fancies or arms carved in stone, as namely, on one a rose, on another a helmet within the horns of a half-moon, and on it a flower-de-lys encompassed with a wreath of lawrel; on another a cross within a coronet; on another the arms of *Mountgomery*, earl of Mount-Alexander; on another the arms, as we believe, of one *Shaw*, being a star in the middle of three cups, and the crest a phœnix; for on a house near this building, erected by one of that name, are the same arms. On the sixth face of this octagon is a harp for the arms of Ireland; on the face next to the market-house is inscribed 1635, being the date of this building, and on the opposite face is this inscription, under the king's arms:—

"Theis arms, which Rebels threw down and defac'd—1653.
Are by this loyal Burrowgh now replac'd ——— 1666.
W. B. Prowest. ——— *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*"—

CHAPTER V.

THE foregoing things done, and in progress to their greater perfection, I begin again with Sir H. Montgomery and Con O'Neill's further dealings together. The last I mentioned was Con's conveyance to Sir Hugh, dated 22d August, 4 Jacobi, of the wood growing on the four townlands.[1] I find also that, in pursuance of articles of the 24th December, 3d Jacobi, and of a former treat and covenant, and Sir Hugh's part to be performed, mentioned in Con's deed of feofment, dated the 14th May, 3d Jacobi (for Con made then such a deed poll, which was accepted, because of mutual confidence between them). I say, pursuant to the premises, Sir Hugh made a deed of feofment, dated 15th May, 1610, purporting a gift in taile to Con and his heirs male of all his own lands excepting ten towns.[2] And the same day Con releases to Sir Hugh all the articles and covenants he had on Sir Hugh; and releases also thereby the said excepted ten towns, and this

[1] *On four townlands.*—For an account of this conveyance see p. 33, *supra*. Several early notices of this district represent it as being densely wooded. In a Map of the coast of Down, supposed to have been made about the year 1566, there is the following note explanatory of the difference between woods and underwoods:—"Wheras anie wodds doe sygnifye in these platts ye underwoods, as hasell, holye, oller, elder, thorne, crabtre and byrche, bot suche lyk, but noe greate hoke, neyther greate bwyldinge tymber, and the mountayne topps ys barayne, save onelye for ferres (firs) and small thornes." On a Map published about 1590, extensive woods are represented in the vicinity of *Bellfaste*, and in a corner is the following note:—"Alonge this river (the Lagan) be ye space of twenty-six miles groweth muche woodes, as well hokes for timber as hother woodde wiche maie be brought in the baie of Cragfergus with bote or drage."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology* vol. iii., pp. 273—4. Marshall Bagenal's *Description of Ulster in* 1586, represents South or Upper Clannaboy (now the baronies of Castlereagh Upper and Lower) as "for the moste parte a woodland," the *Diffrin*, (Dufferin) "for the most parte woody," and Killulta "full of wood and bogg."—*Ibid.* vol. ii., pp. 152—4.

[2] *Excepting ten towns.*—For the original articles of 24th Dec., 1605, see pp. 40, 41, *supra*. Con's deed of feoffment is dated the 14th of March, (not *May* as stated in the text,) 1606. "The jury find here a deed of feoffment, executed by livery and seisin, made by said Con to sir Hugh, in pursuance of the above articles (of 24th December, 1605) whereby said Con grants to said sir Hugh, all lands and privileges, and advantages, which James Hamilton granted by deed, on the 6th of November last (1605) to said Con, the said sir Hugh paying all sums and doing all services which the said deed of James Hamilton to said Con required."—*Inquisition of* 1623. Although Con made this feoffment to sir Hugh, he still retained possession of the property, exercising all the rights and enjoying all the advantages of landlord. The object of this temporary arrangement between them is not stated, but from the tenor of the original articles, we infer that it was adopted partly with the view of saving Con from the consequences of any forfeiture he might afterwards incur, as, in case of any such forfeiture, sir Hugh engaged to regrant the lands to Con's rightful heirs male. In return for this, Con virtually engaged to alienate the lands to no one without sir Hugh's consent. Accordingly, Con's grant to Thomas Montgomery of the lands of *Ballyrosbuye* on the 25th of April, 1606, was made with sir Hugh's consent; as was also his grant to Col. David Boyd, dated the 2nd of August, 1609. —P. 28, *supra*. On the 15th of May, 1610, sir Hugh regranted by deed of entail to Con O'Neill, these lands that had been transferred to him by the latter, in March, 1606, excepting, as the author states *ten* townlands. The following were the names of the portions excepted in sir Hugh's deed of entail:—Ballynadolloghan, Ballylisgane, Ballymagherone, Ballycarney, Ballyclogher, Ballydowneagh, Ballylisngnoe, Ballynehaghlish, Ballymacarret, and Ballyrosbuye, lying in the demesne of Castlereagh, in Slut McNeills. In this deed of entail were also excepted courts leet and baron, fairs and markets, royalties, mines, woods, and underwoods. The deed also contained a clause of re-entry if Con should lease for above twenty-one years to his brothers Hugh and Tool (Tuathal) without sir Hugh's consent. These ten townlands were excepted because four of them, conveyed by the deed of 22nd August, 1606, by Con to sir Hugh, had been discharged of that trust, and the remainder had been either formerly conveyed by Con to others, or not passed by Hamilton to Con himself.—*Inquisition of* 1623.

done in consideration of 35*l.* paid in hand, and of 1,000*l.* sterling (formerly given, at several times, to y^e^ said Con) and now remitted by the said Sir Hugh.[3]

And so here I leave off to write of Con, but will relate some troubles which came upon Sir Hugh, but not so grievous as those which were occasioned by that killing dart, when Sir James Fullerton, when he procured the letters to y^e^ Lord Deputy, with that clause, that y^e^ patent for Con's estate should pass in James Hamilton's name alone; but Sir Hugh's courage and conduct (at long run) cured in part that great hurt.

The first succeeding troubles and costly toils which I read of after this last spoken of transaction with Con, which Sir Hugh met with, sprang from the petitions and claims of Sir Thomas Smith,[4] against

[3] *Remitted by the said Sir Hugh.*—The following are the words in which this Release was expressed:—"I, Con O'Neale, did, by my Deed Pole, dated the 14th of March, *anno Jacobi tertio*, convey my whole estate, and all royalties, privileges, and inmunities thereunto belonging, in the Upper Claneboys, unto sir Hugh Montgomery, for ever; all which lands were granted unto me by James Hamilton, Esq., by indenture, dated 6th November, *anno Jacobi tertio*: And whereas, by indenture, dated the 22nd of August, *anno Jacobi quarto*, I, the said Con, in consideration of the sum of £317 sterling, paid to me by the said sir Hugh, expressed in said indenture, besides the sum of £250 not expressed, did sell to him and his heirs, not only the four townlands therein by name expressed, but also all woods underwoods, mines, &c., in and upon all my lands in the Upper Claneboys, with all royalties, &c., thereto belonging. Now, forasmuch, as at the sealing and delivering of one part of indentures bearing date with these presents made between me and said sir Hugh, I do hereby confess to have received of the said sir Hugh the sum of £35 sterling more, and a release of a Bond of £1,000 sterling, by me forfeited to the said sir Hugh, and also that he, the said sir Hugh, hath by the indenture of the date of these presents bound himself to pay the king's rent for most part of the lands which I hold to me and my heir's male. By which indenture the said sir Hugh hath assured to me, and the heirs male of my body, an estate tail in such lands as are in said indenture of the date of these presents contained. Therefore I, the said Con, do hereby release to the said sir Hugh, his heirs and assigns, all former articles, covenants, &c., and all debts and demands which I may or might have had against the said sir Hugh by reason of any bargain or contract whatsoever before the date of these presents."—*Inquisition of* 1623. This first release is stated to be "not in the manuscript." The Inquisition records a second release from Con to sir Hugh, dated the 26th of March, 1612, which seems to have been given for the purpose of assisting sir Hugh to obtain a further confirmation of the premises from the king; also a *third* release, dated the 20th December, 1615, in which Con for himself and his heirs, consents that sir Hugh "may obtain a confirmation of the premises from the king, or Act of Parliament."

[4] *Claims of Sir Thomas Smith.*—This claimant was the grand nephew of the first sir Thomas Smith, to whom queen Elizabeth had granted extensive portions of Antrim and Down, including the Ards, in 1572. The first sir Thomas Smith, one of the most remarkable men of his age, was born at Saffron-Waldon, in the year 1512. He was equally distinguished as a statesman and a man of learning. Whilst rising rapidly through several positions of public trust until at length he succeeded Burleigh as chief secretary of state, his name was still more honourably known by his pre-eminent classical attainments, and his learned investigations in physical and experimental philosophy. He died in 1577, at the age of sixty-three. Of his numerous printed works one is entitled, *A Letter sent by T. B. unto his very frende Mayster R. C. Esqire, wherein is conteined a large discourse of the peopling and inhabiting the Cuntrie called the Ardes, taken in hand by sir Thomas Smith, and Thomas Smith, esquire, his sonne.* This tract, now very rare, was published in 1572. A complete copy, for which the editor is indebted to the kindness of J. W. Hanna, Esq., is printed in Appendix E. Among the titles of honor inscribed on Smith's monument in the parish church of Theydon Mount was—*Ardæ, Australisque Claneboy in Hibernia Colonellus.* This was probably the emptiest of all his titles, although it appears to have been one which he very earnestly coveted. His minute arrangements for the success of the projected colony in the Ards proved how deeply he was interested in the enterprise. "It was a pity," says Strype, "it had no better issue; for sir Thomas a great while had set his thoughts upon it, undertaking to people that north part of the island with natives of this nation. But for his more regular and convenient doing of it, and continuance thereof, he invented divers rules and orders. The orders were of two kinds. I. For the management of the wars against the rebels, and the preserving the colony continually from the danger of them. II. For the civil government: to preserve their home-manners, laws, and customs, that they degenerated not into the rudeness and barbarity of that country. He divided his discourse into three parts. First, to speak of wars; and therein of military officers to be used there. Secondly, concerning laws for the politic government of the country to be possessed, for the preservation of it. Thirdly, in what orders to proceed in this journey from the beginning to the end: which sir Thomas called "A Noble Enterprise and a Godly Voyage." Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, pp. 177—178. Sir Thomas appointed his natural son, also named Thomas, as the leader of this colony, and in addition to the many directions given by himself, he drew up, as secretary of state, instructions to be sent from the queen to his son. Before finally dispatching the latter, he "entreated the lord treasurer (Burleigh) to steal a little leisure to look these writings over, and correct them, so that he might make them

him and Sir James Hamilton; they began in April, 1610, and the 6th April, 1611, Sir Thomas gets an order[5] of reference to the Commissioners for Irish affairs (of whom Sir James Hamilton was one) to make report of his case (for he claimed by grant from Queen Elizabeth, and the Commissioners judged it fitt to be left to law in Ireland). What he did pursuant to his report I know not, but on the 30th Sep., 1612, inquisition is taken, whereby Sir Thos. his title is found void and null, for breach and non-performance of articles and covenants to the Queen.[6] See Grand Office, folio 10 and 11.

ready for the queen's signing. And this he hoped, when once dispatched, might be as good to his son as five hundred Irish soldiers."—*Strype, Ibid.*, p. 179. When the younger Smith was about to sail in the summer of 1572, with his eight hundred men, to take possession of the Ards, he penned a conciliatory note to *Domino Barnabo filio Philippi*, in other words, to Brian MacFelim O'Neill, announcing that he was coming to live beside him, and hoping that they might always maintain the most friendly relations with each other. But O'Neill did not by any means reciprocate these sentiments of apparent good will. On the contrary, he had decided on Smith's speedy expulsion, and when the latter arrived on the 31st of August, he was quickly compelled to abandon the territory of the Ards, which he had persuaded himself was his own. Early in September, Smith wrote to Burghley, informing him that sir Brian would not part with a foot of the land, that the matter was referred to the lord-deputy, and that, in the meantime, he (Smith) had withdrawn his men from Newton in the Ardes to Renoughaddy (Ringhaddy) in the Dufferin. On the 12th of October, 1573, the earl of Essex wrote from Knockfergus to the council in London, announcing the death of Thomas Smith, the secretary's son, who had been slain in the Ards by Irishmen of his his own household, whom he had much trusted. This account is evidently founded on the rumours of the event that had reached Carrickfergus on Essex's arrival there; but it was not likely that Smith had surrounded himself with Irish domestics under the perilous circumstances attending his forcible possession of the Ards. Carew has the following allusion to Smith's assassination in his pedigree of the O'Neills of Clannaboy:—"Neill MacBrian Ertagh (Fagartach), lord of the Upper Clan-Hugh-boy, slew Thomas Smith, a valiant gentleman, base son to Sir T. S., her majestie's secretarie, who holds the Upper Clandeboye, commonly called the Ardes, given unto him by her majestie. He was slain in 1572, and not long after the said Neill was slain by Captain Nicholas Malbie." The reader will see that the above extract incorrectly represents the Upper Clannaboy and the Ards as identical, and also antedates the death of Smith at least twelve months.—Hamilton, *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. i., pp. 467, 469, 472, 482; *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 45. Camden's account of the manner of Smith's death, and the death of his slayers, is as follows:—"After he (sir Thomas Smith) had been at great expence, his natural son, whom he had appointed governor, was surprized and thrown alive to the dogs by the Irish; but the abandoned wretches suffered the punishment of their cruelty, being slain, and given to wolves."—*Britannia*, translated and enlarged by Gough, vol. iv., p. 422. On the death of the younger Smith, the colonists appear to have been dispersed, and sir Thomas made no further attempts to replace them. The earl of Essex, baffled also in all his hopes and projects as governor of Ulster, proposed to purchase the Ards' as a retreat to which he might finally withdraw from the turmoils and disappointments of life. Sir Thomas Smith offered to let him have these territories, "bothe greate and litle," for the sum of £2,000, and Essex would have accepted the offer, but the queen interposed, wishing to have the Ards to herself. In May, 1575, sir Thomas Smith writes:—"He (Essex) hath written to me that he will have it, and given authoritie to Mr. Thresurer to go through with me. The Q. Matie. willing to have it hirself cawseth me to stay the bargaine." Sir Thomas concludes with an offer to resign his grant to the crown, or to exchange it for a manor in Essex, "with a Park;" "because," as he expresses it, "it was never my chance yet to have a Park, or the keeping of a Park."—Shirley, *Account of Farney*, p. 52. Essex soon afterwards died in Dublin, and sir Thomas died two years later, without having made any sale or exchange of the Ards.

[5] *Sir Thomas gets an order.*—The first sir Thomas was succeeded by his nephew sir William, who had two sons who succeeded him; the elder named also sir William, and the younger, this sir Thomas, who, in 1610, prosecuted the family claim to the Ards.—Strype, *Life of Sir Thomas Smith, Appendix*, p. 124.

[6] *Covenants to the Queen.*—The Inquisitions of 1605 and 1623, report several distinct breaches on the part of the Smiths, of the original terms of the grant from the crown. It appears, 1st. That although the Smiths, elder and younger, entered on possession of their estates in the Ards on the 20th of October, 1572, they did not, according to the contract, subdue, repress, expel, or bring into her majesty's mercy, any rebel or traitor whatsoever. 2nd. That neither they nor their heirs had permanently occupied the lands with true and faithful subjects, as they were pledged to do by the terms of the original indentures. 3rd. That neither they nor their heirs had at any time in readiness, an English footman soldier for every plow-land or 120 acres of arable land, nor an English light horseman soldier for every two plow-lands or 240 acres of arable land, to serve in defence of their territories, although there had been great wars and rebellion, and consequently great occasion of service within the said territories. 4th. That neither they nor their heirs did possess, inhabit, or divide any the castles, manors, coppices, abbeys, priories, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments lying and being in their territories, as they ought to have done, according to their agreement with the crown. 5th. That although there had been great wars and rebellion throughout the earldom of Ulster since the granting of these lands to the Smiths, and several general hostings had been proclaimed, and fifteen days' warning given in and upon the said lands, yet neither the Smiths nor their heirs had, as they were bound to have, any heads or captains, any horsemen or footmen soldiers, to attend the lord deputy for the space of forty

But it seems this was not all the trouble put upon Sir Hugh, for I find (folio 507 of Grand Office) he gave unto the Lord Deputy, Sir John,[8] the King's letter, dated 20th July, 14th Regis, inhibiting any lands to be passed to any person whatsoever away from Sir Hugh Montgomery, to which he had claim by deed from James Hamilton or Con, and this caveat with a list of the lands he entered in the Secretary's office in Dublin.[9]

Between this and the year 1618, divers debates, controversys and suits,[10] were moved by Sir Hugh against Sir James Hamilton, which were seemingly taken away by an award made by the Right Honourable James Hamilton, Earle of Abercorn,[11] to which both partys stood; in conformity to which

days, within the earldom of Ulster. 6th. That neither the Smiths, nor their heirs, did pay, or cause to be paid to the queen, or to her successor, or to any sheriff for the county of Down, 20s. of the current money of Ireland, yearly, for every plow-land on their estates, according to the tenor of the letters patents and indentures, and the covenants and agreements in the same. 7th. That the said 20 shillings, mentioned by the said indentures to be paid out of every plow-land of the premises is altogether behind in arrears and unpaid, from the feast of St. Michael, in anno 1576, until the day and time of the taking of this Inquisition (in 1612). 8th. That our sovereign lord King James that now is was seized in his domain as of fee in the right of his crown of England and Ireland, of and in all and singular said lands, tenements, and premises, with their appurtenances.

[7] *Folio* 50.—This is the reference to the membranes on which the report of the Inquisition of 1623 is written.

[8] *Sir John.*—Sir John is a misprint for *Sr. John*, the name of the lord deputy who succeeded sir Arthur Chichester in 1615.

[9] *Office in Dublin.*—On the 7th of August, 1616, a king's letter had issued for a regrant to sir Hugh Montgomerie, knt., of all the lands which he held by grant or otherwise, from sir James Hamilton, knt., by the name of James Hamilton, esq., or from Con O'Neill, esq., or from any other within the Great Ards and the higher Clandeboyes. The regrant which this letter authorized was delayed for several years, during which time sir Hugh was involved in heavy law expenses, for Con O'Neill had been induced to enter into a tripartite indenture, on the 20th of December, 1616, with sir James Hamilton and sir Moses Hill, in contravention of the deed of entail received by him from sir Hugh Montgomery, on the 24th May, 1610. By this indenture Con conveyed to Hamilton and Hill all his property in Castlereagh and Slut Neales, (consisting then of 58 townlands) except the lands of Tullycarnan and Edencharrick. Then came the struggle between sir Hugh and the other two knights for these lands, and the 'trouble' referred to in the text. The terms of the tripartite indenture causing all this mischief are stated in the copy of the Inquisition of 1623 printed in the Appendix, although it is said in the margin that these terms were *not given in the manuscript*.

[10] *Controversies and suits.*—All these unpleasant proceedings arose more or less directly from the original mistake of granting the entire estates to Hamilton, in his own name, thus giving him the power (afterwards so fatal to his own peace) of controlling, and possibly curtailing the rights of Sir Hugh Montgomery. The writer of the [illegible] referring to these disputes, observes:—"He (sir James Hamilton) had several tedious and chargeable lawsuits with the lord of Ards of lands and other trifles, wherein pride and incendiaries occasioned great expense of money and peace." We may judge also from a passage in the will of sir James Hamilton, how bitterly he must have felt on the subject of these "controversies," when we find him therein solemnly endeavouring to perpetuate the strife between his own descendants and those of sir Hugh Montgomery. In the passage referred to, he directs his executors to pay his daughters' dowries ten days after their respective marriages, "provided their husbands are not of the children, or posteritie, of sir Hugh Montgomerie, of Newton, knight. And if they shall marry with *any of the posteritie* of sir Hugh Montgomerie, or without the consent or good liking of their mother, then I do appoint their portions to revert to their brother, my sone, or my next heire, and they to receive such portions as he shall think meet. And I do desyre my wife, as alsoe my said sone, or sones, and daughters (if my wife fall out to be now with child of any sone or daughter), that upon my blessing they, nor none of them, match nor marrie not with any sone nor daughter of the house or posteritie of sir Hugh Montgomerie, now of Newton, knight." Sir James Hamilton's will is dated the 16th of December, 1616, and was written, therefore, during the very heat of his "controversy" with sir Hugh Montgomery.—*Hamilton Manuscripts*, pp., 30, 31, 49, 50.

[11] *Earle of Abercorn.*—This James Hamilton was created earl of Abercorn in the year 1606. His father, lord Claud Hamilton, was fourth son of the second earl of Arran. He was selected, probably, as arbitrator on this occasion, from his supposed knowledge of the value of lands in Ulster, being himself the owner of large estates in the barony of Strabane. Hamilton of Wishart, who represents him as a person of "extraordinary accomplishments," states that he died at Moncktoun, in Ayrshire, on the 23rd of March, 1618. The following is an extract from his will:—"I committ my saul into ye holie handis of my guid God and merciful Father, fra quhome throw ye richteus meritis of Jesus Christ, I luik to ressave it againe at ye glorious resurectione joynit wt yis same body,—qlk heir I leif to sleip and be bureit, gif so it pleis God, in ye sepulcher qr my brethir, my sisteris, and bairnes lyis; in ye iyll callit St Mirreinis Iyll, at ye south heid of ye croce churche of Paslay; trusting assuredly to rys at yt blissit resurrectione to lyf eternell. I desyre that yr be no vaine nor glorios seremonie vsit at my buriell, raying (crying) honouris, bot yt my corps be karayit to ye grave be some of my most honorabill and nerriest friendis with my bairnis, &c. —*New Statistical Account of Scotland, Renfrewshire* p. 171, note.

award, and the King's letter relating thereunto, at least to the chief parts thereof, Sir James Hamilton conveys several lands to Sir Hugh Montgomery, and both of them in the deed are stiled Privy Counsellor;[12] which deed bears date 23d May, 1618, George Medensis,[13] and William Alexander, &c., subscribing witnesses. I presume this might be done at London, for much about this time Sir Hugh and his Lady lived there, and made up the match between their eldest son and Jean, the eldest daughter of Sir William Alexander,[14] Secretary for Scotland, whom I take to be one of the witnesses in that great concern, by reason, the match aforesaid was about this time or some months afterwards completed.

[12] *Privy Counsellor.*—The King's letter, approving of the award made by the earl of Abercorn, is dated 24th December, 14 James I. By an indenture bearing date the 23rd May, sir James Hamilton gave over according to the terms of Lord Abercorn's award, and in obedience to his majesty's will and pleasure, extensive additions to the estates of sir Hugh Montgomery, consisting especially of abbey lands. On the same date, sir Hugh also by indenture, resigned to sir James portions awarded to the latter, including a moiety of the woods and underwoods, growing on the subdivisions of Castlereagh and Slut-Neills. Although sir Hugh Montgomery was a gainer by this arrangement, the results of Abercorn's award did not altogether meet his expectations, nor were they regarded as final in the quarrel with his astute neighbour. The substance of these two indentures is contained in the Inquisition of 1623, the latter being supplied, as stated in the margin, from the papers of Dean Dobbs.

[13] *George Medensis.*—Dr. George Montgomery's promotions had followed each other in rapid succession from the day on which he was personally known to the king. Queen Elizabeth had bestowed upon him a parsonage and deanery (p. 9, *supra*), and king James had no sooner arrived in London than he appointed him chaplain to himself with a living in London, *in commendam*, worth at that period the respectable sum of £200 a year (p. 28, *supra*). Montgomery was next advanced to the sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, by privy seal dated 15th Feb., 1604. The mandate for consecration was made by patent, dated 13th June, 1605. On the next day (14th June), the bishop received a grant for the restitution of such temporalities as had been alienated in the sees above named. On the 2nd of May, 1606, a king's letter was issued granting a commission, should the bishop require it, to ascertain the see lands of the bishopricks of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher. There is no record of his consecration, but it is well known that he did not make his appearance in Ulster until the month of May, 1607. Sir John Davies, in the interval between the bishop's appointment and arrival, spoke of his "three dioceses" as comprising the chiefest part of Ulster, now united for one man's benefit. The bishop's delay in coming was spoken of by Davies as "the cause why this poor people hath not been reduced to Christianity; and therefore *majus peccatum habet.*" This complaint, addressed to the earl of Salisbury, the English chief secretary, from so high an authority as the attorney-general for Ireland, had no doubt the effect of hastening Montgomery's arrival. Many impropriators (probably sir John Davies among the rest), who were anxious for the bishop's advent, had cause very soon to repent their zeal in this matter, for, as we shall see, his lordship aimed above all things at restoring every impropriation to the church. And during the three years he held the sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, he was able to do wonders in this respect—which will be more particularly noticed when we come to the author's memoir of the bishop. On the 21st of July, 1609, bishop Montgomery was appointed one of a commission to ascertain what castles, lands, advowsons, &c., had been escheated in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, and to distinguish the ecclesiastical lands from the lands belonging to the crown. The appointment of this commission was intended as a measure preparatory to the complete plantation of Ulster, but the bishop only assisted at the inquiries relating to Coleraine (now the county of Londonderry), Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan. Whilst Montgomery held these sees, the king annexed the abbey of Clogher, with its revenues, to the see of Clogher, which made it one of the richest then in Ireland. On the 24th of July, 1610, this fortunate bishop was advanced to the bishoprick of Meath, various substantial annexes being added, which will be afterwards mentioned.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I.*, p. 22; Harris, *Ware's Works*, vol i., p. 188; *M.S. Notes of J. W. Hanna, Esq.*; Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, p. 60, *note.*

[14] *Sir William Alexander.*—Of the numerous fortune-seekers who followed the king across the border, few had better luck, or were less envied on account of it, than sir William Alexander. As a poet he was very popular, and as a speculator he had few rivals, even in that age of enterprise. He was a statesman, too, of no ordinary intelligence and determination, holding many high, responsible trusts, and always steadily advancing from one enviable position to another of greater emolument and honour. True, he was the subject of an occasional pasquinade, and got credit for having somewhat greedy proclivities, but the several extensive grants received by him from the crown turned out more for the public benefit than his own. Few were able to form a truer estimate of his contemporaries than sir Thomas Urquhart; and, although the caustic knight of Cromarty was severe on one or two projects in which sir William engaged, he yet addressed the following epigram "to the Earle of Sterlin a little before he (sir Thomas) dyed:"—

> "In th' universal list of al the spirits
> That either live or are set down in storie,
> No tyme, nor place can show us one who merits
> But you alone of the best poet the glorie
> That ever was in state affairs employed,
> And best statesman, that ever was a poet."

Sir William Alexander is said to have been descended from Alexander Macdonnell, second son of Donald, king of the Isles, who was grandson of the renowned Somerled, or Somhairle, thane of Argyle in the twelfth century.

The produce of this marriage,[15] which lived to come to age, was two sons and a daughter,[16] which only survived that comely pair. The eldest left behind him two sons, now alive.[17] One of which hath also two males living and life like.[18] And of the 1st Viscount's second and third sons, there are in good health two old Gentlemen, past their grand climacterick;[19] and the eldest of them hath his son married above 11 years ago;[20] of whose loins there are three male children, unsnatched away by death, and he may have more very probably. The other old Gentleman is father to two proper young Gentlemen, one lately married, and the other able to ly at that wedding-lock above four years past.[21]

Amid all his prosperity, this nobleman was haunted with the conviction that his honours might soon pass to a collateral branch, to prevent which he surrendered his titles of baronet of Nova Scotia, lord Alexander of Tullibodie, viscount of Canada, and earl of Stirling, into the king's hands, who, by charter, under the great seal, bearing date 7th December, 1639, granted them *de novo* to the heirs male, and failing them, to the eldest heirs female. Notwithstanding this precaution, all his titles became extinct in less than a century after his death. He was succeeded by his grandson, also named William, who died in May, 1640, or three months after his accession as second earl of Stirling. Henry, the third son of the first earl, then succeeded, and died in 1644. The son of the latter, also named Henry, became fourth earl, and died in 1690. His son Henry, the fifth earl, died in 1739, without issue, and at his death the family titles became extinct, whilst the vast estates granted to the first earl in Scotland, and in America, have long since passed from his descendants.

[15] *This marriage.*—The marriage between Hugh, afterwards second viscount Montgomery of the Ards, and Jean, eldest daughter of sir William Alexander.

[16] *Two sons and a daughter.*—The two sons were Hugh, third viscount, and James, born at Dunskey castle, in 1639, and who died at Rosemount 1689. The daughter was the Hon. Elizabeth Montgomery, who married her cousin, William Montgomery, author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*.

[17] *Two sons now alive.*—Hugh, the third viscount, and first earl of Mount-Alexander, left two sons, Hugh and Henry, who became in succession the second and third earls of Mount-Alexander.

[18] *Living and life-like.*—Henry, the third earl, left two sons, Hugh and Thomas, who became successively the fourth and fifth earls.

[19] *Passed their grand climacterick.*—One of these old gentlemen was our author himself, son of sir James Montgomery of Rosemount, the first viscount's second son. The other old gentleman was Hugh Montgomery of Dunbrackley, son of Captain George Montgomery, the first viscount's third son. The *grand climacterick* (from *climax*, a scale or gradation) of man's life was supposed to be his sixty-third year—the most critical period—every seventh year until that point being marked with some great preparatory change in the constitution. Aulus Gellius, in his *Noctes Atticæ*, lib. xv., cap. 7, refers at some length to this interesting point, informing us that the number sixty-three, which is a multiple of seven by nine, is particularly fatal to old men, adding that disease, or misfortune, or loss of life awaits all who arrive at that age. In connexion with his own remarks, the Roman author has preserved a letter of Augustus Cæsar to his grandson Caius, in which this old belief is simply and beautifully expressed. "Be of good cheer," says the writer, "my beloved Caius, whom, so help me heaven, I ever long for, when thou art absent. But more particularly do my eyes demand my Caius on days like yesterday, when I hope, wherever you were, that you celebrated in health and joy my sixty-fourth birth-day; for, as you see, I have escaped my sixty-third year, that common climacteric of old men." See Soane, *Book of the Months*, vol. i., pp. 298, 299. Of this word we have the following illustrations quoted, among others, in Richardson's *New English Dictionary*:—

"He [Sir Thomas Smith] departed this mortal life in the *climacterical* year of his age, in the month of July, 1577, and was buried in the church of Theydon Mount, or Theydon at Mount, in Essex."—Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

"Death might have taken such, her end deferr'd,
Until the time she had been *climacter'd*,
When she would have been at three score years and three,
Such as our best at three-and-twenty be."

Drayton's *Elegy on the death of Lady Clifton*.

"And therefore the consent of elder times settling their conceits upon *climacters* not onely differing from this of ours but one another: though several ages and nations do fancy unto themselves different years of danger, yet every one expects the same event, and constant verity in each."—Brown's *Vulgar Errors*, b. iv. c. 12.

"These gentlemen deal in regeneration; but at any price I should hardly yield my rigid fibres to be regenerated by them; nor begin in my *grand climacterick*, to squall in their new accents, or to stammer in my second cradle, the elemental sounds of their barbarous metaphysicks.—Burke, *Reflections on the French Revolution*.

[20] *11 years ago.*—The author's only son, James, was married, in 1687 (eleven years before this was written), to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Archibald Edmonston, of Broadisland, and had then three sons living. The author recorded the names of his grandchildren on "a stone lying flat on the floor of the chancell" in Greyabbey, adjoining the "vaulted tomb," in which he and his wife were interred. The names of his grandchildren who had died before the erection of that monument were—Anna, Helena, Hugh, Jane, and Archibald. The names of those then alive were Elizabeth, William, Martha, and James. Harris, *County of Down*, p. 54. Another son, named Edmonston, was born after the writing of the above inscription, as he is mentioned in the will of the second earl of Mount Alexander, and there described as son of James of Rosemount, and brother of captain William Montgomery, afterwards of Killough.

[21] *Above four years past.*—These two "proper young gentlemen" were the sons of Hugh of Dunbrackley, sometimes styled of Ballylesson, the elder named Hercules, and the younger, Hugh. Hercules had already married

Yet, for all our expectations, I neither can (nor will) divine how long these three families may last, seeing that neither the said Earle of Abercorn, nor heirs of his body (that I can learn), hath any children, only his brother's (the Lord of Strabane) offspring enjoy the title, either from his said father, or by a new creation of one of the two late Kings, the Stewards ;[22] and seeing, likewise, the 1st Viscount Clanneboy left but one son, who left two, who are both dead, without leaving any issue behind them, the more is the pity, for many reasons too well known, as by the records in Dublin doth appear.[23] This consideration, on the duration of families, is to prevent overmuch care to raise posterity to grandeur.[24]

The said Sir Hugh had (no doubt) further troubles between the said year 1618 and 1623, because, at his chief instance and request, and for his greater security, the King granted a commission and order, directed unto Henry Lord Viscount Faulkland, Lord Deputy of Ireland, for holding an inquisition concerning the lands, spiritual and temporal, therein mentioned, which began to be held before Sir John Blennerhassett, Lord Chief Baron, at Downpatrick, the 13th October, 1623. This inquest is often cited, and is commonly called the Grand Office. Again, Sir Hugh (that he might be the more complete by sufferings) is assaulted by Sir William Smith, who strove to hinder the passing of the King's patent to him ;[25] on notice whereof, Sir Hugh writes a large well penned letter (which I have) with instructions to his son James how to manage that affair. This is

Jane, only child of Archibald MacNeill, chancellor of Down, and Hugh soon afterwards married a daughter of general Creighton.

[22] *The Stewards.*—On the death of George, third earl of Abercorn, the male line of the main branch became extinct. The family was then represented by the descendants of Claud Hamilton, second son of James, the first earl. This Claud, known as second lord Strabane, died in 1638, leaving two sons ; James, the elder, third lord Strabane, was drowned in 1655, leaving no children. His younger brother George, fourth lord Strabane, died in 1668, leaving two sons. The elder, Claud, succeeded as fifth lord Strabane, and became *fourth* earl of Abercorn. He espoused the cause of James II. in Ireland, and suffered forfeiture of his estates. He died in 1690, and the title of earl of Abercorn devolved on his younger brother Charles, who became fifth earl. In 1692, the latter obtained a reversal of his brother's attainder, and succeeded to both title and estate of Strabane. He died in 1701, leaving no issue, so that this branch also became extinct; and the representatives of the family have next to be sought for among the descendants of George Hamilton, *fourth* son of the first earl.—Crawford, *History of Renfrewshire*, pp. 319, 320.

[23] *In Dublin doth appear.*—James Hamilton, first viscount Clannaboy, left one son, who became first earl of Clanbrassill. The latter had *three* sons, according to Lodge (edited by Archdall, vol. iii., pp. 6, 7), viz., James, who died young; Henry, who became second earl of Clanbrassill; and Hans, who died without issue. On the death of Henry, the second earl, without issue, in 1675, the male line of the first creation became extinct. The earldom was afterwards conferred on James Hamilton, viscount Limerick, who was great-grandson of John Hamilton of Tollimore. On the death of his son without issue in 1798, the male line of this family also came to an end.—*Lodge, ut supra*, vol. iii., pp. 11, 12. The author's mention of the "records in Dublin," in connexion with the Clanbrassill family, has reference to the lengthened and notorious litigations among the Hamiltons, on the death of earl Henry. The reader may see a full account of these litigations in the *Hamilton Manuscripts*, pp. 93—156.

[24] *Posterity to grandeur.*—The main line of the Montgomerys of the Ards became extinct at the death of the fifth earl of Mount-Alexander, in 1757.

[25] *King's patent to him.*—This sir William Smith was nephew and successor of the first sir Thomas, and is described by John Strype as "a brave gentleman and soldier in Ireland, being a colonel there ; till having attained to thirty years of age, he returned into England, and possessed his deceased uncle's estates. He married into the family of Fleetwood of the Vache in Bucks, and had divers issue. And was of great figure and service in the county of Essex. All which may be better known by the inscription on a noble monument for himself and his lady, set up on the south side of the chancel opposite to that of sir Thomas Smith, his uncle." This inscription is as follows :—

"*To the pious memory of her loved and loving husband, Sir William Smith of Hilhal, in the county of Essex, Knight: who, till he was thirty years old, followed the wars in Ireland, with such approbation, that he was chosen one of the Colonels of the Army. But his uncle, Sir Thomas, Chancellor of the Garter, and principal Secretary of State to two princes, King Edward VI., and the late Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, dying, he returned to a full and fair inheritance: and so bent himself to the affairs of the country, that he grew alike famous in the arts of peace as war. All offices there, sorted with a man of his quality, he right worshipfully performed, and died one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the shire: a place of no small trust and credit.*

"*Bridget, his unfortunate widow, who, during the time of thirty-seven years, bare him three sons and four daughters, daughter of Thomas Fleetwood, of the Vache in the county of Bucks, Esquire, and sometime Master of the Mint, to allay her languor and longing after so dear a companion of her life, rather to express her affection*

dated 23d February, 1623, about four months after the Grand Office[26] was found. I have the original every word written by himself. I should greatly admire at the exactness thereof, both in point of fact and law, but that so ingenious a person and so long bred (by costly experience) to the law (as for 20 years before this Sir Hugh was used) could not want knowledge to direct his son to pass that ford which himself had wridden through.[27]

But to continue the troublesomeness of Sir Thomas Smith.[28] King James died Ao. 1624, and on the 11th April, 1625, the Duke of Buckingham[29] writes to the Judges to make report to him, in William Smith's and Sir James Hamilton's case, that he might inform the King thereof, which they did in the same manner as the Commissioners for Irish affairs before had done (in Ao. 1611), viz:—That Smith should be left to the law in Ireland, and herein the said James Montgomery was agent,

than his office, this Monument erected, destinating it to herself, their children, and posterity. He lived years seventy-six, died the 12 of Decemb., 1626."—Strype, *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, pp. 231–3.

[26] *Grand Office.*—This Grand Office or Inquisition was held, in consequence of "divers causes and controversies, which had longe depended, or bine stirred, or mooved, betweene lord viscount Mountgomerye, lord viscount Claneboye, sir Henry Pyerce, sir Robert M'Leland, sir Moyses Hill, Donnell O'Neale, son and heir of Con O'Neale, esq., John Hamelton, James Cathcarte, William Edmunston, Michael White, and others, as competitors for or concerninge the said Con O'Neale's late estate and possessions, or some parte of them, in the said countye of Down, wherein each of them did severally pretende to have severall interests or title." The Commission for holding this investigation was granted, as the author states, principally at the urgent request, and for the security, of the first viscount Montgomery of the Ards, who appears to have had the greatest interest at stake. The Inquisition was held at Downpatrick, commencing on the 13th of October, 1623, and the report of the Commission was delivered into Chancery on the 22nd of June, 1624. The Commissioners, five of whom acted, were sir John Blenerhasset, sir Wm. Parsons, sir Thos. Hibbots, sir Christopher Sibthorpe, sir Wm. Sparke, sir Wm. Rives, Nathaniel Cataline, Richard West, Walter Ivers, Peter Clinton, and Stephen Allen. The jurors, fifteen of whom served, were Nicholas Warde, of Castlewarde, esq.; George Russell, of Rathmullen, gent.; Richard Russell, of Rossglass, gent.; Simon Jordan, of Dunsforde, gent.; Owen McRowry, of Clogher, gent.; Robert Swords, of Rathcalpe, gent.; Patrick McCarton, of Ballekin, gent.; Patrick M'Collmuck, of Killscolban, gent.; George Russell, of Quoniamstown, gent.; Fardoroghe Magneys, of Clonvoroghan, gent.; Owen M'Carton, of Lyssnynny, gent.; John Russell, of Killoghe, gent.; James Audley, of Audlestowne, gent.; Bryan M'Ever Magneis, of Shanker, gent.; and Shane M'Bryan, of Ballintegart, gent. The task imposed on these gentlemen—commissioners and jurors alike—was such as needed the exercise of more than ordinary patience and discretion. It required the examination of many witnesses, and of innumerable papers. It implied a thorough investigation respecting—*first*, the titles and boundaries of the lands claimed by the several disputants above-mentioned; *secondly*, the castles, lands, tenements, rectories, tithes, advowsons, glebes, fisheries, and other hereditaments, belonging to the monasteries of Bangor, Greyabbey, Movilla, Black Abbey, Comber, and the priories of Newton and Holiwood; *thirdly*, the spiritual lands, tithes, and advowsons, in the territories of Upper Clannaboy and the Great Ards, previously granted to James Hamilton, with all others in the same territories; *fourthly*, the bishop's lands, the glebe lands, and the several incumbents' and vicars' maintenances, allotted to them for their cures from the temporal lands; *fifthly*, the impropriate tithes and impropriate rectories in the Upper Clannaboy and the Great Ardes; *sixthly*, the bounds of every parish, as far as they could be discovered; and, *seventhly*, what castles, lordships, manors, lands, religious houses, rectories, tithes, fishings, and other hereditaments, as well spiritual as temporal, belonged to the lord viscount Montgomery, lord viscount Clannaboy, sir Foulke Conway, and the several other claimants above-named.—*Inquisition of* 1623; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 250, *a*. In Erck's *Account of the Ecclesiastical Establishment subsisting in Ireland*, p. 30, the author has the following reference to this Inquisition:—"It may be observed, however, that the commission contains very little information relative to the property of the bishop and clergy of the diocese of Down; for the commissioners themselves, being the claimants of the possessions of these monasteries under patent from King James not only concealed, as it would seem, but usurped upon the spiritual lands, glebes, tithes, and advowsons of the greater part of the livings in those districts, which of right belonged to the bishops and clergy." The possessions of the religious houses above-named belonged, with slight exceptions, to the viscount Ards and Clannaboy, so that the Commissioners could not have been influenced by the motives here ascribed to them by Dr. Erck.

[27] *Wridden through.*—The letter of sir Hugh Montgomery here described is probably still in existence, as the author evidently had preserved it with great care, and does not class it among those other documents which had been lost in his sudden removal to Scotland in 1689, or destroyed by the fire at Rosemount in 1695.

[28] *Sir Thomas Smith.*—The son and successor of sir William above-mentioned.

[29] *Duke of Buckingham.*—This was the great duke, or prime favourite of James I. and Charles I., assassinated in 1626. His duchess re-married in 1635 with Randal Macdonnell, second earl and first marquis of Antrim.

for I have a letter dated from Bangor, 4th November, 1625, to him, signed J. Clanneboy (who was then possessed of Killileagh) advising him to consult Sir James Fullerton, &c., in the business against Smith, for James Montgomery was then going to Court about it,[30] his father, some months or days before that time, being created Lord Viscount, for his patent was prior to the said Clanneboys, and so henceforth I must stile him the first Lord Viscount Montgomery.[31]

The 30th April, 1626, Sir William Smith, in a new petition, complains against the Viscount Montgomery, and prays orders to stop the letters patent to him for any lands; and obtained warrants of Council, dated May and June next following, requiring the said Lord Viscount to appear before some English Lords authorised to report their cases, that both his Lordship and Smith might be heard; which orders were served on James Montgomery, as agent to his father; but the said agent being then Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber in ordinary to King Charles, Hamilton petitioned his Majesty, setting forth that Sir Thomas and Sir William Smith's cases (both in the late King's time and in the beginning of his Majesty's reign) were adjudged to be left to the law in Ireland; and that no stop was put to the passing the respective patents, in behalf of the Lord Chichester, the Lord Claneboys, or Foulk Conway,[32] thereupon, A.D. 1626, 2 Car., said Lord Montgomery's patent for his lands, conform to Abercorn's award, was ordered by the King to be passed, under the broad seal of Ireland, which bears date ———[33]

[30] *Going to Court about it.*—The labours of James Montgomery at this important crisis were most serviceable in protecting the interests of sir Hugh, his father, and sir James Hamilton. These services were afterwards acknowledged by his father, in the shape of a very substantial grant of lands in the Ards and Castlereagh, and were, indeed, considered so eminent, that the author referred to them in the inscription on his father's monument in Greyabbey.

[31] *First Lord Viscount Montgomery.*—The patent creating Hugh Montgomery viscount Montgomery of the Great Ards is dated 3rd May 20 James I. (1622) (*Calendar*. p. 552, *b*). This honour was accompanied with a fee or stipend of £13 6s. 8d. Irish, payable out of the customs of Dublin. The next day James Hamilton was created viscount Clandeboy, with a like stipend, payable out of the customs of Dublin (*Calendar*, p. 552, *a*). The first viscount Montgomery's patent declared that such dignity was conferred "on account of his many and great deserts," and of the assistance rendered by him in pacifying Clandeboye after rebellion, in the tumults of the peasants in Ulster; also in pacifying of Ardes, towards the increase of the restored religion, and towards the obedience of the peasants to us." In this patent he is styled "our dear and faithful Hugh Montgomery of Braidstane, in our kingdom of Scotland."—Mrs. E. G. S. Reilly, *Genealogical History*, p. 41. See a copy of the Latin original in Lodge's *Peerage*, 4 vol. edit., vol. i., p. 363.

[32] *Or Foulk Conway.*—As these estates were all portions of the vast grant to the Smiths, and as the owners had obtained their respective patents without trouble, it appeared evident that there were no other or better grounds for disputing viscount Montgomery's claim to his lands. Sir William Smith "complained against the viscount Montgomery, and prayed orders to stop the letters patent to him for any lands," from the fact, no doubt, that Montgomery had possession of a large portion of the Ards, on which the Smiths had originally set their affections, and in connexion with which sir Thomas Smith had expended ten thousand pounds. Although his grant from Elizabeth included large tracts in the county of Antrim, sir Thomas, probably, never intended to attempt colonising any other territory than the Ards. On Essex's arrival at Carrickfergus in 1573, Smith consented to give up Belfast, Massareene, Castle Mowbray, and Castle Toome, in the county of Antrim, on the condition of his being firmly secured in the possession of the Ardes. A memorandum to this effect was preserved by Essex, dated 26th May, 1573. Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. i., p. 507. But the total breach of the original contract on the part of the Smiths (see p. 71, *supra*) abolished their claim to the Ards no less than to the other districts included in their grant. All the lands thus became equally vested in the Crown, and were granted by James I., on the same conditions to Chichester, Conway, Hamilton, and others. If any claim to the Ards could have been established in favour of sir William Smith, it must have been as against sir James Hamilton, in whose name the grant from the Crown of the Upper Clannaboy and the Great Ards had been made.

[33] *Which bears date.*—The date of this new patent is 11th October, 1626. In the king's letter, issued on the 9th of August preceding, there is the following passage:—"We are graciously pleased, in pursuance of what our dear father of blessed memory was pleased to do, in consideration of the good and faithful service done by the now viscount Montgomery of the Ards, to grant unto him, his heirs and assigns, all such manors, townships, and lands, spiritual and temporal, as were conveyed, or mentioned and intended to be conveyed, unto him by the now viscount Claneboye, or by Con O'Neale, or by any others, by force

Moreover, to the Lord Montgomery further trouble arose. For I find there was a decree in Chancery the 12th December, 1626, touching underwoods and timber; whereby the Lord Montgomery was to have those growing in Slutevils[34] and Castlereagh, as should be awarded or recovered from Francis Hill, Esq.[35] So the reader may observe, that from the date of the tripartite indenture

of any grant, assignment, contract, or other assurance whatsoever, with all the rights, members, and appurtenances thereunto belonging, which by office (Inquisition) have been found to be parcels of the possessions aforesaid, as they were formerly conveyed by letters patent heretofore made unto the said viscount Claneboys; the which grant, by the advice of our officers and counsel learned here, we have caused to be prepared in a bill, under our hand revised, corrected, and made ready for the sealing here, which upon further consideration, we have been pleased to transfer into Ireland." This letter authorised also the granting to viscount Montgomery the right of establishing a ferry to Scotland at Donaghadee, and the issuing of pardons to sir Hugh Montgomerie for liberating the larde of Colleyn, and to the larde for killing William Irwine, then a rebel and fugitive.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 312 *b*. The patent obtained in pursuance of this letter regrants to the first viscount all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the territory of Upper Clannaboy and the Great Ards which he had received from James Hamilton and Con O'Neill, including the sites, circuits, precincts, and possessions of Greyabbey, Blackabbey, Movilla, Comber in part, and the priory of Newton:—"Excepting all lands within the territory of Slut Neale and the town of Ballymartenagh alias Ballymarten, under such special tenures and increase of rent for the residue as in the bill are contained; also excepting the port of Ballywalter, and all other ports and creeks formerly granted to the viscount Claneboye, and all lands and tenements belonging to the same viscount, sir Fulk Conway, sir Moyses Hill, or John Hamilton." Morrin's *Calendar of Pat. Rolls of Charles* I., pp. 129, 131. This patent is printed in Appendix F. The parties here mentioned as holding lands specially reserved, had purchased their property in Castlereagh from Con O'Neale. On the 24th of December, 1609, sir Fulk Conway of Killultagh, governor of Carrickfergus, obtained a lease from Con, for 21 years of the two townlands of Dunconnor and Ballymoney, in the territory of Slutneale, at the rent of £1 sterl. for each towne, which rent was released to sir Fulk by Con, on the 13th January, 1609. On the 7th of November, 1615, Con sold to sir Fulk, the above two townlands of Ballydunconnor alias Ballynefeagh, and Ballynamoney alias Lisderry, in consideration of 100 pounds sterling, yielding to the king, yearly, eleven shillings, the rateable charge which Con's other lands bore to the king's service. Thomas Hibbots sold the town and lands of Ballynafeagh, (received by grant from Con O'Neill), to sir Fulk, on the 7th of April, 1619, for the sum of £125. The record of these transactions is described in the margin of our copy of the *Inquisition* of 1623 as not being *in the Manuscript*, and was, therefore, probably supplied from papers in the possession of Dean Dobbs. Sir Fulke Conway's grant from James I. (1610) recites the towns and lands of Ballilargymore, Ballinmullane alias Ballynmullagh, Ballytooleconneil, and Ballyomullan alias Ballyomulvallegh, parcel of the estate of Neal McBrian Fertagh O'Neale, or his father, Brian Fertagh.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I.*, p. 146, *b*. By an Inquisition held at Downpatrick, on the 9th of August, 1625, it was found that sir Fulke Conway of Lisnegarvagh (now Lisburn), had died on the 4th of November, 1624, and that at the time of his death he held the following portions of "Sleught McNeale's country in the county of Down—viz., Ballylorganmoore, O'Mullacrannagh, O'Ballynelan, O'Ballytooleconnell, Lisnakeaghan, O'Carroconecrawle, Ballymallhan, Herrenagh, Doone, Mullacrant, half of Broghechy, Drane, Aghaskelge, Ballytaghbricke, and Ballytene." *Inquisitions, Down, no.* 1, *Car. I.* In 1609, sir Foulke was styled of *Eneshallogane*, which was a fortified position, afterwards known as Innislaughlin, in the vicinity of Moira, the ruins of which were visible a few years ago.—*Ulster Journal*, vol. viii., p. 79, *note*. The following lands were in possession of sir Moses Hill at the date of his death, 10th Feb., 1630:—Ballynagnockan, now Ballyknockan, parish of Saintfield; Ballybrinan, now Ballymacbrennan, parish of Drumbo; Ballyclogher, now Clogher, do.; Ballycrossan, now Crossan, do,; Ballycreweh, now Creevy, do.; Ballicardganan, now Ballycarngannon, do.; Ballydromeboe, now Drumbo, do.; Balligrombegg, now Drumbeg; Ballineganwye; Ballylisnarean, now Lisnasharrah; Ballyliscromelaghan; Ballyloghgar, now Creevyloghgar, parish of Saintfield; Ballylistoodry, now Listooder, parish of Saintfield; Ballytempleblarisse, now Blaris, parish of Blaris; Ballycreignesassanagh, now Craighnasonagh, parish of Saintfield; Ballycargeenneveigh, now Carricknaveigh, parish of Killaney; Ballihaliske; Ballidromveyne, now Drumgivin, parish of Kilmore; Ballinefeigh, now Ballynafoy, parish of Knockbreda; Ballilisnebroyne, now Lisnabreeny, parish of Knockbreda; Ballicrevine, now Crossnacreevy, parish of Comber; Ballicregogie, now Cregagh, parish of Knockbreda; Ballicastlereagh, now Castlereagh, parish of Knockbreda. *Inquis. Down, nos.* 29, 53, 86, *Car. I.* Daniel O'Neill had an annuity of £68 out of the lands abovenamed. The lands were held by the tenure of free and common soccage. Con's sales to sir Moses Hill were not originally recorded in the Inquisition of 1623, but the record of them is said to have been supplied to that document. John Hamilton, whose lands are also excepted from viscount Montgomery's grant, held the two townlands of Ballylenoghan alias Ballyderrymore, and Ballydunregan, also the quarter of MacEnespicks, as parcel of Ballylenoghan.—*Inquisition of* 1623. These lands were held by sir Moses Hill, in 1630, and had been purchased from Hamilton.

[34] *Slutevils.*—This is a misprint for *Slutneills.*

[35] *Francis Hill, Esq.*—Francis Hill was son of Peter Hill, and grandson of sir Moses. By his wife, Ursula Stafford, daughter of sir Francis Stafford, of Portglenone, Francis Hill left one son Randal, who died young, and three daughters, viz., Ann, Rose, and Penelope. He died on the 7th of February, 1637, at which date his daughter Ann was six years and six months old; Rose five years and five months; and Penelope two years and ten

ulto. April, 3d Jac. Ao. 1605, till December, 1633,[36] there arose many difficulties between Sir James Hamilton and Sir Hugh Montgomery (Viscount 1623),[37] occasioned by that ominous and fatal interposition of Sir James Fullerton aforesaid, and chiefly by the clause he procured to be inserted in the letter of warrant,[38] dated April, 3d Jac. Ano. 1605, whereby Mr Hamilton was nominated as the only person in whose name alone the letters patent for Con's estate and the abbey lands in upper Claneboy[39] and the great Ards were to be remembered.

Yet in all my reach of papers and enquiry of knowing more, I cannot find or hear what became of Sir James Fullerton, or of his posterity, or whether he died childless,[40] there being none of that

months. His wife re-married with sir George Rawdon or Reydon. At the time of his death, he held a castle, manor, and the following lands, viz., Ballycastlereagh, Ballybronell, Ballymaconaghie, Ballylisnabruny, Crossnacrynan, alias Crossnycryvan, Cregoge, Monafaghoge, alias Monakoghige, Carrownemucke, Ballycarnagarren, alias Ballycarngannon, Ballycarrickmadery, Ballycarrickneveagh, Ballylisdrumlaghan alias Lisbane, Annagh, Ballicliontinakally, Ballymacbrennan, Ballinekay, Ballylissincreane, Ballycrossan, Ballyblaris, Ballytullynecrosse, Ballydrumbegge, Ballydunkymuck, Ballydunskeaghe, and Tyduffe in the county of Down.—*Inquisitions, Down, no.* 86, *Car. I.* Francis Hill dying without an heir male, the family estates were inherited by his uncle, Arthur, youngest son of sir Moses. Ann, eldest daughter of Francis, married Moses, eldest son of Arthur, who was a lieutenant-colonel in the army, and after the Restoration represented the borough of Drogheda. She re-married with Patrick Sheridan, bishop of Cloyne, and died in 1683. Her youngest sister, Penelope, married sir Robert Colville of Newton, and died in 1693.—Archdall's *Lodge, Irish Peerage*, vol. ii., p. 326; *Funeral Entry of Hill Colville*, in Ulster's office.

[36] *December*, 1633.—This was the date of an attempt made by arbitrators to arrange the disputes between viscounts Montgomery and Clannaboy. But the articles of agreement then drawn up and signed were not fulfilled by the latter, so that new legal proceedings were commenced against Hamilton by the first viscount Montgomery, and his eldest son Hugh, which continued until the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641.—See *infra*.

[37] *Viscount* 1623.—The date of the patent is 3rd May, 20 James I.

[38] *Letter of warrant.*—See p. 33, *supra*.

[39] *Upper Claneboy.*—For the ancient and modern subdivisions of upper or southern Clannaboy, see pp. 35, 36, *supra*. This territory has been noticed by Sir Thomas Cusake, lord chancellor of Ireland, in his well-known letter, dated 2nd May, 1552, and addressed to the duke of Northumberland. His words are as follow:—"The next countrye to Arde is Clannebooy, wherein is one Moriortagh Dulenaghe, one of the Neyles, who hath the same as captayne of Clannebooy. But he is not able to maintayne the same. He hath eight tall gentlemen to his sonnes and all they cannot make past xxiiii horsemen. There is another sept in that countrye of Phelim Backagh his sonnes, tall men which take part with Hughe McNeille Oge, till now of late that certain refused him and went to knockfergus."—Brewer's *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, p. 242. In 1575, when sir Henry Sydney visited Ulster, the territory of Upper Clanneboy was held by Nial, son of Brian Fagartach, and father of Con. This chieftain also ruled the adjoining territory of the Dufferin, which Sydney found "all wast and desolate, vsed as they of Clandeboy list." "In the Streights of this countrie (the Dufferin), Neill Mac Brian Ertaugh, made Capten of Clandeboy by the Earle of Essex, shewed his Force, and refused, though, upon Protecion, to come to me, yet that Day he offered me no Skirmishe." Sydney afterwards states that he "was offered Skirmishe by MacNeill Brian Ertaugh, at my passage over the Water of Belfast."—*The Sidney Letters and Memorials of State*, vol. i., p. 76. From Marshal Bagenal's *Description of Ulster*, written in 1586, we quote the following reference to southern Clannaboy:—"Southe Clandeboy is for the most parte a woodland, and reacheth from the Diffrin to the River of Knockfergus; the Capten of it Sir Con McNeil Oig O'Nele, who in the tyme that th' Erle of Essex attempted this countrey was prisoner in the castle of Dublin, together with his nephew, Hughe McPhelim, capten of North Clandeboy, by meane whereof Sir Brian McPhelim (younger brother to Hughe), did then possesse bothe the countries. The Southe parte is now able to make 40 horsmen and 80 footemen."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 154. Ten years later, the district appears to have been pretty much in the same condition, at least it is so represented by a writer whose name is not known, and whose account of it is copied to some extent from Marshal Bagenal's *Description*. The following notice occurs in a MS. belonging to the Lambeth Library, written about the year 1597, and quoted in Dubourdieu's *Antrim*, p. 629:—"South Clandeboy is for the most part a woodland, and reacheth from the Duffryn to the river of Knockfergus. The captain of this tract is Neill MacBryan Flain; his chief house is Castle Reagh. The country is able to make forty horsemen and eighty footmen."

[40] *Died childless.*—This want of information respecting sir James Fullerton arose from the fact that no account of his life has been written, nor were there any printed notices of him, so far as we can ascertain, prior to Dr. Birch's *Life of Prince Henry of Wales*. Sir James Fullerton's services in the royal household were such as to require some passing notices, at least from the biographer of prince Henry. Fullerton appears to have been brought from his distinguished position in Dublin to be a sort of guide, philosopher, and friend to the prince. He "died childless," as appears from his will. See p. 30, *supra*. Fullerton, although a courtier in his later days, retained to the last his love for the studies which had occupied his early life. In Hume's *Grammatica Nova*, part ii., p. 15, there is the following reference to his scholarship:—"*Hoc saxum* (*i.e.*, a grammatical difficulty) *cum diu vol-*

sirname (that I can learn) in Scotland, above the degree of a gentleman,[41] only I read in Bishop Ussher's life, that he lies in St. Erasmus Chapel,[42] where that Primate was buried.[43]

There arose also difficulties (after December, 1633,) between the first and second Viscount Montgomerys, plaintiffs, and the Lord Claneboys, defendant, concerning the articles of agreement

vissem, tandem incidi in Jacobum Fullertonum, virum doctum, et in omni disciplina satis exercitatum. Cum eo rem disceptavi," &c. See also *Leochaei Epigram*, pp. 23—48. Sir James always treated his early teacher, Andrew Melville, with marked respect and friendship. M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. ii., p. 294, *note;* see also pp. 410, 530.

[41] *Above the degree of a gentleman.*—The author here mentions a circumstance not less true than curious—viz., that, of the many Fullertons in Scotland, not one, with the exception of sir James, had risen in rank above the degree of gentleman. The family of Fullerton, although really one of the most respectable in Scotland, does not appear, at any time in its long history, to have been ambitious of the distinction which mere titles are able to confer. When it first attracts the notice of Scottish annalists under the name of MacLeosaigh, Maclowis, and Macleod, it occupied a high social position, but not better than it does at the present day. The oldest branches are undoubtedly those of *Arran* and *Dundonald*, the former being founded by Leosaigh, a Norwegian settler in that island, who came about the time of Haco's expedition in 1263; and the latter by Alan de Fowlertoun, who died in 1280, and was probably a brother of the former. The lineal descendant of the first Maclowis or Fullerton of Arran is the present Captain Archibald Fullerton of Kilmichael, in that island, who holds a curious and extensive collection of family charters. His ancestor first obtained a grant of these lands from Robert Bruce for certain faithful services rendered to that hero on his arrival in Arran from Rathlin in the spring of 1306–7; and, although the *original* charter is not known now to exist, there is one of 1391, from Robert III., which confirms to Fergus of Foulertoun all the lands specified in the first given by Robert Bruce. This second grant was succeeded by a *third*, in 1400, from Robert III., to John of Foulertoun; by a fourth, in 1427, from James I. to John Maclouis or Maclowy; by a *fifth*, in 1511, from the earl of Arane to Fergus Fowlertoune, the son and heir of Alan Fowlertoune or Maclowe; by a *sixth*, in 1523, from the same earl, to Alexander, nephew and heir of the deceased Alan; by a *seventh*, in 1563, from James Hamilton, son of James, duke of Chaltellaraut, to Alan Mackloy; by an *eighth*, in 1572, from James VI.; and by a *ninth*, in 1590, from James, earl of Arran, to Allan, *lard Macloway*. The representative of this family was hereditary coroner of Arran, and his perquisites, as such, in the eighteenth century, were a firlot of meal and a lamb from every towne in the island.—*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. ii., pp. 248, 249; *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ix., pp. 99, 319; Martin's *Western Isles*, pp. 223, 224. George Fullerton of Fullerton, in Dundonald, Ayrshire, is the twenty-fourth in descent from the founder of this branch. The Fullertons, of Fullerton, intermarried, in their generations, with the families of Wallace of Craigie, Maxwell of Nether Pollok, Blair of Adamtoun, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, Lockhart of Boghall, Mure of Rowallan, Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, Cunningham of Glencairn, Brisbane of Bishoptoun, Gray of Warristoun, Cleland of Cleland, Craufurd of Restalrig, Blair of Blair, Mackay of Reay, Fairlie of Fairlie, Stewart of Ascog in Bute, and many others in the same highly respectable rank. From about the year 1500 the principal family residence of the Fullertons was Fullerton House, which, in 1805, was sold to the duke of Portland.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 12—20. The Fullertons in the county of Antrim are traditionally said to have come from Arran about the year 1603, with the first earl of Antrim, who was known as *Randal-na-Aran*, from the fact of his previous residence in that island. The first settlers, named Fullerton, on the Antrim coast, appear, in some instances, to have enjoyed the rank of country gentry; but, generally, they were of the respectable farmer class, above which they have not since, with only one or two exceptions, aspired. William Fullerton, a country gentleman, was distinguished, in 1641, for his gallant conduct in assisting to hold the castle of Ballintoy against the Irish. One of his descendants in the eighteenth century, having realised a large fortune, as a physician, in Jamaica, purchased the Ballintoy estate for £20,000, soon after it had been sold by the Stewarts. Having no family, he bequeathed his property to his niece, Catherine Fullerton, who married Dawson Downing of Rowesgift and Bellaghy, in the county of Londonderry, and whose son, according to her uncle's will, assumed the name and arms of Fullerton. This son, named George Alexander (after both her father and uncle), was born in the Mansion-House at Ballycastle, in 1775, and died at Tockington Manor, Gloucestershire, in 1847. His eldest son, named Alexander George Fullerton, was born in 1808, and in 1833, married the Lady Georgiana Leveson Gower, second daughter of the late earl Grenville. Their only son, born in 1834, died in 1855, just as he had attained his majority, and the family estates are inherited by his cousin.—*Family MS.*

[42] *St. Erasmus Chapel.*—"During the second half of the 15th century, there existed in Westminister Abbey a chapel dedicated to St. Erasmus, founded by Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV., on a portion of the site since occupied by Henry VII's chapel, to make way for which exquisite edifice, it, (St. Erasmus Chapel), together with the Lady Chapel built by Henry III., was pulled down about the year 1500. It seems scarcely probable that there were two chapels of St. Erasmus within the precincts of the abbey at the same time. On the demolition of Elizabeth Woodville's chapel, it would, no doubt, be considered necessary to dedicate some other part of the abbey to St. Erasmus, and accordingly I am of opinion that the entrance portion of St. John the Baptists' chapel was so named and set apart; the narrow dimensions of the place being compensated by its special architectural beauty, and the abundance of colour and decoration bestowed upon it." *Notes and Queries, October* 20, 1866, p. 320.

[43] *Primate was buried.*—The life of Ussher here mentioned is no doubt that which was written by Dr. Richard Parr, his chaplain.

made 17th December, 1633,[44] not being fully performed to the Lord Montgomery *(ut dicitur)*, which ended not till the rebellion in Ireland began 1641, verifying the Latin adage, *Inter Arma Silent Leges*.—So I find that many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of them all.[45]

All which differences sirceasing that last named year, and so were sedated, or buried, or forgotten, that they were never stirred up again, I shall therefore leave no memory of the Montgomerys' losses therein by mentioning them either by word or writing, because of the love and kind deference now among us, all Montgomerys and the Hamiltons of that family;[46] but now I will readress myself to the narrative of the said Lord Montgomery, only (as in parenthesis) I here insert that Con, the 1st January, 1616, made a deed purporting a lease unto Ellis Nyneil,[47] his wife,

[44] *Made 17th December* 1633.—These articles of agreement will be best explained by the following extract from an Inquisition held at Killileagh,, on the 14th January, 1644:—"The jurors further say that there was a certain deed or writing mentioned, bearing date the 19th of Aug. 1635, executed and perfected in due form of law, between the late viscount Claneboy and the late viscount Montgomery, and shown in evidence to the jurors, the tenor of which is in these words—*Whereas* by Articles of Agreement made in anno 1633 between the Rt. Hon. Hugh lord viscount Montgomery and sir James Montgomery second son of the said lord viscount of the one part, and the Rt. Hon. James lord viscount Claneboy of the other part, it was fully concluded and agreed upon by and between the parties [ ] townes and lands of Ballydulloghan, Ballycowan, Ballynelessan, Ballynecarne, Ballyaghlish, Douneagh, Ballyclogher, and Lisnegnoe, whereof each of the lord viscounts possessed one half should [ ] to be chosen by the said lord viscounts, be cast into two entire parts and divided by lot between them [ ] the same by writing as by the said indented Articles may appear; viscount Montgomery having declared himself to have the said division made, and for that purpose having appointed John Montgomery of Movilla, Thomas Kennedy of Cumber, Alexander Crawford of [ ] and Hugh Calderwood of the same upon his parte to make ye said division, and viscount Claneboy having in like manner, appointed Gawen Rea of Lisnetra, Gawen Hamilton of Ballymenaustragh (Ballymonestragh), John Robb of Carrowreagh, and John Mitchell of Ballyhackawe (Ballyhackamore?) upon his part, for the same division; attending to the purport of the articles, the said dividers having divided all the said townes, and the meares and bounds of the same, together with the qualitie and quantitie thereof, have cast them into these two distinct moyties following, viz., the said towne of B.dulloghan and the said towne of B.cowan and so much of the said towne of B.nelessan by and next unto the said towne of B.cowan as was heretofore bounded by the said dividers, and is now again by them, the day of the date of these presents, perambulated and set out in presence of the said lords viscounts and many others, for one full moitie of all the said townes of B.dulloghan, B.cowan, B.nelessan, B.carney, B.aghlish, B.clogher, Downeagh, and Lisnegnoe; and the said townes of B.aghlish, B.clogher, Downeagh, Lisnegnoe, and the remainder of the said townes of [ ] next unto the said towne of B.carney to be the other full moitie of all the said townes: the remainder of the said towne of B.nelessan, by and next unto the said towne of B.carney, bounded as aforesaid, to be the lott and moitie of lord viscount Montgomery." With this division the two viscounts for themselves and their heirs expressed themselves contented. In witness whereof they "interchangeably put their hands and seals the 19th day of August, 1633," in presence of J. Garthland and Paul Rainalds. This extract from the Inquisition of 1634 is wanting in the copy printed in Ulster Inquisitions, p. , and also in the copy published in the Appendix to the *Hamilton Manuscripts*.

[45] *Out of them all.*—In the course of these contentions, the disputants required to visit London, for the purpose, if possible, of arriving at that cessation of hostilities which was eventually forced upon them by the rebellion of 1641. The following passage from a letter of Thomas Coventry, the lord keeper, dated 18th August, 1637, and addressed to the lord deputy Wentworth, represents lord Clannaboy as having greater controul over his temper than lord Montgomery:—"My lord Claneboye I did heretofore know, when he used to resort into England about the differences betwixt him and sir Hugh Montgomery, and observed him a wise discreet man, and much better tempered than the other."—Strafford's *Letters and Dispatches*, vol. ii. p. 94.

[46] *Hamiltons of that family.*—Notwithstanding the improved state of feeling thus introduced by the course of events between the Montgomerys and Hamiltons, it is remarkable that very few marriage alliances occurred among any of the leading branches of these families. Indeed the only instance which suggests itself to us at this moment was the marriage of Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown with Jane Hamilton, daughter of Hans Hamilton of Carnsure, near Comber. This appears, in every respect, to have been a happy union, of which we shall hear the particulars in a subsequent portion of the author's *Manuscripts*.

[47] *Ellis Nyneil.*—*The Inquisition of* 1623 states, "We find a lease of Con O'Neale's to Ellis Neal his wife, and Hugh Boy O'Neale his son, of the lands of Ballycarngannon (in Drumbo parish), Bressage (in Saintfield parish), and Crevy (in Drumbo parish), dated the 1st of June, 1616, for 101 years, at 8 shillings rent during said Con's life, and after his decease his wife to give as much to his heir during her life, and after her death, yielding 20 shillings to his heir, out of every of the said townlands. And we find the said Con did by indenture, dated 2nd December, 1616, make a conveyance of said lands unto lord Claneboy and sir Moyses Hill, who have been in possession thereof ever since." These terms are

and unto Hugh Buy O'Neil, his son, of the townlands of Ballycargbreman,[48] Bressag, &c., delivered the deed to his said wife, for the use of his said son, being a child of five years old, and there present in the house; also that the said Con had two brothers (whether uterin or by marriage I know not) viz:—Tool O'Neil and Hugh Mergagh O'Neil, to each of whom he gave lands, and they sold their interest therein.[49] As for Con's other actions and dealings (because most of them were failures to the first Lord Montgomery) I bury them in silence and oblivion,[50] having occasion, hereafter, to write of

described in our copy as "*not in the Manuscript*" from which it was transcribed. Ellis Nyneil was a namesake in full of the first countess of Antrim, and was most probably related to her. She was the second wife of Con O'Neill, as their son Hugh was only five years of age in 1616. Ellis was not old at the time of Con's death, for, in 1628 she remarried with Henry Savage of Ardkeen. She died in the following year. Her son Hugh Boy O'Neill must have died young, as the author mentions that Daniel was old Con's only surviving offspring. The name *Ellis* is now sometimes written *Alice*, and the form *Nyneil*, used in the text, implies that the lady was the daughter of an O'Neill, most probably one of the many chieftains which this race furnishes.

[48] *Ballycargbreman.—Ballycarngannon* is the present form of this name, see note 35, *supra*.

[49] *Their interest therein.*—The grants from Con O'Neale to these brothers are minutely described in the Inquisition of 1623:—"We find that the said Con did by writing under hand and seal demise unto his brother, Hugh Mergagh O'Neale, the townes and lands of Ballynalessan, (whereof Tulloure is a quarter), Ballyaghley, Ballykillenure, Ballycarricknasassanagh, Ballylistowdean, and the mill of Ballyknockan, for 99 years, to begin the 1st May, 1606, at the rent of two shillings sterling, and the yearly rent proportionally due out of the same to the king, which lease is now lost, but was proved by several witnesses. And wee find that said Hugh Mergagh conveyed his interest in said lease to sir Fulk Conway, who, for these 17 years last past was, and is yet, in possession thereof. And wee find that the said Con did by said lease, demise to said Hugh Mergagh, the town and lands of Clontinakally, for the term, and under the rent aforesaid, who demised the same to sir Moyses Hill, and that sir Moyses Hill is in possession thereof, by virtue of said lease, and that said Hugh Mergagh did, by Indenture, dated 27th June, 1614, assign his interest in Clontinakally to sir Fulk Conway. Also that Edmund Barry is in possession of one quarter of Ballyknockan, demised to him by Hugh Mergagh from the said Con. Also, we find William Hamilton in possession of the half town of Crevilogan by lease from said Hugh Mergagh, paying 10s. yearly; also, a quarter of the town of Ballyknockan by lease from said Hugh Mergagh. We find the said Con O'Neale by deed, 23rd, July, 1610, demised unto Toole O'Neale, his brother, the three towns of Ballytannymore, Ballyrichard, Ballydughan, and half towne of Drumhirk, for the term of 21 years, paying 28 shillings yearly."

[50] *Silence and oblivion.*—Con's principal 'failure' to sir Hugh Montgomery was, doubtless, in the affair of the tripartite indenture, entered into by him with sir James Hamilton and sir Moses Hill, by which he conveyed away all his remaining estate excepting two townlands, and imposed great law expenses on sir Hugh, incurred by the latter in maintaining his prior claim to the purchase of said estate. See p. 72, note 10, *supra*. Con, no doubt, like all others of his rank and class, being prohibited from taking up his rents in the old Irish fashion, was unable to collect them at all, and felt that he had no choice but to sell out, and thus free himself from the difficulties surrounding him on all sides. And so he proceeded to sell with lavish haste until all was gone. In a very few years, he was landless, and had taken his departure from Castlereagh, the ancestral residence of his family. In 1609, we find him residing at "*Downaregan*, in the Upper Clannaboy," (probably the present *Ballyrogan*), and there selling to sir Fulk Conway of Eneshallogane in the county of Antrim (afterwards *Innislaughlin*, the name of a fort near Moira), four townlands in consideration of the sum of £200. In 1613, we find him at *Ballykennocke*, probably the present Ballyhanwood, where "a chestnut coloured mare" was stolen from him, one Tirlagh Oge McBryne, being tried for the theft, and acquitted. *Ulster Roll of Gaol Delivery*, 1613—18, as printed in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i., p. 261. In the year 1615, Con resided at *Tullycarnan*, where, on the 1st of November in that year, he demised unto Tool McCormick McDonnell McCormick O'Neill, the half towne of Kilduffe in Slut Neales, for eleven years, at the rent of twenty shillings. There now remained very little if any of the sixty-eight townlands conveyed to Con by James Hamilton, on the 6th of November, 1605. These lands consisted of portions of the parishes of Drumbo, Knockbreda, Saintfield, Kilmore, Blaris, Lambeg, Killaney, and Comber; they are nearly represented at the present day by the modern townlands of Ballyknockan, Ballyagherty, Ballymacbrennan, Ballycowan, Ballycarn, Clogher, Crossan, Cargacroy, Creevy, Ballycarngannon, Ballydollaghan, Drumbo, Durramore, Lisnabreeny, Ballylenaghan, Ballynahatty, Lisnasharragh, Creevyloghgare, Listooder, Mealough, Ballynavally, Ballyskeagh, Drumbeg, Blaris, Tullywasnacunnagh, Carricknaveigh, Craignasasonagh, Cahard, Ballydyan, Drumgivin, Duneight, Breda, Ballynafoy, Lisnabreeny, Ballymacarrett, Crossnacreevy, Ballyrushboy, Galwally, and Castlereagh. Con died prior to 1621, as in that year he is spoken of as deceased. His death is supposed to have occurred about the year 1618, at Holywood; and he is also said to have been buried in the little churchyard of Ballie O'Meachan, now Ballymaghan, a townland in the south of Holywood parish. Of this place Dr. Reeves states, *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 12:—"There are no remains of the church or churchyard now to be seen, but it is known that they occupied the ground at present under the orchard which belongs to the Moat House. At the building of this house several of the ancient tombstones were employed for architectural purposes, and one which was set in the wall of an adjacent office house is still exposed to view." This stone is now in the Belfast Museum, and is supposed

his only surviving issue, Daniel O'Neil, Esq.[51] who, Ao. 1641, attempted (as the Smiths aforesaid had

to have originally marked the grave of a priest in the burying-ground of Ballymaghan. Con is always spoken of in the traditions of the district as the *ould King*. As no trace of his grave can now be seen, so neither does a vestige of his castle remain. About the year 1809 it was utterly demolished, and the stones of the fine old ruin used in building a wall around the site on which it had stood! It is traditionally said in the neighbourhood, that the English settlers there called this castle the *Eagle's Nest;* but whether because of its elevated position, or its peculiar appearance from the surrounding farms, we know not. The common story, which ascribes its demolition to the stupidity of a stone-mason, is not at all probable,—not even credible.

[51] *Daniel O'Neill, Esq.*—Daniel O'Neill must have been born about the year 1603, as, at the time of his death in 1663, he was supposed to be sixty years of age. In his youth he became a *protegé* of Charles I., who probably pitied him on account of the ruin of his once powerful family; and he, in return, continued a devoted royalist through all the trying times for royalty until its restoration in 1660, when he received several lucrative appointments. Of him, Clarendon has recorded the following interesting particulars:—"Daniel O'Neile (who was in subtilty and understanding much superior to the whole nation of the old Irish,) had long laboured to be of the bed-chamber to the king. He was very well known in the court, having spent many years between that and the Low Countries, the winter seasons in the one, and the summer always in the army in the other; which was as good an education towards advancement in the world as that age knew. And he had a fair reputation in both climates, having a competent fortune of his own to support himself without dependence or beholdingness, and a natural insinuation and address, which made him acceptable in the best company. And he was a great observer and discerner of men's natures and humours, and was very dexterous in compliance where he found it useful. As soon as the first troubles began in Scotland, he had, with the first, the command of a troop of horse; to which he was by all men held to be very equal, having had good experience in the most active armies of that time, and a courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease and luxury, his industry was indefatigable when his honour required it, or his particular interest, which he was never without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it necessary or convenient. In the second troubles in Scotland he had a greater command, and some part in most of the intrigues of the court, and was in great confidence with those who most designed the destruction of the earl of Strafford; against whom he had contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his nation: yet when the parliament grew too imperious, he entered into those new intrigues very frankly, which were contrived at court, with less circumspection than both the season and weight of the affair required. And in this combination, in which men were most concerned for themselves, and to receive good recompense for the adventures they made, he had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the queen, to hope to be made groom of the bedchamber when a vacancy should appear." This object of O'Neill's ambition was attained soon afterwards (in 1645), although the king postponed the granting of it as long as he could conveniently do so, "having," adds Clarendon, "contracted a prejudice against him with reference to the earl of Strafford, or upon some other reason, which could not be removed by all his friends, or by the queen herself."—*History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, vol. iii., p. 536 (third edition, Oxford, 1849). Of Daniel O'Neill's protestantism, we have the following account by Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, vol. i., *Preface*, p. x. :—"Mr. Bennet, as far as I have observed, does not contradict any one fact which I assert in that Vindication (*i.e.*, Carte's *Vindication of Charles I.* from the imputation of being concerned in the Irish massacre); except in calling Daniel O'Neile an Irish Papist, whom I there affirm to be a Protestant. My assertion was founded, not only on his enjoying a post in the Bed-Chamber under King Charles I. when no Papist could enjoy any, and when his Religion would certainly have been objected to him, if he had been a Papist, but also on the testimony of the late Mr. Leasson then at Bath, who had been Comptroller of the Post Office from the Restoration till after the Revolution, and knew him very well. Daniel O'Neile was not only a Protestant by profession, but very zealous in his Religion, as I see by his letters (hundreds of which I have read), and gave better proof of his inviolable attachment to it, than any who asperse him have had opportunities of giving, by his strict adherence to it all the time of the troubles of Ireland, and of his following the King's fortune abroad. He was a man of great capacity, and was excellently qualified for any employment either in the field or cabinet, and could not have failed of a considerable post in foreign service, if his religion had not been an obstacle to such preferment, as it was to his being chosen upon Owen O'Neile's death General of Ulster; that command being offered him, if he would turn Roman Catholick." See also the same work, vol. ii., p. 112. O'Neill married Catherine, daughter of Thomas, lord Wotton, who had been previously the wife of Henry, lord Stanhope, eldest son of Philip, first earl of Chesterfield. Although her first husband died before his father, she was created countess of Chesterfield by Charles II. This lady survived her second husband, Daniel O'Neill, and had the following inscription placed over his grave in Boughton-Malherbe church.—"Here lies the body of Mr. Daniel O'Neale, who descended from that great, honourable, and ancient family of the O'Neales, in Ireland, to whom he added new lustre by his own merit, being rewarded for his courage and loyalty in the Civil Wars, under King Charles the First and Charles the Second, with the offices of Post Master General of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Master of the Powder, and Groom of his Majesties Bed-Chamber. He was married to the Right Honourable Katherine, Countess of Chesterfield, who erected him this monument one of the last marks of her kindnesse, to show her affection longer than her weak breath would serve to express it. He died A. D. 1663, aged 60 years."—*Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. i., p. 299, note. In vol. ii., p. 178, there occurs the following reference to his death:—"This day, 24th of October, 1664 [ ] the great O'Neale died; I believe, to the content of all the Protestant pretenders in Ireland." On the day after his death, Edward Savage, writing to Dr. Sancroft, thus refers to the event:—"Mr O'Neale, of the Bed-Chamber, dyed yesterday, very rich, and left his old Lady all."

done) to reverse or greatly impair the two Viscounts' titles;[52] but he died a Protestant, as is thought, without issue, after King Charles the Second's restoration, being married to the old Countess of Chesterfield. Thus, many time innocent children are punished for their parent's faults; yet not without procuring the same business of their own.

Harl. MS., 3785, fol. 19, as quoted in note, *Pepys's Diary*, vol. ii., p. 178.

[52] *Two viscounts' titles.*—The object of this attempt on the part of Daniel O'Neill may be easily enough understood. He might have succeeded in seriously impairing the two viscounts titles had not his plans been frustrated by the attainder of Strafford and the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641. O'Neill had two influential friends in Laud and Strafford. The former wrote to the deputy in the month of June, 1635, requesting him to take O'Neill's business cordially in hand, as, in a letter from Strafford on the 9th of the following March, the writer says:—"According to your Lordship's desire wherein, I have desired the Lords Montgomery and Claneboy to send their agents hither to treat with me concerning this gentleman; I will do him the best service I can, and after that I find what success I may hope for therein, I shall give your lordship a full advertisement thereof."—Strafford's *Letters, &c.*, vol. i., p. 518. See also a letter to the Prince Elector, p. 521. The lord deputy styles the gentleman simply Mr. Neale, but there can be no doubt that he referred to Daniel O'Neill. As illustrative of these attempts on the part of Daniel O'Neill, the following letters will be found highly interesting. They were printed in Laud's *Works*, vol. vii., pp. 122—126, 8vo., Oxford, 1860, from the collection in the possession of earl Fitzwilliam. These letters are most creditable to the writer, Archbishop Laud:—

Extract from Letter of Laud to Lord Viscount Wentworth.

"MY LORD—I am earnestly desired by the Lord Conway, to recommend to your Lordship's care and goodness, a *young gentleman*, Mr. Daniel O'Neile, of the Province of Ulster, in Ireland, whose improvident *father* parted with a great estate there, very fondly, and so hath left this young man (being, as his lordship saith, one of very good parts), with a little fortune. Whether the young man be yet gone into Ireland from here or not, I cannot tell, But I pray you, my lord, when he resorts to you, to let him know that I have acquainted your Lordship with him and his fortune. And then for the rest, I leave your Lordship to do what in your own judgment shall be fittest," &c.

"April 20th, 1635. "W. CANT.
Rec, 28th."

"To the Lord Viscount Wentworth: *Sal. in Christo.*

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am earnestly entreated by my Lord Conway to write to your Lordship in the behalf of Mr. Daniel O'Neile, and to desire your Lordship's favor for him, being a man (as I am informed), that is like to deserve well, and is not altogether unknown to your Lordship.

"His case (I am told), is as follows:—His Father, Con O'Neile, was seized and possessed of great proportions of land, called the Upper Claneboys, Ards, and Slum (Slutt) Neile, in the County of Down, now worth per annum *twelve thousand pounds* at least. He, with his tenants, and followers, served the late Queen Elizabeth for many years, in her wars there in the North of Ireland, and afterwards in the latter end of her Majesty's reign. Upon *disagreement with the Lord Chichester*, then Governor of those parts, he kept some corresponding with the rebels, which the said Lord Chichester finding apprehended him, and committed him prisoner to his Majesty's castle of Carrick-Fergus, out of which he escaped, and not being able to live in his country, he fled to Scotland, and there met James Hamilton, now Lord Viscount Claneboys, and Hugh Montgomery, now Viscount of the Ardes, with whom he contracted to give two-thirds of his estate to procure his pardon, which was done, and they enjoy the lands. And afterwards the said Lord Viscount Claneboys, Lord Viscount Ardes, and Sir Moses Hill, deceased, did, for very small considerations, get from his said father his other said part, reserving only a small rent of a *hundred and three-score pounds* per annum; which is all he and his brother have out of all those lands.

"These lords, taking into consideration the young gentleman's small means at his last coming out of Ireland, were willing, and offered to give him *some increase;* but so small that all will not make a competency.

"My Lord, his case standing thus, I desire you, if you know no great cause of hindrance, *why you should not meddle* in this business, to *treat with these lords*, and see if in a *fair way* you can help him to a subsistence.

"You shall then do a great deal of charity in restoring a gentleman that is lost without his own fault, and bind him thereby to be your servant forever, as he is already, your Lordship's very loving friend,

"W. CANT.

"Lambeth, Jan. 15, 1635.
"Rec. 7 Feb., by Mr. D. O'Neile.
"P.S.—If these lords *will do little or nothing for him, if you can find any other way* to help the poor gentleman, I see all his friends here will thank you heartily for it."

At p. 38, note 52, *supra*, it is stated that Daniel O'Neill was grandson of Con, but he is distinctly represented in the foregoing letters as his *son*. His brother, referred to in the second letter, must have been *Con Oge*, who was slain at Clones, in 1643. For further particulars, very interesting, see *Clarendon*, vol. iii., pp. 537, 538, 541, 545; vol. v., p. 146; vol. vi., pp. 60, 146, 154, 155, 157; vol. vi., p. 355; vol. vii., pp. 57, 99, 101. (8vo edition, Oxford, 1849.) Daniel O'Neill's sister, Catherine, was wife of Thady O'Hara, of Craigbilly, near Ballymena.—Archdall's *Lodge's Peerage*, vol. iv., p. 216. He was Governor of Trim.—Borlase's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 286. 1648, Bishop Bramhall styles him, "My noble friend, Mr. O'Neile."—Carte's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 163. Charles II. writing to the Dutchess of Orleans on the 24th Oct., 1669, (?) says:—"Poore O'Neale died this afternoon of an ulcer in his gutts; he was as honest a man as ever lived: I am sure I have lost a very good servant by it."—Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 27, Appendix. His appointment as major-general (being a protestant instead of a catholic) was alleged as a charge against lord Ormond in the Declaration, Aug. 12, 1650.

CHAPTER VI.

I HAVE long retarded the history of the said Montgomery's progress in his plantation, and other affairs, by these foregoing interjections, concerning the Smiths and Con—with other difficultys and troubles. It may be remembered, that I told you, reader, that some of the priory walls were roofed and fitted for Sir Hugh and his family to dwell in;[1] but the rest of these walls, and other large additions of a gate-house and office-houses, which made three sides of a quadrangle (the south side of the church being contiguous, made the 4th side), with coins and window frames, and chimney-pieces, and funnels of freestone, all covered: and the floors beamed with main oak timber, and clad with boards; the roof with oak plank from his Lordship's own woods,[2] and slated with slates out of Scotland; and the floors laid with fir deals out of Norway, the

[1] *To dwell in.*—See p. 62, *supra*. In an undated *Carew MS.*, not yet calendared, but entitled *Report of the Voluntary Work done by Servitors and other gent. of Quality upon lands given them by his Majestie or purchased by themselves, within the three other counties of Down, Antrim, and Monaghan*," there is the following mention of the improvements at Newton:—"Sir Hugh Montgomery, Knight, hath repayred part of the abbey of Newtone for his owne dwelling, and made a good towne of a hundred houses or there aboutes, all peopled with Scottes." The commissioners appointed to make the report from which the above is an extract, and by whom it is signed, were "A. Chichester, G. Carew, Tho. Ridgeway, R. Wingfield, and Ol. Lambert." These commissioners started on their journey into the province of Ulster on the 29th of July, 1611.—*MS. Notes of William Pinkerton, Esq., F.S.A.*

[2] *Lordship's own woods.*—The first viscount's woods were of great value, but their possession appears to have involved him in many difficulties and much litigation. The earl of Abercorn's award did not settle finally the question of woods, nor indeed any other, between him and viscount Clannaboy. An interesting paper, having reference to this dispute, has been preserved, curiously enough, among the *Balfour MSS.*, and was printed in 1837, in the *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club*, vol. i., pp. 273—5. This document, which was drawn up in a very business-like style, is entitled *The offer of sir Hugh Montgomery unto sir James Hamilton.* It is as follows:—

"The 4 townes reserved to me by the Erles decree (in respect that there is paid out of them the half of Con O'Neale's rent to the King, which half in currant money of England, doth amount to 8lb. 18s. 6d), I value but at 8lb. per ann. a towne; and in regard of the bishops claimes, I value them all but at ten yeares purchase, and soe I doe esteeme them at 32lb. sterl.

"The moitie of the Woods discerned to me by the said decree, I have already leased to Edwards for 31 yeares, of which lease 27 yeares are yet to come, in which I have receaved an annuall rent of 60lb. sterl. and half a tonne of iron yearley, which I esteem at 7lb star. p. annum, with liberty to cut soe much tymber as is necessary for myne and my tenants buildings.

"The reuertion of this lease, by reason of those beneficiall reseruations annexed unto it, I value at 10 yeares purchase of that rent it now yealdeth—viz. 67lb. p. ann., which amounteth unto 670lb.

"The reuertion of all the rest of the Slutneales of the demesnes of Castlereagh, and of Con O'Neales lands in the Kellyes, I value at 300lb.

"Soe that I value this whole moitie at 1290lb. At which rate (if Sir James accept it), he is to give me 2290lb., whereof I demaund present payment for these reasonable causes—viz:—

"Ferst, for that the purchase from Con O'Neale hath not onlie cost me above 2000lb. of money and other considerations (as by Con his deede is evident), but allsoe for that I can directly prove that beside this Con hath receaved contynuall and daily benefits from me in money, horses, cloathes, and other provisions of good value, and allsoe hath bene chardgeable unto me in diners other disbursements; which chardge of myne ought in reason to bee respected in this contract, otherwise, it will fall out that I have supplied his wants to myne owne losse, and other men's profitt.

"Secondlie, of this so deerely bought, I shall yeald to sir James a present and peaceable possession, and good right purchased by me with love and favour, and at the suit of the true owner, which in that country is no small advantage and commodity. Sir James, his lot of the towne lands, and of the reuertion of Con his possession, is equal with myne by vertue of the decree; but his woods are noe way comparable, for that the half of the woods that are set to Mr. Nath. Edwards, and discerned to me by the decree, are that half that is onely proper and meate for the ironworks, and are the woods whereon the great tymber doth stand, and sufficient to furnish the ironworks, and the other half discerned to Sir James, is not onely altogether farr from them, but allsoe from all possibility to set any such work upon, and neither neere water nor sale. Out of which allsoe I have reserued liberty for me to cut oaken tymber for my own proper building, and repairing of my churches, by the said decree, which will consume two parts of the whole tymber growing in the said woods, so as I can not value his woods for above 150lb. at the most.

"Lastlie, he selleth me nothing but that which is alreadie my owne right, and in my own possession, whereunto he hath no title, but onely by the possibility of a decree, by him most indirectly procured, though without blemish to the nobleman who made it, and whether it be effectual in lawe or not, I know not.

"Upon which groundes, I hope, it will be thought reasonable, that if he refuse to buy, I may have some good tyme given me for the payment of my money to him for my part: being above £500 starlg. better than his, soe as he shall have a great bargaine, whether he accepts of the lands or the money."

Besides his litigation with lord Clannaboy, the first viscount had also an expensive lawsuit with sir Foulk Conway, and after the death of the latter, with his

windows were fitly glazed and the edifice thoroly furnished within. This was a work of some time and years, but the same was fully finished by that excellent Lady (and fit helper mostly in Sir Hugh's absence), because he was by business much and often kept from home, after the year 1608 expired ;[3] yet the whole work was done many months before Sir Hugh and she went to London, Ao.

representatives, on the subject of woods, to which it is strange, the author makes no allusion in any part of his memoirs. In the preceding year, 1625, there was issued a decree signed "Longford, Master of the Rolls," in a suit between Hugh, lord viscount Montgomery and "Dame Amy Conway, widow and administratrix of Sir Foulke Conway, deceased," confirming to the lady Amy permission to cut trees and woods, mentioned in a certain order of the Court, for the use of her iron works, and all manner of woods and underwoods growing on the lands of Slutt McNeale—except the bodies and butts of great and young oak which are not already dead or hollowed, and except such boughs and branches of oak as are fit for pipe boards, mill-timber, house-timber, and ship-timber, the exception or restraint to continue only until a division of the woods shall take place ; and for this purpose it is ordered that a Commission issue to the bishop of Dromore, Sir Edward Trevor, Sir Henry O'Neill, Nicholas Warde, and Richard Weste, to inquire on oath, what waste had been committed in the woods since the 22nd of August, in the fourth year of the late king (1606), by whom, and whether the timber so cut exceeds a moiety of the woods ; to divide the woods into two equal portions, one for the complainant, and the other for the Lord Viscount of Ards.—Morrin's *Calendar of Pat. Rolls of Charles I.*, p. 64, 65. The *iron works* referred to in the foregoing document were situated in *Malone*, probably at the place called *New Forge*. These works were rented by a Mr. Stevenson in 1633 ; he was succeeded by Mr. Robert Barre before 1638. In 1641, Mr. Lawson held them, and sustained a very heavy loss by their destruction during the rebellion of that year.—*Historical Collections Relating to the Town of Belfast.* A commission was appointed, in 1625, to inquire what waste had been committed in the woods in the territory or country called Slutt Neales, by lord viscount Montgomery, lord viscount Clannaboy, sir Foulke Conway, and the late Amy Conway, widow of sir Foulke. This Commission reported that there were then standing on the lands, of the size of six inches at the butt, 8,883 trees ; that is to say, upon Ballynelaghan, 119 ; upon Ballymulvally, 75 ; Ballydalloghan, 101 (all the lands are thus described); and that there had been cut on the lands, of oak of the same size (no notice of those of smaller dimensions), 11,631. The Commissioners also found that there had been cut for the use of lord Chichester, for the building of his houses at Knockfergus and Belfast, upon the lands of Ballynalessan, Ballykoan, Ballykarney, and the towns adjoining, 500 oaks. One Adam Montgomery, for two summers, with three or four workmen, cut forty trees in Lisdalgan, and other inland towns ; master Dalway cut, on Donkyamucke, three score trees ; Anthony Cosleth, who was tenant of sir Moses Hill, cut 127 trees on the land of Blaries ; and all were cut without the license of the lord Clanaboy, the lord of Ards, sir Foulke Conway, his lady, or any of their agents. The Commissioners also stated that the roofs of the churches of Grey Abbey and Cumber, and a store of timber for the lord of Ards' buildings at Newtone and Donaghadee, had been taken from the woods ; and a great store, for the manufacture of pipe staves, hogshead staves, barrel staves, kieve staves, and spokes for carts.—Morrin's *Calendar of Pat. Rolls of Charles I.*, p. 65. In 1626, a commission was appointed to decide the difficulty that had so long existed between the two viscounts on this subject. The Commissioners were the bishop of Dromore, sir Edward Trevor, sir Henry O'Neile, Francis Kenneston, Nicholas Warde, and Richard West. This commission decided that viscount Montgomery was to have "all the woods on Ballylenoghan, Ballymulvalley, Ballydullaghan, half Carewhughduff, Ballykoan, Edenderry, Ballylare, Ballynalessan, Ballynagarrick, Carewlevesoge, half Ballycarney, half Drumboe, Lysnasaide, Tullyarde, Killmullachin, Ballybrennan, Ballyaghliske, half Dunkymucke, half Drombeg, None, Skeaghlatifeaghe, Tullycrosse, Little Malton, Kroall, Tullyconnell, Clogher, Ballynelan, Largiemore, Tean, Blaryes, Ballyhavericke, Lisnagnoe, Doneagh, Lisneshrean, Continekelly, half the said towns, making in all ten towns wholly furnished with wood. To the lord Clannaboye were given the woods on the following towns and lands—viz., Ballyknockan, Killenewre, Lisdoran, Oughley, Dromnelegge, Carricknaveaghe, Carrickmadyroe, Carnegannon, Bressagh, Crevelickevericke, two parts, Crossan, Carewlegacorry, Cargacroy, Braha, Killaney, Lisdromhaghan, Carricknasassanagh, Lissan, Tollowre, Lisdalgan, Tawneymore, Tullywestfenna, Vickravana, Dromgevan, Ballydrean, Listodree, and Ballymullagh.—Morrin's *Calendar, of Charles I.*, p. 66.

[3] *After the year* 1608 *expired.*—From this date until 1613, sir Hugh was engaged chiefly in promoting the general interests of the new colony, thus leaving his own domestic affairs to the management of his lady. In 1613, he and sir James Hamilton were returned members of parliament for the county of Down, and he was afterwards necessarily much confined to Dublin. This election took place on the first day of May, and in the town of Newry. There were polled in all 131 British freeholders, and 101 Irish freeholders. The two knights received for their attendance in parliament the sum of £198 13s 4d, which was levied by the sheriff off the county. The commissioners sent by James I. to Ireland, "to enquire principally into the disturbances in the parliament of 1613," give the following account of this election in their report:—"In the county of Down, it is agreed on all hands that May day was the county court day for the election, which the sheriff held at Newrie, after sufficient notice given, at which day, between eight and nine o'clock, the sheriff proceeded to election, moved the freeholders to choose Sir Richard Wingfield and Sir James Hamilton, being recommended to him by the Lord Deputy. But the natives named Sir Arthur Magenisse and Rowland Savage: whereupon all the British freeholders, being 131 (as is deposed), cried "Hamilton and Montgomery," omitting Wingfield ; and the Irish, to the number of 101, cried "Magenis and Savage." Exception being presently taken to divers of

1618, as the dates of coats of arms doth shew in the buildings, and as old men, who wrought thereat, told me.[4]

And so I shall here surcease from any further relation of the plantation and buildings, because of my promise to relate more of this matter when I come to speak of Sir Hugh Montgomery, his funeral, person, parts and acts; and I will now enter upon his actions about and from the year 1623, repeating as little as I can of what hath been said, because I intend not to mention any of his law troubles, so unpleasing to my memory.

Imprimis, in or about Anno 1623, the marriage between Sir Hugh Montgomery's eldest son, Hugh (he was called from his travels being then in Italy), and Jean, eldest daughter of Sir William Alexander, the King's Secretary for Scotland, was solemnized.[5] The new wedded couple were

British freeholders who voted for sir James Hamilton and sir Hugh Montgomery, for want of freehold in some of them, fourteen of them were examined upon oath, by the sheriff, and deposed to their freeholds, upon which the two last named were returned, to which the Irish made objections before us, which we found to be partly untrue and partly frivolous, not fit, as we conceive, to be inserted in our certificate.—*Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i., pp. 339, 340.; Erck's *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.* p. 5976.

[4] *Told me.*—This tribute to the intelligence and activity of Elizabeth Shaw, the first lady Montgomery, was well deserved. There is no subsequent mention of her in the manuscripts that have been printed. As she died before her husband, it is strange the memoir of him contains no notice even of her death, a pretty certain evidence that there are gaps here as well as in some of the other memoirs. The family residence, the building and furnishing of which she had "fully finished" in 1618, was known as *Newtown House*. It was burned, 'by the carelessness of servants' in 1664, soon after the second earl of Mount Alexander (then fourteen years of age) had succeeded to the estates. At times when visiting the north, he lived in the gate-house which was fitted up for the purpose, until the year 1675, when the whole manor of Newton was sold to sir Robert Colville. The author states in his *Description of the Arts*, that sir Robert built on the same site, from the foundation "one double-roofed house, stables, coach-houses, and all other necessary or convenient edifices, for brewing, baking, washing, hunting, hawking, pleasure rooms, and pigeon-houses." The conversion of the old Dominican priory into Newtown House drew the following bitter remark from a Franciscan friar, named father Edmund MacCana, who journeyed through that district about the year 1643, and whose now well known *Itinerary* was written soon afterwards:—"To the east of this, the same lake makes another angle, at the town called Newtown, where there was even in my day, a monastery of St. Dominic, which some years ago, Mogumrius the Scotchman converted into a secular dwelling; such is the propensity of impious heretics to obliterate all memory of what has been deemed sacred." The *Itinerarium in Hibernia ex relatione R. P. Fratris Edmundi MacCana*, "which is preserved, among other treasures of Irish literature, in the Burgundian library at Brussels," has been translated and illustrated with most interesting and valuable notes, by the Rev. Dr. Reeves.—See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., pp. 44—59.

[5] *Was solemnized.*—See p. 73. *supra*. This marriage was solemnized on the 3rd of August, 1620, in Kensington Church, near London. The following is the entry in the Parochial Register:—"1620—Hugh Montgomerie, Esq., Son of Sir Hugh Montgomerie, knt., of Scotland, and Mrs. Jane Alexander, Daughter of Sir William Alexander of Scotland, knt. August 3rd."—Banks's *Memoir of Sir William Alexander*. See Appendix G. Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 535, states that the founder of Sir William's family was a certain *Alexander Macdonnell*, who obtained a grant of the lands of Menstrie in Clackmannan, from his patron, the earl of Argyle, and afterwards dropped his own surname, and assumed the name of *Alexander*. Douglas assigns no motive or reason for this unusual change of name, but it may have probably arisen from prudential motives, as between sir William's own family, the Macdonnells, and that of his landlord, the Campbells, there had raged a relentless feud for many generations. In 1621, sir W. Alexander obtained by charter a grant of the territory of *Nova Scotia*, and, as an encouragement for its colonisation, he had authority from the Crown to divide the lands into one hundred lots, and to dispose of each lot, together with the title of *Baronet*, to any person paying the sum of £200. As another encouragement to the new settlement, he obtained from the crown the questionable privilege of issuing a base copper coin known as *Turners*. In 1623, he was secretary for Scotland; in 1625, master of requests for Scotland; in 1626, secretary of state; in 1627, a commissioner of exchequer; and in 1631, an extraordinary judge of the court of session. In 1633, he was created earl of Stirling. Probably his greatest distinction was that he obtained, from the council of *New England*, an extensive grant of lands now known as *Long Island*, and was practically the founder of that settlement from which has since arisen the "Empire State" of New York. In addition to Nova Scotia and Long Island, the earl of Stirling had also a grant of St. Croix, or Sagadahock, a territory comprising all the present state of Maine lying eastward of the Kennebec river. The last earl of Stirling conveyed his title to Long Island and St. Croix to the duke of York in consideration of an annuity of £300, no part of which was ever paid. The right of the earl to make this conveyance was questioned, by reason of his refusal to enter on the inheritance of his father, on account of the debts with which it was encumbered, and which had been incurred by the first earl in colonising his American estates. The Scottish estate, therefore, was

comely and well bred personages, who went that summer with Sir Hugh (now Viscount) Montgomery and his Lady, to their new built and furnished house aforesaid in Newtown. Some years before this time, Sir Hugh had married his eldest daughter to Sir Robert M'Clellan,[6] Baron of Kirkcoby, who (with her) had four great towalands near Lisnegarvey, whereof she was possessed in

sequestered, but the vast grants in America escaped sequestration, because of their remoteness and their then very trifling value. The progress of time and settlement have now rendered these territories of immense value, and the earl of Stirling's descendants still believe they have a just claim to compensation in virtue of the original grant of *Nova Scotia*. Dr. Duer's *Life of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, Major-General in the Army of the United States*; 8vo., 1847. The earl of Stirling's motto, *per mare per terras* was parodied *per metre per turners*, implying that he had attained to his wealth and position by means of his poetry (metre) and his base money (turners). On the 2nd of November, 1639, "King Charles's turners stricken by the earl of Stirling, was by proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, cryit down frae twa pennies to ane penny; King James's turners to pass for twa pennies, because they were no less worth; and the caird turners (those made by tinkers) simpliciter discharged as false cunyie. But this proclamation was shortly recalled, because there was no other money passing to make change." In April, 1640, Spalding has the following allusion to this subject:—"You see before some order taken with the passing of turners, whereof some appointed to pass for ane penny. Now they would give nothing, penny, nor half penny, for King Charles's turners; but King James's turners only should pass. Whereby all trade and change was taken away through want of current money, because thir slight turners was the only money almost passing through all Scotland." Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 128. A person so given to speculations in land as the first earl, was not likely to overlook *Ireland*, then an attractive field for investment. Accordingly we find that sir William purchased, in 1628, from sir James Cunningham of Glengarnock, two thousand acres of land in the county of Donegal, for the sum of £400. These lands were known as Dacostruse or, Docrastroose, and Portlaw, on which was the water-millof Cargyn. The heirs of sir James afterwards repurchased this property. *Inquisitions, Donegal, no.* 5, *Car. I.* In the same year, sir William Alexander obtained a grant of the proportion of Mullalelish, in the barony or precinct of O'Neiland, county of Armagh, containing by estimation 1000 acres; also the small proportion of Legacorry, in the same precinct or barony, containing by estimation 1000 acres; to hold for ever, in free and common soccage, with license to hold court baron, court leet, and view of frank pledge.—Morrin's, *Calendar, Charles I.*, pp. 268, 384, 439; *Inquisitions, Armagh, no.* 19, *Car. I.* Legacorry is another name for Richhill, and the two half proportions of Legacorry and Mullalelish form the Richardson estate.

[6] *Sir Robert M'Clellan.*—Sir Robert M'Clellan, baron Kirkcoby, or rather *Kircoubry* (a contraction for Kirkcudbright), was the eldest son of sir Thomas Maclellan of Bomby, in Galloway, by his wife, Grissel Maxwell. Sir Robert was knighted by James VI., and appointed one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, in which office he was continued by Charles I., who advanced him to the rank of a baronet; and by letters patent, dated 26th May, 1633, raised him to the peerage with the title of viscount Kirkcudbright. He died in 1640, the title devolving on his nephew, Thomas Maclellan, son of William Maclellan of Glenshannock. The surname of Maclellan is one of the most ancient and respectable in the south of Scotland. The family, originally Irish, settled first in Balmaclellan, conferring the name on that parish, from which its various branches spread over Galloway. The clan became so numerous and influential that, at one period, it numbered *fourteen* knights, bearing the surname of Maclellan, and residing at the following places in Galloway, viz., Barscobe, Gelston, Borgue, Troquhain, Barholm, Kirkconnel, Kirkcormock, Colvend, Kirkgunzeon, Glenshinnock, Ravenston, Kilcruickie, Bardrockwood, and Sorbie. The ninth and last lord Kirkcudbright died at Bruges in 1832, and the title is at present dormant. The last lord Kirkcudbright was deformed, and had not a fraction to live on but his allowance. He used to vote for representative peers, and then at the evening balls sell gloves to the people attending Holyrood Palace. Mr. Nicholson, editor of the *Minute Book kept by the War Committee of the Covenanters in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright*, in referring to the Maclellan family, says:—"It is scarcely possible wholly to pass over unnoticed the fortunes of one family, at the period in question (1640) certainly the most pre-eminent in territorial influence within the bounds of eastern Galloway; the editor alludes to the noble house of Kirkcudbright. Wide as their dominions then were, it is a fact that only one individual of the name is now in possession of a single acre of their original territory. The title has merged in a highly accomplished lady (1854), who believes herself to be the last representative of her far-descended ancestry. How far she may be correct in that conclusion may admit of question. Of a race once so numerous as to consist of fourteen branches, all acknowledged to have sprung from the root of Bombay, it is not easy to conceive how an heir to the title should not exist somewhere."—*Preface*, p. xxxi., p. 191. The sir Robert Maclellan mentioned in the text is not to be confounded with another knight of the same name, and no doubt from the same district in Scotland, who came to Ulster as an undertaker in the Plantation. The latter sir Robert Maclellan rented for sixty-one years, two scopes of land, each consisting of 3210 acres, from the Haberdashers' and Clothworkers' Companies, in the county of Londonderry. One of these scopes was known as *Ballycastle*, in the neighbourhood of Newtownlimavady. See Pynnar's *Survey of Ulster*, in Harris's *Hibernica*, pp. 229, 230. For other interesting particulars of this knight, see also Morrin's *Calendar, Charles I.*, pp. 184, 506. Sir Robert Maclellan of *Ardhilley*, in Londonderry, died on the 18th of January, 1638, leaving a daughter, Maria, married to Robert Maxwell of Ballycastle.—*Ulster Inquisitions, Londonderry*, no. 7, *Car. I.*

December, 1622.[7] Sir Hugh and his Lady, also, had likewise given him a considerable sum of money as an augmentation to the marriage portion; but the said Sir Robert spent the money and sold the lands after her Ladyship's death, and himself died not long after her, both without issue.[8]

Item, in or about the same year, 1623, the Viscount married his other daughter, Jean, to Pat. Savage,[9] of Portaferry, Esq., whose predecessors (by charter from the Queen Elizabeth, and formerly as I am credibly informed,) were stiled, and in their deeds of lands they named themselves Lords of the little Ardes.[10] This family is reputed to be above 400 years standing in Ireland, and those Lords were men of great esteem, and had far larger estates in the county of Antrim, than they have now in the Ardes.[11] One of the Earles of Antrim married Shelly, a daughter of Portaferry, and the late Marq. and Earle thereof, called those of this family Easens;[12] and the Lord Deputy Chichester would have had the Patrick's immediate predecessor[13] and brother to have married his niece,[14] but it is reported that Russell of Rathmullen,[15] made him drunk, and so married him to his own daughter,

[7] *In December*, 1622.—The original lease of these lands from Con O'Neale to the first viscount, with the view of their becoming the marriage portion of his eldest daughter, was made in 1611, and included originally only *three* townlands. The following is the account of this transaction in the *Inquisition of* 1623:—"An indenture of lease for 33 years, dated 3d February, 1611, made by said Con to sir Hugh, in consideration of £40 sterl., of the *three* townlands of Ballydownkimmuck, Ballytullygoane, and Ballycrossan, in Slut Neales country, at the rent of £2 10s sterling. Provided, if by means of war or rebellion in the county of Down, the tenants should be disabled from enjoying said lands, that during such time, the rents should cease, with a clause of renewal within seven years. This lease was found to be in trust for sir Robert M'Clellan." The author is correct in mentioning that Elizabeth Montgomery, wife of sir Robert M'Clellan, had *four* townlands, for the Inquisition of 1623 specfies that in December, 1622, sir Robert was in possession of Ballydrombegg (now Drumbeg), Ballydunskeagh (now Ballyskeagh), Ballytullgowan (now Ballygowan), and Ballyduncaunmucke (now Hillhall)." See Reeves' *Eccl. Antiquities*, p. 46; *Inquisitions, Down, no.* 15. *Car. I.*

[8] *Both without issue.*—Sir Robert had been previously married to a daughter of sir Matthew Campbell of Loudon, in Ayrshire, and at his death in 1640, he was succeeded, as already stated, by his nephew. His second lady, Elizabeth Montgomery of the Ards, died shortly before 1640.

[9] *Pat. Savage.*—This was the brother of Rowland Savage, who died in 1619, son of Patrick who died in 1603, son of John, son of Patrick, son of Rowland, who died at Portaferry in 1572. See Burke's *Landed Gentry*, under *Nugent*.

[10] *Lords of the little Ardes.*—In May, 1538, a treaty was made between lord Leonard Gray, the then lord deputy, and Remond Savage (Jenico Savage, formerly chief captain of his nation or clan, being removed). Remond having sworn fealty to King Henry VIII., was permitted to bear the name and enjoy the honours of chief captain of his nation, and of the country of the Savages, otherwise Lecale. By this treaty Remond Savage was bound to give to the lord deputy one hundred fat cows, and one good horse, or fifteen marks Irish in lieu of the horse. Again, in October, 1559, a treaty of peace was formed between Rowland Savage, Remund Savage, and their kinsmen. Contentions had arisen among them respecting the inheritance and chieftainship of their nation. The leaders appeared before the lord deputy and council in Dublin, declared the losses and injuries they had sustained, and prayed the council to put a loving and quiet end to their quarrels. It was adjudged that Rowland Savage should be captain or chief of his nation and freeholders, and enjoy his rightful inheritance to his lands in the Little Ardes. It was also agreed that they should join in amity and friendship for the furtherance of queen Elizabeth's service, and the defence of the country. For the due performance of this contract, and for the maintenance of peace, the parties bound themselves in the sum of £1000.—Morrin's *Calendar, Henry VIII. and Elizabeth*, pp. 45, 426.

[11] *Have now in the Ardes.*—This fact will be noticed in connexion with the author's account of the two principal families of Savage in the Ards.

[12] *Easens.*—Easens is a misprint for *Cosens*. No earl of Antrim married a lady of the Savages, but the first earl's great-grandmother was Sheela or Celia Savage of Portaferry, she having been the wife of John Macdonnell, lord of Isla and the Glynns of Antrim. This chieftain was surnamed *Cathanach* (probably because he was fostered in O'Cahan's country), and was, with two of his sons, executed on the Burrow-Muir, near Edinburgh, in 1500, by command of his kinsman, James IV. A Robert Savage married a daughter of John, lord of the Isles—10 Richard II.—*Exchequer Records*, as quoted in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 154, *note*. The "late marquis" of the text was Randall Macdonnell, second earl and first marquis of Antrim, born in 1609. This nobleman died in 1682.

[13] *Immediate predecessor.*—His elder brother, Roland Savage, who died in 1619.

[14] *His niece.*—Sir Arthur Chichester's four brothers and eight sisters were all married. He had, therefore, many nieces; but we know not the particular lady to whom the author here refers.

[15] *Russell of Rathmullen.*—The Russells of Rathmullen were the descendants of an Anglo-Norman settler, who came to Lecale in the time of John De Courcy.

who was mother to one O'Hara,[16] in the county of Antrim. This Patrick was reputed to be the 17th son, and succeeded to the manor of Portaferry, by virtue of ancient deeds of feofment in tail, for want of heirs males by his eldest brother. He was the 1st Protestant of his family, through the said Viscount's care to instruct him. As to portions, the said Viscount gave 600*l.* (a great sum in those days);[17] he was Captain of a troop Ao. 1641, in the regiment of horse, under the command of the second Lord Viscount Montgomery. And the said Jean died Ao. 1643; he himself also

[illegible]

[16] *O'Hara.*—This was Cahill O'Hara of Crebilly, or Craigbilly, in the county of Antrim. On 20th June, 1606, James I. granted to him the territory called Tuogh-Kearte, and all the lands therein, viz.: Ballylislatty, Ballimacloowake, Ballichronckill, the two Ballieldnacallies, Ballielugg, Ballycreeville, Ballikilligadd, Ballidurevan, Ballilosschossan, Ballilenevmerrew, Ballihawnychabarkie, and Ballaclagg, at the yearly rent of £4. This territory is described in the patent as bounded on the west and north by the Tuogh Clinaghertie, between which two territories (viz., Kearte and Clinaghertie) the meering extends through the river Owen-Blade, about two miles from the confluence thereof, with the Mynwater (Manwater), until it comes the river Owen Deveragh, now the Deveragh; thence through the midst thereof, between Tuogh Kearte and Manlie-Mur-gin, about a mile to the head thereof in the [illegible] of Moyloghmisken, thence [illegible] across and through plains [illegible] half a mile [illegible] called Tuoghbilligie, [illegible] half a mile to the top of Mount Corramoo [illegible] a mile to the Glenn of [illegible] thereof, to the [illegible] between the [illegible] Dowghs [illegible] Tuogh [illegible] Kearte [illegible] Mynwater [illegible] Deveragh

departed this life in the beginning Anno 1644, leaving orphan children only two daughters and Hugh (his 9th son) to the care of Sir James Montgomery (their mother's brother), who performed that trust with full fidelity, and to their great advantage, compounding many debts, paying them out of the rents, which then were high (for he waved the benefit of the wardship he had of the said Hugh's estate and person). He bred them at Rosemount, his own house, according to their quality, till harvest time Ao. 1649, that Oliver Cromwell's army (triumphing over us all) obliged himself and his son to go into Scotland, and leave them at Portaferry aforesaid.[18]

The said Hugh Savage lived till about Ao. 1666, and died without issue. He was educated at Rosemount and Newton with me as two brothers; and he boarded himself many years with me, never having had a wife; but his encumbered estate came (by virtue of the said Hugh and father's feoffments) to his nearest kinsman, Patrick Savage, Esq.,[19] who now enjoys it, he having, by his prudent management, recovered it out of some great encumbrances thereon, and brought it to great improvements of rents.

And now I have ended the bad success of the said last recited two matches by our first Lord Viscount, let us now, as order requires, relate what his Lordship did for his other offspring and first of his son, James Montgomery (often before named). Him his Lordship called home from his travels, after he had been in France, Germany, Italy, and Holland (divers months in each of these countrys); and finding him fit for business, sent him to Court in England, Ao. 1623, to obviate the mischief feared from Sir Thomas Smith's complaints (as hath already been said); and there the said James continued to study the laws at the Inns of Court, and attending all his father's business which came before King James or King Charles, till Ao. 2d Car. that patents were passed to his father for his estate; and then being called home (for now the clouds of danger, from the two Smiths[20] aforesaid, were blown over), he was, some months after that time, employed as his father's agent, both in the country and in Dublin, so that he became an expert solicitor, courtier, and statesman, as before his travel he had been a pregnant scholar, and taken his degrees as of Master in the liberall arts in the University of St. Andrews. The certificate, under the seal, I have shown to many persons who had esteem of learning.

Now before I leave this brief account of him, I take the liberty to relate one instance of favour to him from the Royal Martyr, viz., His Majesty went to shoot at the Butts;[21] necessaries were

ing century. *Anne Lambert*, who was born in 1752, at Dunleady, and became countess of Annesley, had a fortune of £15,000; and *Mary Cowan*, wife of Alexander Stewart, who purchased what had been the Montgomery estates from the Colvilles, had a fortune of £150,000.

[18] *Portaferry aforesaid.*—This Hugh Savage, son of Patrick, died unmarried in 1666. The name of the two sisters were Elizabeth and Sarah. Elizabeth married George Wilton, esq., Gaalstown, county of Westmeath; and Sarah became the wife, first, of sir Bryan O'Neill, of Bakerstown, bart., so created for his gallantry at the battle of Edge-Hill; and, secondly, of Richard Rich, esq.

[19] *Patrick Savage, Esq.*—On the death of Hugh in 1666, the family estate passed to his cousin, Patrick Savage of Derry, a townland in the little Ards (see Reeves' *Eccl. Antiquities*, p. 23), afterwards of Portaferry, who died in 1724, aged 82.

[20] *Two Smiths.*—Sir William and Sir Thomas. See p. 77, *supra*.

[21] *The Butts.*—This phrase means literally the mark at which archers shoot, but was used more generally to denote the place set apart in each district for the practice of archery. Several old statutes from the 13th to the 16th century made the practice of archery in England imperative, and directed that the leisure time of young men, especially on holydays, should be devoted to the use of the bow. As the church then enforced the observance of so many holydays, the time thus set apart for archery practice would be quite sufficient to enable one to acquire the art to perfection. It is rather remarkable that all the laws for the encouragement of archery should have been introduced subsequently to the invention of gun-powder and fire-arms. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who lived in the reign of James I., wrote it as his deliberate conviction that

brought, the King desires Mr. Montgomery to try one of the bows, and he shot three or four ends with his Majesty so very well that he said, "Mr. Montgomery, that bow fitts your hand, take them and a quiver of arrows and keep them for your use." I was told this by my father, who carefully preserved them, and divers times (in my sight) used them at Rosemount, charging me to do so likewise;[22] they were left to his nephew Savage's care, Ao. 1649, who restored them to me at my return; the bow was too strong for me, and he using it, it broke in his hands; one half of it was desired and made a staff for the old Countess of Strevling,[23] when

good archers would do more execution on the battlefield than infantry armed with musquets, even at that period. The 5th of Edward IV., c. 4, enacts that every Englishman in Ireland shall be obliged to have a bow in his house, *of his own length*, either of yew, wych-hazel, ash, or awburn, probably alder. There is a Scotch statute of the year 1457, which directs butts and bowmarks to be erected in every parish. The French having very convincing proofs of the superiority of English archers, began also to encourage the regular practice of the bow. See Barrington on *The Ancient Statutes*, pp. 424, 425. In the reign of Henry VIII., the law ordained that every man should have a bow and arrows continually in his house, that he should have bows and arrows for his sons and servants, and that every servant above seventeen, and under sixty years of age, should pay 6s. 8d. if found without a bow and arrows for one month. The inhabitants of every city, town, hamlet, and country district, were required by law to erect *Butts*, and practise shooting at the times above-mentioned. In Coates's *History of the Town of Reading*, there are curious entries printed from churchwardens' accounts, in reference to archery accommodation. Thus, in the Vestry Book of St. Lawrence Parish, there is the following entry:—"A.D. 1549. Paid to William Watlynton for that the parishe was indebted to hym for makyng of *the Butts*, xxxvi s." The Vestry Book of St. Mary's, under the year 1566, has the following: "Item, for the makyng of *the Butts*, viii s,"—and, under the year 1622, "Paid two laborers to playne the grounde where *the Butts* should be, v s vi d; 1629—"Paid towards *the Butts* mending, ii s vi d." In the parish of St. Giles's Vestry Book are the following entries:—"1566—Item, For carryinge of turfes for *Butts* xvi d. "1605—Three laboureres, two days work aboute the Butts iiii s. Carrying ix load of turfes for the *Butts* ii s. "For two pieces of timber to fasten on the railes of the *Butts* iiii d." "1621—The parishioners did agree that the church wardens and constables should sett up a payre of *Butts*, in such place as they thinke most convenient, in St. Giles parish, which *Butts* to cost xi s." The kings of England, generally, encouraged and practised archery, their example rendering it fashionable as an amusement, long after it had ceased to be a means of war. It appears from the text that Charles I. was not an exception in this respect. That monarch issued a proclamation in the 8th year of his reign, to prevent the fields near London from being so inclosed as to interrupt the necessary and profitable exercise of shooting. In Markham's *History of Archery*, published in 1634, Charles I. is represented in the dress and attitude of a bowman.—*History of Reading* as quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 335; *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. ii., p. 274.

[22] *To do likewise.*—This bow was no doubt of yew, the most approved wood. Barrington is of opinion that the planting of yew trees in church-yards throughout England was done to protect them most effectually from cattle. This practice, it appears, was not known throughout other parts of Europe. By 4 Henry V., c. 3, it appears that the *Asp* was the best wood for arrows. *Observations on the Ancient Statutes*, p. 424, *note*. In the following words Holinshed indignantly laments the decay or disuse of archery in England:—"Cutes the Frenchman and Rutters, deriding, &c., will not let, *in open skirmish, to turn up their tails and cry*, Shoote Englishmen! and all because our strong shooting is *decayed and laid in bed*; but if some of our Englishmen now lived, that served Edward III., the *breech* of such a varlet should have been nailed to him with an arrow, and another feathered in his bowels,"—*Statute of Kilkenny*, p. 23, *note*.

[23] *Old Countess of Strevling.*—This old lady, widow of the first earl of Stirling, was Janet, daughter and heiress of sir William Erskine, cousin german of the earl of Mar, the regent. She was the mother of seven sons and two daughters. The names of her sons were William, Anthony, Henry, John, Charles, Ludovick, and James. Her daughters were Jean and Mary. Her husband, the first earl, purchased a place of interment in Bowie's aisle, a part of the High Church of Stirling. In this he erected a sandstone tablet in memory of his wife's parents, bearing a Latin inscription, which, with the following translation, is printed in the Rev. Dr. Rogers' Volume, entitled, *Week at Bridge of Allan*, 12mo, 1858:—"Here lies in hope of the resurrection, William Erskine, of the order of knights, along with his wife, Joanna, a woman of singular virtue, of illustrious birth, and sprung from the main line of the Erskines, leaving behind them an only daughter, who was afterwards married to William Alexander, a distinguished knight, Master of Request to King James, Secretary and Commissioner of Exchequer to Charles. This love has blessed that daughter with a numerous offspring, and has raised this monument to her illustrious parents." "Bowie's aisle" was the earl's last resting-place also. Sir James Balfour has the following notice of the earl's burial therein:—"In February this Zeire, also, deyed William, earle of Streueling, viscount Canada, lord Alexander, principal secretary for Scotland to king Charles first, London. Hes bodey was embalmed, and by sea transported to Streueling, and ther privately interred by night in Bowie's Iyle, in Streueling chur[illegible]he the 12th Aprile, 1640." After his death, his cou[illegible]s lived at Mount-Alexander with her daughter, the wife of the second viscount Montgomery. She was alive in 1656, and at her death is believed to have been interred in the family vault of the Montgomerys at Newton. In consideration of her husband's services, the countess had

she was entertained here by her daughter, the 2d Viscountess Montgomery, at Mount Alexander house.[24]

His Lordship, to compensate the said James's constant, dutiful, well performed services, and to give him a 2d son's portion, settled on him about ten townlands,[25] five of them about Gray Abbey aforesaid, the rest in the barony of Castlereagh, and one summer, Ao. 1631, matched him to Katherine,[26] eldest daughter of Sir William Stewart,[27] Knight and Baronet, a Privy Councellor.

a warrant from Charles I., for a pension of £300 per annum. She had come to Ireland to enjoy the society of her favourite daughter, viscountess Montgomery. *MS. Memoir of Sir William Alexander.* See Appendix G.

[24] *Mount-Alexander House.*—This residence, in the vicinity of Comber, was built for the accommodation of the second viscount on his marriage, and was thus named in honour of his wife. Her son, who became an earl, adopted the name as that of his earldom, also in honour of his mother's family. In the patent of 1637, the lands adjoining this residence are described as constituting the manor of Mount-Alexander or Comber. The house has long since disappeared, and its site is now known as the *castle farm*. Mount-Alexander is a townland of 400 acres in the parish of Comber, and was purchased a few years ago by the late marquis of Londonderry from Nicholas De la Cherois Crommelin, Carrowdore, esq. Great difficulty was experienced in making title, there being no such townland in the patents, this being, as it were, made up from the skirts of several townlands. However, the difficulty was overcome at last.

[25] *About ten townlands.*—This grant from the first viscount Montgomery to sir James is dated the 20th April, 1629. The lands "about Greyabbey," including the site and surroundings of the old monastery, were Ballymonestragh alias Corvallie, Ballynester, Ballyneboyle, the quarter of the Cardie, the half of Ballygrange and a portion of Ballyblacks alias Ballynepistragh. The lands included in this grant which lay on the opposite shore of Strangford Lough, were Ballylisnebarnes, Ballytullynegny, Ballydromcreagh, Ballyobonden, Ballymonestragh alias Belfort, the half of Ballygraffan, and the quarter of Kilmood. These lands lay in the ancient subdivision of Southern Clannaboy known as Sluthendricks. They are situate in the parishes of Kilmood and Killinchy and barony of Upper Castlereagh.—*Inquisitions, Down, no.* 109, *Car. I.* The lands in the parish of Greyabbey included, besides those already mentioned, the following subdivisions, viz., Islandmore, held by Hugh Montgomery, jun.; Islandmaddy alias Dogg-iland; Ballybrian held by William and Archibald Edmonston; and Tullykeavin in the possession of John Peacock, who, with his undertenants, also occupied the Cardie. For this estate sir James Montgomery engaged to pay the sum of three pounds ten shillings yearly to the king, and five pounds yearly to viscount Montgomery, the lord of the soil, in two equal payments to be made at Easter and the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel. To hold for ever in free and common soccage.—*MS. preserved at Donaghadee.* The following document, having reference to this arrangement between the first viscount and his son James, is printed in Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 288:—

"*Obligation by James Montgomery to Hugh, Viscount Montgomery, of Airdes, his father, 30th January, 1629.*

"Be it knowen to all men by these presentis, me, James Montgomery, secound lauchfull sone to ane noble lord, Hew, Viscount Montgomery, of Airdes; that wheras the Right Honourable Alexander, Erle of Eglintoun, out of the speciall grace and favour which he beiris to my said Lord and father, and to all us that ar his childerene, hes bene pleased to honour us by affording his Lordshipis panes and travell to sie a present settling of our estatis, to the better lyking of our said father and our greatar quyet and content: Wit, yea thirfoir me, the said James Montgomery, by these presentis, not only to testifie that I am weill pleased with that provision and estait which my said Lord and Father has allottit unto me now, bot also (out of the consideratioun and trust I have of the said noble Erle his love and favour), to be bund and obleist that I shall nevor seik, have, nor crave any farder of the landis and inheritances which my said father dois now reallie and actuallie possess, or hes reicht and tytle to accleame, nor move or procced in anie such purches frome my said father, or procuir, ather be me self or be any utheris to my use, ather in landis or in sowmes of money, by landis frae his Lordship, for enlairging of my estait, to the burdening, hurt, or prejudice of his Lordship's air (heir), without the speciall advyse and consent of the said Noble Erle, Alexander Erle of Eglintoun, first had and obtainit thairto: In witness wherof I have heirto set my hand and seale at Eglintoun, the penult day of Januar, the year of God i^m vi^c twentie nyne yeares. "J. MONTGOMERY.

"Signed, subscryvit, and delyvered, in presence of us,
"EGLINTOUN.
"NEILL MONTGOMERIE of Langschaw.
"J. S., Grinok (JOHN SCHAW, of Greenock.)
"T. NEVIN of Monkridding.
"I. MONTGOMERY.
"PATRICK SCHAW of Kelsoland."

[26] *Katherine.*—This lady's mother was Frances, second daughter of sir Robert Newcomen of Mosstown, in the county of Longford, and Catherine, daughter of sir Thomas Molyneux, chancellor of the Irish Exchequer in the reign of Elizabeth.—Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., p. 247.

[27] *Sir William Stewart.*—William Stewart was probably of the family of *Dunduffe*, which is the name of an estate in the parish of Maybole, Ayrshire. The name of an ancestor, also called Williame Stewarte of Dundufe, appears in the list of assize at a criminal trial, in 1558. In the following year a crown charter was given by Mary queen of Scots, of the lands of *Meikle Sallathane Willielmo Dunduff de eodem et Elizabethæ Corry ejus conjugi.* From this it appears that the laird was sometimes called Dunduff and sometimes Stewart, although the latter was the real surname. The sir William Stewart mentioned in the text, was grandson of the above named, and succeeded to the family property in Maybole, about the year 1609. The estate passed from the family of Stewart, finally, in the year 1668, and was afterwards owned by the *Whitefords*. Paterson, *County of Ayr.* vol. ii., p. 354. See also Harris, *Hibernica*, pp. 179, 241. Before coming to Ulster in 1608, William Stewart, and his younger brother Robert, served as soldiers of fortune, in the armies of Denmark and Sweden. Although sir William attained to great wealth as a settler, his beginnings were evidently small. A Lambeth *MS.*, entitled *A Relation of the workes done by the Scottish undertakers on their severall portions of lande assigned them in the Escheated Counties of Ulster*, has the

Then about this time his Lordship called home his third son, George Montgomery, Esq., from his travels in Holland, through London, where he stayed some months at Court. Thence to Scotland, where he had visited (as he had been ordered) the family of Garthland,[28] and there stayed some time to be acquainted with the Gentlewoman designed to be his wife, which, in Ao. 1633, came to pass, his Lordship having first settled on him the lands, value about 300*l.* per annum, which Hugh (the said George his son) now enjoys.[29] These M'Dowells, Lairds of Garthland, near Portpatrick, have now stood in that place above 1000 years; and were, in the first century, stiled Princes of Galloway, by allowance of the then Kings in Scotland.[30]

following brief notice of his original place of settlement, in 1611 :—"William Stewarte, Lo. Dunduffe, undertaker of 1000 acres in the said precinct (Portlagh), his brother was heere for him the somer 1610, and retourned into Scotland; he hath lefte a servant to keepe his stocke upone the land, beinge two mares and 30 heades of cattle younge and old." In 1627, Charles I., wrote to lord deputy Falkland, stating that sir William Stewart, as captain of one of the foot-bands of the army in Ulster, had incurred great expenses "by maintaining the old and new soldiers under his command, without which they had long since disbanded," and ordering the deputy to take immediate steps to have this debt discharged. In 1629, sir William obtained a grant from the crown of the lands of *Cooleleaghy*, in the barony of Raphoe, Donegal, which he had formerly held as an undertaker. These premises were, according to the terms of the grant, to be constituted into a manor, to be called the manor of Mount-Stewart, with power to create tenures, to hold 400 acres in demesne, to appoint court baron and court leet, to claim waifs and strays, and to impark 300 acres. In the same year he obtained grants from the crown of his *four* proportions, 4000 acres, in the county of Tyrone. Two of these, called Ballynaconnally and Ballyravill, in the barony of Clogher, were erected into a manor, also known as *Mount-Stewart*. The two others, called Newton and Lislapp, in the barony of Strabane, were erected into the manor of New Stewartstown, or Newtown-stewart. All these lands in Tyrone were held on the same terms of free and common soccage, and with the same privileges as the grant in Donegal above-mentioned. In 1631, sir William, in conjunction with sir Henry Tichbourne, obtained a grant of the rents and profits of such lands in the province of Ulster as were found by Inquisition to have been forfeited to the crown, in consequence of their having been let to the Irish, contrary to the provisions contained in the patents of the undertakers.—Morrin's *Calendar, Charles I.*, pp. 298, 454, 476, 538, 588.

[28] *Family of Garthland.*—This was the family of sir John M'Dowall (MacDubhghaill), whose daughter, Grizzel, soon afterwards became the wife of George Montgomery. *Garthland* is in the parish of Stonykirk, Wigtonshire, about five miles S.S.E. of Stranraer. It has passed away from the family of the original possessor, and now belongs to the earl of Stair. The name was anciently written *Gairachloyne*, or *Garvchloyne*. See Agnew's *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, pp. 28, 29.

[29] *Now enjoys.*—These lands were afterwards granted in trust for George Montgomery, by his brother Hugh, the second viscount Ards. It was found by Inquisition (*Down, no.* 109, *Car. I.*) that Hugh, lord viscount Montgomery, by deed, dated the 6th of October, 1639, granted to sir James Montgomery, of Rosemount, kt., Patrick Savage of Portaferry, Henry Savage of Arkin, William Shaw of Newtowne, and John Montgomery of Ballycreboy, esqs., the manor of Downbreaklyn, and all the townes, lands, and hereditaments of Ballymilagh (now Mealough), Ballyknockbreda, Ballycarny (now Ballycairne), Ballydowneagh (now Duneight, parish of Blaris), Ballyclogher (now Clogher), Ballyaghlisk (now Ballyaglis, parish of Drumbeg), Lisnegnoe (now Lisnoe, parish of Blaris), and that part of Ballylessan containing 140 acres, in the possession of George Montgomery of Drumfaddy. The printed abstract of the Inquisition in the Calendar does not state the trusts of the above Deed; but an original copy of the latter, found among the family papers at Donaghadee, contains additional details. The grant confers the power to hold "court leet and court baron of the said manor, with all and singular the castles, houses, fishings, mines, &c., together with the rectorial tythes of the lands of Ballyhaughlisk (now Ballyaghlis), belonging to y^e^ Rectory of Drum, on y^e^ Laggan, to be held in free and common soccage, as of the manor of Newtown, by the rents and services after mentioned; To the use of Geo. Montgomery during his natural life, and after his decease to the following uses, viz., for a joynture to his wife, then to the use of Hugh Montgomery, and the heirs male of his body, and for want thereof to the heirs male of said lord, and for want thereof to the heirs male of said sir James Montgomery, and so to the heirs generally; *Yielding* at y^e^ feasts of Michaelmas and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, by equal halfs, the yearly rent of Five Pounds sterlg., and a good, able, serviceable horse worth ten pounds English at least. Alsoe, from tyme to tyme at all tymes hereafter an able hors and man to attend y^e^ person of y^e^ Lord and his heirs male in all generall Hostings 40 days in Ulster. And if the said Five Pounds be unpaid in part or in whole for 40 days (being lawfully demanded) power of distress for y^e^ rent, and for the hors after a year, the heir being at age, and, after due warning, for y^e^ horsman also. In consideration whereof, the lord and his heirs to pay the crown rent due thereout forever. Seizin of the premises thereon given to the feoffees."

[30] *The then kings of Scotland.*—The MacDowalls of Garthland represented the ancient thanes of Galloway. "The three great families of Garthland, Logan, and Freuch all bore, with certain differences, the arms of the old lords of Galloway—a lion argent on an azure shield." Agnew's *Hereditary Sheriffs*, p. 28. One of the earliest of their charters speaks of the origin of the family as *ultra memoriam hominum*, or as lost in antiquity. Ulrig and Donald MacDowall were leaders at

Now having spoken of the said Lord Montgomery's offspring, as to what his Lordship did for them, I think it a due gratitude in this place to remember his Lordship's said brother George, the best and closest friend he had, they two being, like Castor and Pollux, to supply one another's absence. You have heard in what station he lived before Ao. 1603, and what preferment King James gave him, in the first year of his reign.[31] Soon after this, his Majesty, finding the Dean of

the battle of the Standard, in 1238, where they were both slain. The family is represented at the present time by the MacDowalls of Logan, in the parish of Kirkmaiden. Of this house was the well-known Andrew MacDowall, lord Bankton, a judge of the court of session, and author of "*Institutes of the Laws of Scotland.*" He was the son of Robert MacDowall and Sarah Shaw, daughter of sir John Shaw of Greenock. Lord Bankton was born at Logan in 1685, and died at Bankton in East Lothian in 1760. Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. iii., 379; *New Stat. Acc. of Scotland, Wigtonshire*, p. 206. As this was one of the most powerful of Scottish families in ancient times, and as it is here specially noticed by the author in connexion with the family of Ards, we give sir Andrew Agnew's account of its three principal branches. He states that "the Garthland descent alone has been accurately preserved:—

"MCDOWALL OF GARTHLAND.

"1. Dougall McDowall of Garthland, who had a charter from Baliol, A.D. 1295.

"2. Dougall McDowall, son of the above—1362.

"3. Fergus McDowall, son of the above—1370; was sheriff-depute of Galloway.

"4. Thomas McDowall, married a daughter of Wallace of Craigie; had a charter of earl Douglas, 1413; a witness to charter of Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw, first hereditary sheriff of Galloway, 1426; his daughter (or grand-daughter) married Andrew Agnew, second hereditary sheriff; succeeded by his son.

"5. Uchtred McDowall, succeeded 1440; married daughter of Robert Vauss of Barnbarroch (sister of dame Mariotta Agnew, wife of third sheriff), and had

"6. Thomas McDowall, *circa*, 1470; married daughter of Fraser, ancestor of Lord Saltoun; his son,

"7. Uchtred McDowall, succeeded 1488; married Isabel, daughter of sir John Gordon of Lochinvar; killed, as was also his eldest son, at Flodden, 1513.

"8. Thomas McDowall, married Isabel, daughter of sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies; killed at Flodden, 1513, leaving a son,

"9. Uchtred McDowall, succeeded his grandfather in 1513; married his cousin, Marion, daughter of sir Alexander Stewart, of Garlies (sister of dame Agnes Agnew of Lochnaw), and had

"10. John McDowall, succeeded 1531; married Margaret daughter and co-heiress of John Campbell of Corswall; killed at Pinkie, 1547, leaving a son,

"11. Uchtred McDowall, retoured in 1548, before Patrick Agnew, sheriff of Galloway, as heir to his father; married 1st, Margaret, daughter of sir Hugh Kennedy of Girvanmains; married 2nd, Margaret, daughter of Henry lord Methven; his son,

"12. Uchtred McDowall, succeeded 1593; married 1569, Eupheme, daughter of sir John Dunbar of Mochrum; his son,

"13. John McDowall, succeeded 1600; married a lady of the house of Lochinvar; his son,

"14. Sir John McDowall, succeeded 1611, and married Margaret Kerr, daughter of Lord Jedburgh, and left,

"15. Sir James McDowall, succeeded 1637; married Jean, daughter of sir John Hamilton of Grange. (Colleague of sir Patrick Agnew as M.P. for Wigtonshire, 1643, and of sir Andrew Agnew as M.P. 1644 to 1647.) His son,

"16. William McDowall, succeeded 1661; married Grizzel, daughter of A. Beaton (was colleague of sir Andrew Agnew, tenth sheriff, in Parliament, 1669 to 1700); had ten children; his son,

"17. Alexander McDowall, succeeded 1700; married Jean, daughter of sir John Fergusson of Kilkerran, and had a son, heir,

"18. William McDowall, laird of Garthland, 1747. William McDowall's (No. 16) fifth son, William McDowall, a military officer, married Mary Tovie, a West India heiress. In 1727, he purchased Castle-Semple, and died in 1748. His grandson, William, in 1760, purchased Garthland from his cousin, a grandson also of William (No. 16), and on his cousin's death in 1775, became head of the house, which is now represented by Major General Day Hort McDowall."

"MCDOUALL OF LOGAN.

"The family of Logan indignantly deny the statements of Crawford and Chalmers that they are cadets of the House of Garthland. For their arguments on this subject, see Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. ii., and Murray's *Literary History of Galloway*.

The oldest papers of the family were destroyed *circa* 1300 by the burning of their castle of Balzeiland.

"The first authentic account of the family is to be found in the Lochnaw charter-chest where—

"1. Patrick McDouall of Logan appears as a witness to the service of Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw, as heir to his father, Andrew Agnew, in his estates and office of sheriff of Galloway, 1455.

"2. Patrick McDouall, his son, married Catherine, daughter of sir Alexander McCulloch of Myrtoun, previous to 1494; and had a son.

"3. Charles McDowall, killed at Flodden; leaving a son.

"4. Patrick, succeeded 1513; whose son,

"5. Charles, had, A.D. 1547, a dispensation to Mary Alisone Maxwell, his cousin in the 3rd and 4th degree—he left

"6. Patrick, succeeded 1548; married 1568, Helen, daughter of Uchtred McDowall, of Garthland.

"7. John McDouall, his son, succeeded 1579, and married, first, Grizzel, daughter of sir Patrick Vaus of Barnbarroch, and widow of J. Kennedy of Barwhannie; and second, Margaret, daughter of Crawford of Carse; his son,

"8. Alexander McDouall, succeeded 1618, married, 1621, Jane, daughter of sir Patrick Agnew of Lochnaw, his son,

"9. Patrick McDouall, succeeded 1661; married Isabel, daughter of sir Robert Adair, of Kilhilt.

"10. Robert McDouall, his son, succeeded 1699, having married, 1678, Sarah, daughter of sir John Shaw of Greenock, by whom he had, with his successor, Andrew McDouall, born 1685, the celebrated lawyer, styled lord Bankton.

"11. John McDouall married, 1710, Anna, daughter of Robert Johnston of Keltoun, who had (with Isabel, married 1733, Andrew Adair of Genoch)

"12. John McDouall, his successor, married, 1757, Helen, daughter of George Buchan of Kells.

"MCDOWALL OF FREUCH.

"This was also a powerful house. We have traced its successions, but have not been always able to discover the dates. The first on authentic record is

"1. Gilbert McDowall, *circa* 1445, married Catherine McGilligh; his son,

"2. Fergus McDowall, married Agnes, daughter of sir Alexander McCulloch of Myrtoun; he predeceased his father, leaving a son,

"3. Gilbert McDowall, succeeded his grandfather; married Isabel, daughter of sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, killed at Flodden.

"4. Fergus McDowall, succeeded 1513, married lady Jane Kennedy, daughter of David, first earl of Cassilis, killed at Pinkie.

"5. James McDowall, succeeded 1547, married Florence, daughter of John McDowall of Garthland.

"6. Mary McDowall, daughter and heiress of No. 5, married her kinsman, John McDowall of Dowalton, and left a son,

"7. John McDowall, married Mary, daughter of sir Patrick Vaus of Barnbarroch.

"8 Uchtred McDowall, son of No. 7, married Agnes, daughter of sir Patrick Agnew of Lockanaw.

"9. Patrick McDowall, (his son) married Barbara daughter of James Fullerton of that Ilk; his son,

"10. Patrick McDowall, succeeded 1680, married Margaret, daughter of William Hattridge of Dromore, county of Down, leaving a son.

"11. John McDowall, married lady Betty Crichton, daughter of colonel William Dalrymple, and Penelope, countess of Dumfries[1], who became in her own right countess of Dumfries."—*Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, pp. 613—16.

[31] *Year of his reign.*—See p. 28, *supra*.

Norwich, his chaplain, Geo. Montgomery aforesaid, his abilitys for state affairs and his great skill in ecclesiastical matters, and the Church of Ireland being under very bad circumstances, and being careful that abuses should be redressed, (I say) his Majesty thereupon sent over the said George, Ao. 1605, 3d Jac., in quality of a Privy Councellor, to be informed and to acquaint him in what condition the Church and State stood in that kingdom, and to be one of the Commissioners for settling clergy affairs: this proved much for their and that Church's benefit, and his carriage therein so well pleased the Primate, Archbishops, and Bishops, that he was their darling and chief advocate, but his employment ran counter to some English Lords and others of the laity, who had grasped over hardly too much of the tithes due to the Priest's office.[32]

After a few years toilsome pains to understand the business of his errand and of the commision for settling the affairs aforesaid, the chaplain George aforesaid was employed Ao. 1606, 4th Jac., by the Primate and the Bishops in Ireland, to represent to his Majestie the grievances of the clergy, to the great thwarting and hinderance of the laity aforesaid, in their will and designs, on which (as I have heard from his daughter, the old Lady of Howth,) they had a great grudge against him;[33] but he,

[32] *Priest's office.*—It would thus appear that Dr. George Montgomery came to Ulster prior to his appointment as bishop of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, being sent specially by the king, as a privy councillor, to collect information, generally, respecting political and ecclesiastical matters in the northern province, as well as to inquire into what lands, castles, advowsons, &c., had been escheated in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, distinguishing the ecclesiastical lands from the lands belonging to the crown. He appears to have at once come into hostile collision "with some English lords and others of the laity" who had got hold of certain church property, and were of course unwilling to surrender it again. The author here, no doubt, refers especially to the fact that some lands "belonging to the bishoprick, within the island (*i.e.*, the Island of Derry), the cathedral and parochial churches, and the bishop's house in Derry, had passed to sir R. Bingley in fee-farm, and from him to sir H. Docwra, and from him to sir George Pawlett." Other impropriations appeared, but those above-named seem to have aroused all Dr. Montgomery's powerful antagonism, and especially, perhaps, as he had then the prospect of being appointed to the bishoprick. When he did become bishop, these church possessions were all recovered by him, together with a "church which sir Henry Docwra had built at the expense of the city, and which was withheld by Pawlett, the vice provost, as sold to him."—See Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, p. 77.

[33] *Grudge against him.*—Thus, in the interval between his appointment to the sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, in 1605, and his coming to settle permanently in the spring of 1607, the bishop was actively engaged in devising those measures by which the church property was restored. Sir John Davis, the attorney-general, complained of the bishop for absenting himself so long from his charge, but the latter was much better employed in London than he could have been in Derry or Clogher, at least for the temporal interests of the church; and when he came, he must have soon made his presence felt, as the champion of the spoliated and poverty-stricken clergy. He thus excited against himself 'the grudge' of protestant impropriators in Derry, and being satisfied that several lands belonging to the church were included in the re-grant which the earl of Tyrone had recently received from the crown, the bishop set to work to recover these also. During his proceedings for this purpose, Tyrone remonstrated, saying, "My lord, you have two or three bishopricks, and yet you are not content with them, but seek the lands of my earldom." "Your earldom" replied Montgomery, "is swollen so big with the lands of the church, that it will burst if it be not vented."—Carleton's *Thankful Remembrance*, as quoted in Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, p. 79. The unfortunate earl, feeling utterly helpless, wrote to the king, on the 26th of May, 1607, reminding his majesty of the terms on which he had received the recent grant of his lands, and asking James to protect him against threatened dangers from various quarters. "But now, most gracious sovereign," he writes, "there are so many that seek to deprive me of the greater part of my residue which your majesty was pleased I should hold, as without your highness's special consideration of me I shall in the end have nothing to support my estate; for the lord bishop of Derry, not contented with the great living your majesty has been pleased to bestow upon him, seeketh not only to have from me unto him a great part of my lands, whereunto none of his predecessors ever made claim, but also setteth on others, as I am informed, to call in question that which was never heretofore doubted to be mine and my ancestors." The 'others' to whom Tyrone here refers was principally Donald Ballagh O'Cahan, who entered into an agreement with bishop Montgomery, offering to reveal to him the church lands in Tyrone's estates, on condition that Montgomery would secure him against O'Neill's vengeance, and assist him in obtaining a grant of his own lands from the crown, thus relieving him in future from that chieftain's power. Both one and other, however, were sooner relieved from Tyrone's antagonism and even his presence in Ulster, than they had dreamed of. Of the earl's flight, and its cause, we have the following account from Dr. Carleton, bishop of Chester, a contemporary of the actors in that still somewhat mysterious affair:—"Montgomery, bishop of Derry, suspected,

having the best cause in hand and his native Prince's favourable hearing in God's and his servant's concern, did prosper in that message, and at the Council Board (where he sat) had the King's orders confirmed and by others obeyed.

Now Chaplain Montgomery became more and more esteemed of the superior and inferior clergy, and was recommeded by the Bishops that he should have the diocess of Derry, and with it Clogher and Raphoe in commendam, which were then very low in tithes and revenues, by reason of O'Doherty's rebellion, in which Derry was sacked and burned, and the lands being as it were a waste wilderness without English plantations and garrisons; and laying further Church business on him, as their agent at Court, he went the second time into England.[34] I was credibly informed, that divers Lords (some of them Privy Counsellors) gave him the compliment of seeing him to the ship, telling him, at parting, that he should fail in that enterprize which he then undertook, and that his answer was—My Lords, I am going to the King, and you know it is the business of God's oppressed Church, which His Majesty and the laws protect, and if the divine permission suffer my errand to miscarry, through yours and other men's profanement, I shall lament the misfortune in England, and our sins which may draw on us that punishment, and be contented with my livings in England, for I am not pursuing preferment for myself, but the service of the Church in Ireland; and I will cast my cap at this kingdom, and never return to it. But, be assured, whether I come back or not, the sinful politick measures taken against God's Church will not prosper.

Then the said Chaplain doubled his diligence at Court, the more for the opposition he met with; and he obtained for the Church and himself what was committed to his agency. Then he returned with strict orders that the petitioned for desires of the Primate and other Episcopalians should be granted, and himself to be preferred to the dioceses aforesaid. All which affairs were accomplished as soon as might be done by the Government; for his consecration stuck not at all for want of the Bishops' ordaining hands;[35] and this was very lucky for those northern parts, be-

or was told that Tirone had gotten into his hands the greatest part of the lands of his bishoprick; which he intended in a lawful course, to recover; and finding there was no man could give him better light or knowledge of these things than O'Cahan, made use of such means that the latter came to him of his own accord, and told him he could help him to the knowledge of what he sought, but that he was afraid of Tirone; yet he engaged to reveal all that he knew of that matter, provided the bishop would promise to save him from Tirone's violence, and not deliver him into England; which the bishop having promised, he brought O'Cahan to the council in Dublin, to take his confession there. Upon this, processes were sent to Tirone, to warn him to come up to Dublin, at an appointed time, to answer the suit of the lord bishop of Derry. There was no other intention but in a peaceable way, to bring the suit to a trial; for the council then knew nothing of the plot. But Tirone having entered into a new conspiracy of which O'Cahan knew, began to suspect, when he was served with a process to answer the suit, that this was but a plot to draw him in, and that surely the treason was revealed by O'Cahan. Upon this bare suspicion, Tirone, with his confederates, fled out of Ireland, and lost all those lands in the north."—Carleton's *Thankful Remembrance*, p. 168, as abridged and quoted by Curry, in his *Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, pp. 69–70. MacNevin (*Confiscation of Ulster*, p. 33, *note*), repudiates the idea that O'Cahan, "who was a Roman Catholic and a gentleman, would communicate to the bishop of Derry any information which could injure his ally and friend, O'Neill;" but the Rev. C. P. Meehan, when speaking of the fate of Donald Ballagh O'Cahan and Nial Garve O'Donnell, both of whom died prisoners in the Tower, says—"no one lamented them, not even those who employed them to do the work of spies and delators, for they regarded them with loathing and abhorrence, as they merited; so true is the old proverb:—*Proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt;*" in plain English—traitors are despised even by those they serve."—*Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, p. 320.

[34] *Into England.*—The author is here evidently unacquainted with the date of bishop Montgomery's advancement to the sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, for he speaks as if he had received the appointment at, or after, the date of O'Doherty's rebellion.

[35] *Ordaining hands.*—It is rather remarkable that no account of bishop Montgomery's consecration is known to exist.

cause his residence therein and watchful unwearied industry mightily advanced the British Protestant plantations, and the Bishop's revenues to treble the value he found them at, as will appear in the sequel of this discourse concerning that Lord Bishop.[36]

And here I must make a large stop for want of councilable books, and the first Lord Viscount Montgomery's and the Bishop's own papers, out of which (if by me) I could have plentiful memoires of this good Bishop's memorable services for his God, King and country. I must therefore have leave to spare fruitless pains, being troubled with the gout. I take him where I find him, signing George Medensis to a deed from Sir James Hamilton to Sir Hugh Montgomery, made in parcel, pursuant to Abercorn's award, dated 23d May, in the year of God, 1618, as aforesaid;[37] and after this, for want of the said books and papers, I can say little of his transactions for the publick, but much of his usefulness in the plantation, of the marriage in bestowing his daughter, and his promoting Dr. Ussher to succeed him, and of some other things of lesser moment relating to him. I premise, to this future narrative of this Right Reverend Father, that it is most probable he was no lazy Bishop nor idle patriot, in the posts he held, but very prudently and sincerely, as well as piously, active in business, fearing God and hating covetousness, to which last quality he had no temptation, as being a widower[38] long before his death, and having but one child, a daughter, to

[36] *That Lord Bishop.*—On the 21st July, 1609, bishop Montgomery was appointed one of a commission (preparatory to the final settlement of the plantation) to find what lands had escheated in the six counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine (Derry), Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, distinguishing the ecclesiastical lands from the lands belonging to the crown. The result of bishop Montgomery's exertions was that the king adopted almost all his recommendations, and had them carried into effect, on the final settlement of the plantation of Derry, in 1613,—ordaining that all ecclesiastical lands should be restored to their respective sees and churches; that all lands should be deemed ecclesiastical from which bishops had, in former times, received rents and pensions; and that compositions should be made with the patentees for the sites of cathedral churches, and the residences of bishops and dignitaries. The patentees of estates were to receive equivalents, provided they compounded freely; otherwise, they were to be deprived of their patents, on the ground that the king had been deceived in his grants. All its former possessions were to be restored to the church. To provide for the inferior clergy, the bishops in succession were obliged to resign their appropriations, and every incumbent of a parish was permitted to enjoy the tithes connected therewith. Every proportion allotted to undertakers was made a parish, with a parochial church to each, and each incumbent, in addition to his tithes and duties, had glebe lands assigned to him, of 60, 90, or 120 acres, according to the extent of his parish. Harris, in his edition of *Ware's Works*, vol i., p. 285, says:—"There is but one parish in the diocese (of Derry) that wants a glebe, which is Termonamungan, nor is there one sinecure in it; every rectory being intire with the cure annexed. This proceeded from the care and piety of the bishops succeeding the reformation, who were extraordinary men. Before the reformation the bishop had one-third of the tythes, a lay person, who was the bishop's farmer, called an *Erenach*, had another, and the third was allowed for the cure. But Bishop Montgomery, who was the first bishop after the reformation, abolished all these, and gave the whole tythes to the cure, King James the First supporting and forwarding him in it." During Montgomery's exertions as a commissioner he prepared an interesting report on the *Ancient estates of the bishopricks of Derry, Rapho, and Clogher*, including a notice of the *Present estate of the Primacy of Armagh, and of the Bishopricks of Derry, Rapho, and Clougher, and of Kilmore, in the Province of Ulster, within the kingdom of Ireland, with certayne motions unto his Matie for restoaring the sayd byshopricks, erecting of parish churches, and seminaries of learning within the sayd Province, and the reasons moving thereunto.* This tract has been printed in the Ordnance *Memoir of Londonderry*, pp. 49—54, from a *MS.* preserved in the Cottonian Library, British Museum.

[37] *Year* 1618 *aforesaid.*—See p. 72, *supra*. At the time of lord Abercorn's award in 1618, Dr. Montgomery had been bishop of Meath and Clogher, nearly eight years. This appointment to the richer see of Meath with Clogher was made on the 24th of January, 1610-11, and in express acknowledgment of the bishop's great services on behalf of the church in Ulster. The language of the patent is "in recompence of the great charge he hath sustained, in attending, by our appointment, the erection and settling of the bishopricks and churches in the north, which he hath effectuallie performed." He had already held the bishoprick of Clogher since 1605, but in July 24, 1610, to to render it more worthy of his acceptance, in addition to that of Meath, the abbey of Clogher, with its very large revenues, was annexed. See King's Letter, 12th October, 1614 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 275, *b.*). On the 30th September, 1611, the king issued another letter in the bishop's favour, whereby the impropriate parsonage of Loughsewdy, otherwise Ballymore, was annexed to the bishoprick of Meath.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 201, *b.*

[38] *Being a widower.*—In 1614, Dr. Ussher married Phoebe, daughter of Dr. Luke Challoner, by whom he

prefer; yet he lived with great hospitality, gathering little or nothing but what he employed to religious uses, and building for his successor Bishops, and in charity to the poor; and I must be excused for my prolixity in writing (if it be such) of this very eminent Prelate, who left behind him no male or other issue capable to transmit to after ages a due memory of his pious actions, and the precious endowments of his Heaven-born generous soul.

Now, as to his Lordship's usefulness in advancing the British plantation in those three northern dioceses, the footsteps of his so doing are yet visible; so that I need but tell the reader that he was very watchfull, and settled intelligences to be given him from all the sea ports in Donegal and Fermanagh, himself mostly residing Derry but when he went to view and lease the Bishop's lands, or settle preachers in parishes (of which he was very careful.) The ports resorted from Scotland were Derry, Donegal, and Killybegs; to which places the most that came were from Glagow, Air, Irwin, Greenock, and Larggs, and places within a few miles of Braidstane; and he ordered so that the masters of vessels should, before disloading their cargo (which was for the most part meal and oats), come to his Lordship with a list of their seamen and passengers. The vessels stayed not for a market. He was their merchant and encourager to traffick in those parts, and wrote to that effect (as also to the said towns wherein he was much acquainted and esteemed); and had proclamations made in them all, at how easy rents he would set his church lands, which drew hither many families;[39] among whom one Hugh Montgomery, his kinsman, a master of a vessel, and also owner, was one who brought his wife, children, and effects, and were settled in Derrybrosh,[40] near Enniskillen, where his son, Mr. Nich. (my long and frequent acquaintance) aged above

obtained large means. His wife died soon after the birth of their first and only child, a daughter named Elizabeth. This daughter was married to sir Timothy Tyrrell, of Shotover House, near Oxford. Her grandson, lieutenant-general James Tyrrell, soon before his death in 1742, bequeathed the Shotover estate to his kinsman, Augustus Schutz, esq.—Dr. Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, p. 38. On the 16th of June, 1662, sir Paul Davys, knight, his majesty's principal secretary of state, "moved the house in the behalf of the most reverend father in God, James, late lord primate of all Ireland, deceased, who, for his eminent piety and profound learning, was famous all over Christendom, and for his loyalty to his sovereign most memorable; that his sufferings, by the rebellion in this kingdom, and by the late usurpers, were such, as that he could make no provision for his only child, from whom hath sprung a numerous issue; for which, and many more reasons urged by the said sir Paul Davys, he desired, that this house would deliver over to posterity a testimony of the respect they bore to that most pious and learned prelate, by conferring on his daughter, the lady Terrill, a grant of five hundred pounds per annum, out of such lands as are forfeited and formerly paid chiefry to the church not being set out to adventurers and soldiers." On the 27th of June the house appointed a committee of its members to "attend upon the right honourable the lords justices, and signify to their lordships, that it is the humble desire of this house, that their lordships and the council would be pleased to transmit to his majesty, in due form, a bill, for granting unto Elizabeth lady Terrill, the sole daughter and heir of the said late lord archbishop of Armagh, who is the wife of sir Timothy Terrill, knight, a great sufferer for his loyalty to his majesty and his royal father, so much forfeited lands, tenements, and hereditaments, lately held in fee, or which paid chiefries to the church in this kingdom, and not already disposed of to adventurers or soldiers, as are of the clear yearly value of five hundred pounds sterling per annum; to have and to hold to the said lady Terrill, her heirs and assigns for ever.—*Commons Journals*, vol. ii., pp. 65, 78.

[39] *Hither many families.*—In the *Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I.*, pp. 306, 307, 339, the reader will find the names of many persons who, in 1616 and 1617, obtained letters of denization as settlers in the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Donegal, and several of whom were doubtless encouraged to leave Scotland through the inducements held out by bishop Montgomery.

[40] *In Derrybrosh.*—This name is now written *Derrybrusk*, from the Irish *Doire-Brosgaidh*. There is the following curious reference to this place in O'Daly's satirical poem entitled the *Tribes of Ireland*:—

> "At Doire-Brosgaidh, which God has not blessed,
> Starvation is ever hatching in the Church:
> A thin cake, like the fins of a fish,
> And like the egg of a blackbird I got on a dish.

The following versified paraphrase of the passage has been made by James Clarence Mangan:—

> "Derrybruska's bald lands the good God had not blessed,
> They've been wasted and withered by famine and pest:
> My bread there was thin as the rind of a hen egg,
> And my fare was a butter ball, small as a wren egg."

85 years,[41] now lives in sound memory, and is a rational man, whose help I now want, to recount particulars of that Bishop's proceedings in that country, whilst his Lordship stayed there; which was, at least, till near Ao. 1618 aforesaid, that he was Bishop of Meath.[42]

One other Montgomery, named Alexander (a minister), his Lordship settled near Derry. He was prebend of ditto,[43] and he lived till about 1658; of whose, and the aforesaid Nich. their sons,

In a note, Dr. O'Donovan states that Derrybrusk "is the present name of a celebrated church near Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh, of which the family of MacGillachoisgle (now Cosgrove) were Herenachs or hereditary wardens. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the name of *Aireach Brosga*, at the years 1384, 1482, 1484, 1487, 1506, and 1514. In the *Annals of Ulster*, which were compiled in Fermanagh, it is called by both names, from which it might be inferred that the words *Doire* and *Aireach* are synonymous, meaning *roboretum*, a place of oaks."—O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, pp. 54, 55, 93.

[41] *Above 85 years.*—Scottish genealogists represent this Hugh Montgomery, father of Nicholas, as fourth son of Adam Montgomery of Braidstane, who died in 1576. If so, Hugh, who settled near Enniskillen, was uncle to the bishop and to the first viscount Ards.—See Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 230. Of Hugh Montgomery and his son Nicholas, the author has a more lengthened notice when he writes, in his concluding memoirs, of several families of the surname of Montgomery.

[42] *Bishop of Meath.*—The author here exhibits his "want of councilable books," for he is evidently uncertain as to the time of the bishop's translation from Derry to Meath. This uncertainty may have arisen to some extent from the fact that although the bishop was designate to the see of Meath in 1610, he retained the see of Clogher in *commendam*, with that of Meath until the time of his death. Scotch settlers were, no doubt, coming to his lands in Fermanagh so late as 1618.

[43] *Prebend of ditto.*—The word *ditto* in this sentence is a ridiculous misprint (or misconception) for *Do*, the name of a place in the barony of Kilmacrenan, county of Donegal. The author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* always spelled this name *Do*, as appears from the original MS. still preserved, of his memoirs of *Ballymagown*, and some other families of the Montgomerys. In a deed of sale, 10th March, 1613, from sir Richard Bingley to John Sandford of Castledoe, the castle of Aghadoe, otherwise Castle Tuogh, is excepted. The castle, bawn, and precincts of Castledoe, granted, 7th March, in Jac. I., to Sir John Davys.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 268. On the 31st December in the same year, sir John Davis, knight, attorney-general, sold to John Sandford the castle and curtilage of Castledoe, with the precinct thereof.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.*, p. 293. The spelling in the patent, castle *tuogh*, preserves the Irish form *tuath*. In O'Mellan's *Irish MS. Journal of the Wars*, Castle Doe is twice correctly written *caislen na d-tuath*, the *d* eclipsing the *t* in tuath and making it sound like *duath* or *doe*. The ancient Tuath Bladhach is now Tuath, anglicised Doe, "a well-known district in the north of the barony of Kilmacrennan, situated between the quarters of Cloghineely and Sheephaven."—See O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, A.D. 1515, p. 1332, O'Donovan's edition of *Irish Topographical Poems*, p. xxxi. Castledoe is a townland of 221 acres, in the parish of Clondahorka, at the head of Sheepshaven (Ord. Surv., sheet 26.) The monastery of *Ballymacquinadoe* was situated in the same parish. Two quarters of land belonged to the late abbey of *Bally M'Swyne Odoe*, beside Doe castle. *Ulster Inqi., Appendix, Donegal*, Inq. 1609. The burial ground of the Franciscan friary of *Ballymacswyneodoe* is a little south of the castle in the townland of Castledoe. The ancient district, situated opposite the island of Tory, was known as *Tuatha Toraighe*. Of this territory Moyler Murough Mac Swyndoe was chief, at the beginning of the 17th century. He was also chief leader of O'Donnell's gallowglasses. See *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, p. 298. Doe was the landing-place of Owen Roe O'Neill, on his coming to Ireland in 1642. "It is a lofty round tower, surrounded by high walls, on the northern coast of Donegal, at the entrance of a small bay or estuary. It is in perfect preservation (1865) and is inhabited to the present moment. It contains several good rooms, especially a banqueting-hall, and the view from the top is grand and extensive. Up to the reign of Elizabeth, it was held by the MacSwines. After the rebellion of sir Cahir (O'Doherty), it came into the hands of captain Harte of Culmore, and is, at the present date, the property of lieutenant Harte, R.N., the lineal descendant of the governor of Culmore."—Meehan, *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, p. 502. Mr. Alexander Montgomery, to whom the author briefly refers in the text, was undoubtedly a member of the Hessilheid branch of the Montgomery family, and James Paterson, esq., author of the *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, is of opinion that he was the son of Alexander Montgomery, the well-known Scottish poet. The following are Mr. Paterson's reasons for this conclusion:—"A trial for witchcraft took place in Glasgow, on the 22nd of March, 1622. Margaret Wallace was accused of having consulted the late Christiane Grahame, a notorious witch, for various purposes; and a somewhat voluminous charge was made against her, amongst other things for having bewitched the child of Alexander Vallance, burgess of Glasgow, and *Margaret Montgomery*, his spouse. "Mr. Alexander Montgomery," brother of Mrs. Vallance, had been called as a witness regarding the trouble of the child, but he absented himself on the ground of sickness, and forwarded a certificate to that effect. In the pleadings it was urged specially that 'his (Mr. Alexander's) deposition could nocht have been resauavit gif he had compeirit, becaus it wald haife bene objictit contrair him, that he and *Margaret Montgomerie* (Mrs Vallance) *are brother bairns of the hous of Hessilheid*, quhais dochter is allegit to haif bene witchit.' Now, there was no one to whom the expression 'brother bairns' could apply, save to the children of captain Alexander Montgomery, whose elder brother, John, succeeded to the family estate of Hessilheid. True, when the trial took place, Robert the grand-nephew of the poet was in possession of the property; but the passage does not state the precise relationship of the parties; it merely says that they were *brother*

I shall have occasion to speak, before this be done. Thus, by the Bishop George's industry, in a few years, the plantation was forwarded, and Church revenues encreased greatly. I was credibly told, that for the encouragement of planters on Church lands, he obtained the King's orders to the Governors, and an act of council thereon, that all the leases he made (which were for 31 years) should not be taken from the planters or their posterity, at the expiration of their term, but renewed to them as they held the same, they paying their Bishop one year's rent for a renewal of their lease, to the other 31 years, which was a very encouraging certainty for planters; but the Parliament since that time have taken other measures more for Bishops' than tenants' profits.

In or about this first (or rather second) visitation of the said diocess, his Lordship married the Lord Brabason's daughter,[44] by whom he had divers children, none surviving him except Nicholas, Lord Baron of Howth,[45] his Lady, with whom he gave in marriage portion three thousand pounds sterling, a round sum in those days.

bairns of the hous of Hessilheid, and there are no others in the pedigree of that family to whom such a reference could be made but to the brothers, *John* and *Alexander*. . . In 1617, they (Alex. Vallance and Margaret Montgomerie) had a son baptised *Robert*, at whose baptism one of the godfathers was Mr. Robert Montgomerie for whom the child was no doubt called. This Mr. Robert must have been the minister of Symington, who surrendered the archbishopric of Glasgow in 1587. He was a younger brother of Captain Montgomery. There was indeed only one other Mr. Robert Montgomery, described in his latter will, which is recorded 4th April, 1611, as 'Sumtyme minister at Stewartoun.' It therefore could not be this Mr. Robert. Mr. Alexander Montgomery, brother of Mrs. Vallance, was no doubt the same party who afterwards became 'prebend of Do.' That his father, Captain Alexander Montgomery, was an Episcopalian is to be presumed from his being a courtier of James VI., and from his intimacy with 'Bishop Beaton' (archbishop of Glasgow from 1552 to 1560, and again from 1598 to his death in 1603): hence the fact of his son being also an Episcopalian, 'prebend of Do.' He had every inducement to go to Ireland. The viscount of Ardes was his *cousin* by the mother's side, and the houses of Braidstane and Hessilheid were descended from the same source. Nor had he reason to complain of the reception he met with from the viscount (not from the viscount, but from the viscounts' brother, George Montgomery, bishop of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher). These facts are confirmed by the Hessilheid arms, which, as given in Pont's MSS., Advocates' Library, are—'Azure, two lances of tournament, proper, between three fleurs-de-lis, or, and in the chief point an annulet, or, stoned, azure, with an indentation in the side of the shield, on the dexter side.' The arms of the poet, he being a younger son, were slightly different—two lances, with three fleurs-de-lis in chief, and three annulets in base, which he and his family seem to have cherished. They are found on a tombstone at Do where Mr. Alexander was prebend, united in a shield with those of the Conynghams, now marquis of Conyngham, descended from the earls of Glencairne, together with this inscription:—'*Here lyeth the body of Margaret Montgomery, alias Conningham, who was wife of Mr. Alexander Montgomery, who deceased the* 18 *of June, Anno Domeni* 1675.' Margaret had thus outlived her husband seventeen years. . . . It will thus appear that there are substantial reasons for believing that the house of Hessilheid is still represented by the descendants of the author of the *Cherrie and the Slae*."—*Notes and Queries*, number for January 4, 1868, p. 6. There is no prebend of *Do* in Raphoe diocese, but Do is in the parish of Clondahorka, which, though in the gift of Trinity College, Dublin, is prebendal. Alexander Montgomery, M.A., was instituted April, 29, 1661.—Cotton, *Fasti. Hib.*, vol. iii., p. 371.

[44] *Lord Brabason's daughter.*—This lady was daughter of Edward Brabazon, raised to the peerage of Ireland in 1616 as baron Brabazon of *Ardee*, and grand-daughter of the well-known sir William Brabazon, who held the appointments of vice-treasurer and general receiver of Ireland, from 1534 until the time of his decease in 1552. Sir Richard Cox, when chronicling the events of the last-mentioned years, says:—"Which year was unhappy, not only by the civil dissensions in Ulster, between the earl of Tyrone and his son Shane O'Neile, and by the scarcity of provisions, but also by the death of sir Willian Brabazon, who died in July, and was one of the most faithful men to the English interest that had appeared in Ireland, from the conquest to that day."—*History of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 293. His grandson, the second lord Brabazon, was created earl of Meath in 1627. Elizabeth Brabazon, wife of bishop Montgomery, remarried, after his death in 1620, with sir John Brereton, and died in 1639.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 274. This lady's marriage with bishop Montgomery took place during the interval between his appointment to the sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher in 1605, and his going to reside permanently at Derry in the spring of 1607. She probably felt that she had come to Ulster rather soon, as the rebellion of sir Cahir O'Doherty broke forth shortly after her arrival. She was carried off by the insurgents from her residence in Derry, and sent under escort to Burt Castle, where she remained until liberated by general Wingfield, and restored to her husband.

[45] *Nicholas Lord Baron Howth.*—This marriage took place in 1615. Bishop Montgomery's son-in-law was Nicholas St. Lawrence, the 23rd baron Howth. Jane Montgomery's lord died in 1643, and she died in 1678, leaving three sons, Adam, Nicholas, and William;

You have heard that 23d May, 1618, his Lordship signs Medensis as witness to a deed of lands made to his brother, Sir Hugh Montgomery. About this time (or how soon after his translation from Derry to Meath I know not) he erected a Bishop's house at Ardbrackin,[46] near Navan,[47] and repaired the church near it, which was without a roof Ao. 1667, and therein built a vault for a burial-place of his wife and children who died some years before himself. I have seen the monument[48] and took the figure off it with a black lead pen; it had (under an open arch) on it, divers stone figures carved out from the table stones, where the inscriptions were engraven representing his Lordship's wife and the children kneeling one behind the other, with the palms of their hands

and four daughters, Susanna, Frances, Elizabeth, and Margaret. The second daughter, Frances, became the third wife of her kinsman, sir James Montgomery of Rosemount, in the Ards.—Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 201.

[46] *At Ardbrackin.*—This fact has not been noticed by dean Butler in his *Notices of the Castle and Ecclesiastical Buildings of Trim*, although he refers to Ardbraccan frequently.

[47] *Near Navan.*—This was the seat of the episcopal residence as early as the fourteenth century. The date 1667 (given in the text as the year in which bishop Montgomery repaired Navan church) is a misprint for 1617.

[48] *I have seen the monument.*—It is to be regretted that the author's "draft" of this much criticised monument is lost. When William Montgomery examined it (probably between the years 1680 and 1700), the inscriptions were "much defaced," but he certainly had not then observed those incongruities or absurdities of design which have since so excited the choler of other and much less competent critics. In 1813, the Rev. Richard Moore, rector of the parish of Ardbraccan, assisted by his curate, the Rev. Thomas Toomey, wrote a *Statistical Account* of the parish. The following is their notice of this tomb, extracted from Mason's *Parochial Survey of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 89—91:—"Bishop Montgomery's monument is in the churchyard also. The figures carved thereon, representing the bishop, his wife and daughter, are some of the rudest productions of the chisel that can be well conceived. Underneath these figures on the pedestal are the words *surges, morieris, judicaberis*, and in this order. Over them is a Latin inscription, purporting that the monument, having suffered from the devastations of time, or, rather, sacrilegious hands, was repaired in the year 1750, and that the bishop, who was of the house of Eglington, was promoted to the see in 1610, and died in 1620. The original inscription, which is on the east side, written as on two opposite pages of a book, is to the following purpose:—*Deo et Episcopo Midensi posuit Georgius Montgomerius Scoto-Britannus divina providentia Episcopus Midensis et Clogherensis, ætatis suæ* 51. On this side is a bust, with three plumes surmounted by a mitre, and over the mitre is a cup, with the figure of the sacramental bread or wafer used in the church of Rome; underneath the bust are two swords, laid across, interspersed with fleurs-de-lis, and under all, '1614.' On the west side is an angel sounding a trumpet, and a shield with armorial bearings, and the motto *non nobis nati;* underneath these is the legend 'repose' S. M. (Sarah Montgomery, the bishop's wife). The shield is on this side also surmounted by a cup, and the figure of the sacramental bread used in the church of Rome. The original inscription, if written with any precision, shews either the low estate of ecclesiastical revenues at that time in Ireland, when for the support of one bishop it was found necessary to unite two of the richest sees, or that the pussillanimous and pedantic James indulged in Ireland also his passion for accumulating favours on favourites. The figure of the sacramental bread, used in the church of Rome, is a device so unfit for the monument of a protestant bishop, that it leaves room to conjecture that the repairing of the monument fell into the hands of unskilful persons, and that part of the monuments of bishops who lived before the Reformation was added to this monument. The manner in which this part of the work is fitted to the other parts, seems to countenance this conjecture. It also derives additional support from an inscription surrounding the cup, &c., carved in a different character (which we could not decipher) from that in which the inscription given above is written. Supposing, however, these devices, to form a part of the monument as it originally stood, it affords a demonstrative proof, that the Reformation, in the genuine spirit and simplicity of the gospel, was not at that time established in Ireland." The following passage from Col. F. O. Montgomery's *MS. notes*, in reference to the bishop's monument will explain the heraldic emblems which puzzled the two rev. critics abovenamed:—"The bust with three plumes must be an heraldic helmet, or perhaps more likely *an armed hand* holding a fleur-de-lys, which was bishop Montgomery's proper crest; and the so-called 'cup' with the 'wafer' nothing else than the *crescent*—the heraldic distinction of a second brother, with the further heraldic distinction on it for a second or third house, which he (the critic) calls a 'wafer.' The two swords and fleurs-de-lys are clearly the arms of Braidstane (see 1st edit. of *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 90; *Ulster Journ. of Archæology*, vol. ix., p. 292, and *Narrative of Granshaugh*). If this suggestion of mine be correct, it disposes of a 'popish device' on a protestant bishop's monument. If rudely cut, or much worn by time, the writer may easily have taken an armed hand for a 'bust,'—as, strange enough, Harris does for a helmet. At p. 58, speaking of the market cross at Newtownards, he (Harris) says:—'a helmet within the horns of a ½ moon with a fleur-de-lys upon it;' what he allnded to is nothing else than the Braidstane crest, an armed hand holding a fleur-de-lys with an heraldic crescent under it as may be seen to this day." A writer in the *Parliamentary Gazetteer*, following the guidance of the authors of the *Statistical Account*, speaks of this monument as "strongly fixing attention by its mere element of pretension, bar-

joined and erected before their chins, which, with the rest of the monument, were much defaced, and my draft thereof is (to my grief) lost.

barousness, and absurdity!" So much for blundering critics. The monument was repaired in 1750, and now bears the following inscription :—

"Hoc monumentum olim memoriæ sacratum Reverendi admodum Georgii Mountgomeri, Episcopi Midensis, ex illustri comitis Eglintoniæ stirpe oriundi (sub quo etiam uxor ejus et filia supremum diem exspectant) injuriis temporum collapsum seu potius sacrilegis manibus dehonestatum (jam nunc ne justi memoria apud nos penitus deleatur), instauratum est A.D. MDCCL.

"Dignissimus hic Præsul ad hanc sedem (cui plurima ex munificentiâ regiâ erogavit, evectus est, A.D. MDCX. Obiit Kal. Februarii, A.D. MDCXX."

—Cotton, *Fasti. Hib.*, vol. iii., p. 118. In this tomb two prelates have since been interred—the learned Pococke and bishop O'Beirne. See dean Butler's *Notices of the Castles and Ecclesiastical Buildings of Trim*, p. 175.

CHAPTER VII.

NOW let us recur to Ao. 1618, and soon after it we find his Lordship in Westminster, where he departed this life Ao. 1621, or beginning 1622.[1] I touched the grudge some lay lords and others had against him, and it seems their animosity arose from his hindering them to be confirmed in their sacriledgious acquests, not suffering the Church to be despoiled of her rights, nor the King's goodness to be overreached and abused by their misinformations. For thus it was, viz.—Dr. Ussher, for his printed books against the Popish religion, and other divinity tracts, and for his printed disputations against MaCoon,[2] the learned Jesuit, was had in great esteem by the University at Dublin; they having, for those actions and his wonderful learning, given him a degree for a Doctor of Divinity,[3] when he had but newly passed the years of age which the canons require should be elapsed, before a man can be regularly admitted to full orders of Priesthood; but they took not ordinary rules with him whom they found God had highly honoured with such extraordinary gifts and graces as he had by the divine bounty bestowed on him, for the future particular welfare of the Church in Ireland, and the universal good of all true Christians.

This said University, this dear alma mater, as he was its *humilis alumnus*, did moreover get some Lords of the Council and other Officers of State to write letters of recommendation[4] to their correspondents at Court, in favour of Dr. Ussher (unsolicited by him, who was contented enough

[1] *Beginning* 1622.—Lodge (*Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 274,) gives 1620 as the date of the bishop's death; and whoever repaired his tomb in 1750 adopts the same date.

[2] *MaCoon.*—MaCoon is evidently a misprint for *Malone.* William Malone was born at Dublin, about 1586, and became a member of the Order of Jesuits when he was only 20 years of age. He spent a small portion of his youth in Portugal and at Rome, and was subsequently appointed rector of the Irish College of St. Isidore (a Franciscan house), at the latter place. He became eventually superior of the whole mission of Jesuits, and, as such, excited the suspicions of the Irish government. He escaped from prison in this country and fled to Spain, where he died in 1659, rector of the British college at Seville. The controversy between Ussher and Malone excited general interest at the time, and drew forth much learned matter from the immense stores that the former had always at hand. Allegambe represents Ussher as the challenger on this occasion, adding that Malone "drew his pen and put the prelate to silence." But the fact is that Malone was the challenger, he having published a paper entitled *The Jesuit's Challenge*, in which he demanded answers to a series of questions arising out of the controversy between the two churches. This challenge Ussher took up, publishing, in 1625, *An answer to a challenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland. Wherein the judgment of Antiquity, in the points questioned, is truly delivered, and the novelty of the now Romish Doctrine plainly discovered.* This answer extends to 596 octavo pages, and occupies the whole third volume of Ussher's works, in Dr. Elrington's edition. In 1627, Malone published at Douay, in quarto, *A reply to Dr. Ussher's Answer about the judgment of Antiquity concerning the Romish Religion.* This reply was reprinted in 1628, and called forth rejoinders from Drs. Hoyle, Synge, and Puttock, but Ussher did not notice Malone further. See Ware's *Writers of Ireland*, edited by Harris, p. 130. See also Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, p. 64.

[3] *Doctor of Divinity.*—Ussher was ordained deacon and priest at the age of twenty-one, but he was not D.D. till 1612, when he was thirty-one years old. The answer to *The Jesuit's Challenge* was not printed till he was bishop of Meath, and forty-five years of age.

[4] *Letters of recommendation.*—Ussher was suspected by many of a leaning towards Puritanism, and on his visits to London, he carried letters from some of his friends exonerating him from this suspicion. In 1612, his old teacher, James Hamilton, wrote one such letter with Ussher, to sir James Semphill, in which he says:—"Clear them (Ussher and Challoner) to his Ma^tie. that they ar not puritants, but they have dignitaryeships and prebends in the cathedral churches here."—McCrie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. ii., p. 292, *note.* The recommendatory letter to which our author refers in the text, as having

with the livings he then had,[5] being unmarried), that he might be parson of Trim. Every step in this business and of the Doctor's speedy coming over, and of the house he was to lodge in, was soon known to the Bishop of Meath, who, from the time of his being settled in England, long before the Queen died, never would want exact intelligences (the best rudder and wind by which Statesmen steer their courses, according to the old verified axiom—*Vigilantibus et non dormientibus sanciunt Leges)*; for the Doctor was not an hour or a little more alighted from his horse at his inn) where he intended to stay incognito all next day, to rest himself, after his wearysome journey, and till he had got new habits, according to the English clergy made); but fresh news thereof came to the Bishop, who sent his Gentleman to the Doctor with positive request that he should come forthwith to his Lordship in his company, for the Bishop stayed in his lodgings to receive him, and this present visit the Dootor must not omit, unless he desired to return *re infecta*. Upon this strict message, the Doctor caused his clothes to be brushed, and went (like Nicodemus) when it was night with the Gentleman to the Bishop, when after caresings salutation and a glass of wine, they sat down together, to do which the Bishop found some difficulty from the Doctor's native humility, and from the great deference he had for the Bishop. This being overcome, the Bishop began thus as followeth, viz.—Doctor, I know very well your errand, and how unexpectedly and unwillingly too you were engaged in it, because you had not first obtained my leave to move in y^e^ suit, and that you are not recommended by any letter to me; and here the Bishop mentioned all the persons from whom and to whom the recommendatory epistles (as St. Paul calls such like letters)[6] were written and the time he received them, and the time he hastened away with them, when he landed, at what inn he was advised to alight from his horses (which he was to have at his arrival in England), and how his Lordship had laid watch to send him immediate notice when he should come to the inn, he was advised to, and here his Lordship held his tongue. This harangue would have amazed any young man, but the Doctor, who knew there was no familiar demon or other spirit that ministered that intelligence, but only the Bishop's watchfulness for his care of his diocess, had procured his Lordship that wonderful information, in so many points, which were carried on with all the secrecy that might. And now the Doctor being mute awhile, admiring the Bishop's conduct, he rose from his chair and began to apologize for consenting to meddle in that business, before he applied himself therein to his Lordship, and had his allowance thereunto; and so going on in his excuses, the

been signed by "Lords of the Councill and other officers of State," was carried by Ussher to London, in 1619, when he wanted the appointment at Trim. This letter, addressed to the privy council in England, is as follows:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS.—The extraordinary merit of the bearer Mr. Doctor Ussher prevaileth with us to offer him that favour (which we deny to many that move us) to be recommended to your Lordships; and we do it the rather, because we are desirous to set him right in his Majesties opinion, who it seemeth hath been informed, that he his somewhat transported with sigularities, and singleness to be conformable to the rules and orders of the church. We are so far from suspecting him in that kind, that we may boldly recommend him to your Lordships, as a man orthodox and worthy to govern in the Church, when occasion shall be presented, and his Majesty may be pleased to advance him: he being one that hath preached before the State here for eighteen years, and has been his Majesties Professor of Divinity in the University for thirteen years; and a man who was given himself over to his profession: an excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness, and his life and doctrine so agreeable, as those who agree not with him, are yet constrained to love and admire him. And for such a one we beseech your Lordships to understand him, and accordingly to speak to his Majesty: and thus with the remembrance of our humble duties we take leave.—Your Lordships most humbly at command,

"AD. LOFTUS, Canc. JOHN KING OLIVER ST. JOHN.
HENRY DOCWRA. DUD. NORTON. WILLIAM TUAMENIS.
WILLIAM METHWOLD. FRA. AUNGIERS.
"From Dublin, the last of September, 1619."—Dr. Elrington's *Life of Archbishop Ussher*, p. 51.

[5] *Livings he then had.*—Ussher was then chancellor of St. Patrick's and professor of divinity in Trinity College, Dublin. In 1611, he had letters patent for the rectory of Finglass, annexed to the chancellorship of St. Patrick's.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 204, *b*. Ussher was married in 1614, and this letter is dated 1619.

[6] *St. Paul calls such like letters.*—See 2 Cor. iii. 1.

Bishop interrupted him and rising, said, I will be brief with you, who may not know the meanness of the revenues of that diocess for a Bishop thereof, whose station ties him to almost continual attendance at the Council Board, and to be in readiness at all times to go thither, when called; and, therefore, you shall not be Parson of Trim,[7] the King having already granted to me that the parsonage shall be annexed to the Bishoprick, for the reasons aforesaid, But trouble not yourself, Doctor (said the Bishop), at this repulse; I know you deserve a much better living than Trim, and I will be solicitor to the King that you may be better provided for. I will discourse his Majesty tomorrow morning, and prepare the King to receive you (as I am assured he will do) gratiously; only, Doctor, deliver not your letters but as I shall advize you, and so take your designed rest after the journey, and give me notice when your new habits are on, that I may apprise you a time when you shall next come to me, and may bring you to kiss the King's hand, when he is best at leizure to talk with you, of whose abilities he hath, from myself, abundantly heard, besides what the public fame has reported to his Majesty. The Doctor, thereupon, give his humble and hearty thanks, promising to obey all his Lordship's commands. And so the Bishop dismissed the Doctor with his episcopal benediction, and sent his said servants to conduct him back to his inn.

7 *Not be Parson of Trim.*—For this disappointment bishop Montgomery endeavoured to make amends to Ussher by introducing him to the King, and obtaining a general promise from the latter that Ussher would succeed him (Montgomery) in the bishoprick of Meath, which happened not long afterwards. In the meantime, bishop Montgomery had made himself pretty comfortable in worldly acquisitions. He held *Clogher*—see enhanced by the abbey possessions of the same; and *Meath*—see enhanced by the rectories of Ballymore-loughsewdy and Trim. A king's letter, dated 12th October, 1614, related to the bishoprick of Meath, to idemnify the bishop for resigning the deanery of Norwich.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 257, *b*. In 1617, sir Francis Rush was obliged to surrender six appropriate parsonages to the bishop of Clogher.—*Calend. Pat. Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 329 *a*. "Besides the endowed vicarage of St. Patrick's of Trim, there was a rectory which was in the gift of the Crown. Sir John Davids calls it 'the best parsonage in all the Kingdom.'—*Letter to the Earl of Salisbury*, 1607. 1603, Robert Draper, rector of Trim, was granted the bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh, and the rectory of Trim was continued to him in commendam.—*Pat. Rolls. Jac. I.*, p. 59. and *Calendar* p. 13, *b*. He died in 1612, and the rectory was bestowed on Benjamin Culme, who, however, at the request of the archbishop of Canterbury, surrendered it to Thomas Jones, archbishop of Dublin, it being one of the best spiritual preferments in the Kingdom.—*Calend. Pat. Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 435 *b*. 1614, Oct. 12—King's letter relative to bishoprick of Meath, to pass an act (among other things) to indemnify the bishop of Meath for resigning the deanery of Norwich (which he did, 20th September, 1614.—*Le Neve, Fasti* (ed. Hardy) vol. ii. p. 476), and for surrendering those of Derry and Raphoe at the king's request—to employ the said bishop in the new ecclesiastical commission, and to extend other favours to him, &c.—*Calendar Pat. Rolls Jac. I.*, p. 275, *b*. In this letter the parsonage of Trim was ordered to be annexed to the see of Meath. But archbishop Jones seems to have been in possession, which he held till his death, 10th April, 1619. On the very same day a patent was passed, presenting James Ussher, D.D., to the rectory of Trim, vacant by the death of Thomas, late archbishop of Dublin, the late incumbent, and in the king's gift *plene jure*.—*Ibid.* p. 432, *b*. There seems to have been some hitch in the matter, probably arising from Bishop Montgomery reviving his dormant claim. Harris says:—'He was, a little before his advancement to the see of Meath, presented to the rectory of Trim, on the 17th of April, 1620, but was never instituted and inducted to it.' This is true of the appointment, 10th April, 1619, but not, when he was presented again, 22 Feb., 1620–1. See Dr. Elringtons's *Note in the Life of Ussher*, p. 56. It was probably to adjust this matter with the bishop that Ussher went to London for his recommendatory epistles given him by the lords of council, are dated in Sept. 30 of this year (1619). However, it would seem that bishop George managed to keep the rectory ot Trim, for the rest of his life, which was not long. 1620, 1, Jan. 16—King's letter to grant to James Ussher, D.D., the bishoprick of Meath, and the parsonage of Trim.—*Calendar Pat. Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 495 *b*. 1620 1, Feb. 22—Grant to James Ussher, D.D., of the bishoprick of Meath and the rectory of Trim united therewith, vacant by the death of George Montgomery,—*Ibid.*, p. 497 *a*. 1624-5, Feb. 22—King's letter granting to Anthony Martin the bishoprick of Meath, with the parsonage of Trim, void by the translation of Dr. J. Ussher.—*Ibid.* p. 503, *b*. Since the time of Bishop Montgomery, the rectory of Trim has been held by the successive bishops of Meath; although it was not finally appropriated by letters-patent until 1684, when it was so granted to bishop Dopping.—*Some notices of the Castle and Eccles. Buildings of Trim*, by Richard Butler, dean of Clonmacnoise, p. 150. The rectorial tithes of Trim benefice, compounded for £430, are appropriate, and held under lease for term of years from the diocesan, by Wm. Allen, esq.—*Third Report of Eccles. Revenue and Patronage in Ireland*, p. 241." *The forgoing has been kindly supplied by the Rev. Dr. Reeves.*

Next morning, the Bishop went to the King, and had his further order to confirm the parsonage of Trim to his successors, Bishops of Meath, and acquainted his Majesty of the Doctor's coming to Westminster, and of his errand and recommendations, and prayed his Majesty's leave and orders to speake to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London to provide the first good living that fell for the Doctor, and to accept him for his Chaplain in Ordinary (as his Majesty had done for himself), and to let him know when he should bring the Doctor to kiss his Majesty's hand, and to have the honor of discoursing with him, to all which the King agreed.

Then the Bishop sent that evening for the Doctor, telling him what had passed between the King and him, concerning promises and the time appointed for his reception ; so the Bishop brought the Doctor the day following to see the Court, where every body was curious to see him of whom so much had been spoken, especially the clergy regarded him, observing the countenance and deference which the favourite Bishop (for the King commonly called him his black Ireland Bishop) gave publicly to the Doctor; yet none of them could draw from him his errand. The time being come for the Doctor's private appearance before the King, who said, I long grieved to see you, of whom I have heard a great deal of praise, and then told the Doctor he thanked the Lords and others who had recommended so worthy a man as he to his favours, and calling for the letters, and reading the subscribers' names, saying he should love them the better all his life, for their love to him ; but added he need not read them because this Bishop there had fully enough interceded for him, giving the Bishop order to see that the Doctor should be admitted at present his Chaplain in Ordinary, till further provision (by his careful enquiry) might be made for him. Then after the Doctor had made his submissions and thanks on his knee, the King bade him rise and discoursed him on divers abstruse points of religion, and received learned pertinent answers, the King saying again Doctor I find you are sufficiently able, and therefore you must soon preach before me, as my Chaplain, for I can advance you. And the King would not allow of his excuses as to his youth and the envy it might bring on him; no matter for all that, said the King, seeing I shall be careful of you, and my Bishop here is your solicitor; but I will order you the text and time for preaching. And so that interview passed over.

But I must not here break off my discourse of what was further done for the Doctor, it being a part of the history of Bishop George, of whom I am writing. The Doctor (a while after this), being admitted the King's Chaplain, was called before his Majesty, who told him he must preach, within a week, in his presence, and, opening a Bible, recited an historical verse in the book of Chronicles (which was very hard bones to pick); yet, the Doctor handled them so warmly, that he extracted abundance of good oyle from, them to the admiration of all that heard him. Upon this charge, the Doctor, falling on his knees, vowed his dutiful obedience to all his Majesty's commands: but begged that at least the time might be granted him for preparation allowed to his other more learned Chaplains, lest he should be called an arrogant novice, on whom his Majesty had now looked (as he hoped) with gracious and favourable eyes. No more words, Doctor, said the King, you shall pass this and future tryals before myself, for I will not refer you to the report of others. So the King rising from his chair, and the Doctor from his knees, the assembly (as I may call it, because there were many spectators) was dissolved, the Doctor still attending the Bishop, and both of them saluted by the lay and clergy courtiers.

Now, as to the Doctor, I need say no more, but he performed his task beyond expectation, by preaching in the King's audience, and also at the intreaty of the Archbishop and Bishop aforesaid, to whose care he was recommended. The Doctor was provided for; nevertheless the Bishop George, had reserved the best good turn for him of any; and thus it was, the Doctor being provided for of a good fat benefice[8] (as they call those of the greatest profit), and in his turn paying his attendance and preaching as Chaplain to the King, the Bishop finding him well liked of all and very deserving, obtained of the King that the Doctor should be his successor in the diocess of Meath, and got his boon confirmed when he fell ill in his last sickness. This pleased very well courtier divines expectants for English livings, there being as yet no great temptation to covet those in Ireland, and they feared a new favourite at Court (for the King was much addicted to over love them); and the Bishop having procured the necessary licenses from the King in behalf of the Doctor, he sent for him from his living (much better than the parsonage of Trim), and informed him of what was done, giving him the letters with his advice and charge not to neglect his business, because his Lordship said he trusted in God that the Doctor should be a great instrument for the welfare of the Church in Ireland, and his Lordship wrote letters to his friends to assist the Doctor.[9]

This being the last public actions (I hear of) done by the Bishop, he died soon after in Westminster, which was the latter end of Ao. 1621, or beginning of Ao. 1622,[10] for I find by the Doctor's letter to Dr. Teatly[11] the Archbishop of Canterbury's Chaplain, dated the 16th of September, 1622,

[8] *Good fat benefice.*—Where *was* this good thing spoken of in the text? This passage is unintelligible; for surely the presentation of Ussher to Meath did not happen before bishop Montgomery's death.

[9] *Wrote letters to his friends to assist the Doctor.*—Our author must have derived this curious and highly interesting narrative, from some account preserved by bishop Montgomery, of Ussher's visit to London. These interviews of Ussher with the king are recorded in general terms by the many biographers of that learned divine, but none of them seem to have been aware how much Ussher's success was promoted by the kind offices of bishop Montgomery. The following statements of Dr. Elrington, based, of course, upon similar representations of earlier biographers, curiously corroborate the truth of these *Manuscripts*, although failing to preserve any record of bishop Montgomery's friendly interposition on behalf of Ussher:—"This attestation (the letter from the Deputy and Council in Dublin) appears to have produced a good effect, but Ussher was indebted for his success much more to a conversation with his Majesty, in which the king exercised his favourite office of examinant into points of faith and doctrine. Of the particulars of the interview no record has been preserved. If the King pressed his two favourite subjects of discussion, the head of the church, and the unlawfulness of resistance to regal authority, Ussher could have given his Majesty the fullest satisfaction that he did not entertain Puritanical notions on these questions; but whatever were the topics debated, he succeeded so completely, that the King declared 'that the knave Puritan was a bad, but the knave's Puritan an honest man.' It is probable indeed that his Majesty had many interviews with Ussher, who appears to have remained two years in England. In January, 1621, Dr. Montgomery, bishop of Meath, died, and the king immediately named Dr. Ussher the new bishop, and often boasted 'that he was a bishop of his own making.'"—Dr. Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, prefixed to his works, p. 52. These interviews with the king, which the biographers of Ussher supposed to have been without record, are in part, at least, described by the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*.

[10] *Ao.* 1622.—See note 1, *supra*.

[11] *Dr. Teatly.*—Teatly is a misprint for *Featley*. Dr. Daniel Featley was one of the few episcopalian divines who attended the well-known assembly which met at Westminster, on the 1st of July, 1643. He ventured to advocate the cause of episcopacy against fearful odds, writing to archbishop Ussher from time to time an account of the proceedings, and soliciting through the latter an appointment to some bishoprick or deanery, as a reward for his advocacy of church principles and interests. Unfortunately for him, his letters were intercepted and laid before the assembly. The parliament, at the instigation of the 'divines,' ordered Featley's livings to be sequestered, his property seized, and to be himself thrown into the common gaol, where he died. "So solicitous," says Clarendon, (*History*, vol. iii., p. 471,) "was that party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way." See Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, p. 231, *note*. During the proceedings of the divines, a question arose as to the propriety of admitting Ussher to their deliberations, and Selden is said to have exclaimed in irony that they might as well inquire whether Inigo Jones (the celebrated architect) might be admitted to a company of mousetrap-makers." But Ussher, so far from wishing to present himself at that assembly, controverted its authority; and in return the house of commons confiscated

that he subscribed Jac. Midensis, (see his fragment remains collected by Dr. Burnett, printed 1657) leaving a petitionary letter (which I have by me to King James, in behalf of the family of Howth, in which he had settled his daughter as aforesaid; and so piously dying, he was embalmed, coffined in lead, and transported to Howth, then, pursuant to testament, thence taken to Aberbrecken, to rest with his wife and children.

I cannot sufficiently say or express his due eulogium, but this may be added to the premises, that for his honor and in memory of his contributions to the reparations in Christ's Church, Dublin, I saw his coat of arms over the door which lets into the quire of said Church, in which place only divine service and sermons are now used. The said coat was the same with the uppermost of those three which is over the gate house entry at Newtown, except that instead of helmet tors and crest, it was surmounted by an episcopal mitre, and bore a distinction of a second brother, the arms being the bearing of the Lairds of Braidstane, before the first Viscount Montgomery was nobilitated; but this coat, with the rest of the contributor's arms, are now totally expunged.

I saw likewise, Ao. 1696, his Lordship's picture and his wife's, at Howth house, but little regarded since the late Lady, his grandchild, died;[11] those of them which were carefully preserved in Newtown-house, till the late Earle of Mount Alexander died, were about Ao. 1664, burned there with the several pieces, could cost no less than twenty pounds each, being done sitting in chairs and to y^e^ feet.[12] To conclude with his Lordship, he was a faithful servant to God and his Church, and King, and an excellent friend, especially more than a brother to his brother (the sixth Laird of Braidstane), where he was born A.D. 1562, and at his death 61 years of age.

Having brought this Rev. Prelate to his tomb, I can do no less (being under greater duty) than to convey his eldest brother to his grave in peace to Newtown Church, which he had re-edifyed, and shall rehearse some of his peaceful actions (for I will not mention any more of his law troubles), but proceed in my intended narrative.

his library, as the property of a delinquent. Through the good offices of Selden, however, a friend was able to purchase the books for a small sum, and restore them to the owner. When Ussher, soon afterwards, was compelled to retire to Glamorganshire, he was met by a party of Welsh mountaineers, who carried off certain precious books and manuscripts, which he was anxious, of all others, to preserve. This loss weighed heavily on his spirits. "I know," said he to his daughter, "that it is in God's hand, and I must endeavour to bear it with patience; though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned. I am touched in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me, at once, all that I have been gathering together, above these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advancement of learning, and the good of the church." See Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh*, pp. 326–8.

[11] *His grandchild died.*—Two of the bishop's granddaughters, the ladies Elizabeth and Margaret St. Lawrence, were unmarried, and resided at Howth Castle. The latter died in 1684, and it was probably to Elizabeth that the author referred in the text as being lately dead in 1696.

[12] *To ye feet.*—A portrait of bishop Montgomery was preserved in the Clerical Rooms, in the town of Monaghan, to which place it was transferred with several others from the See-house of Clogher, on the suppression of that see and the consequent alienation of the See-house. The following particulars of this portrait are taken from the *Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. iv., new series, p. 138:—"No 11. *Name and Date*—George Montgomery, 1605, ob. 1620. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; clerical costume, thin black hair, with long beard and moustache; high forehead; sunken eyes; Roman nose, and idealization in the visage. Bishop Montgomery was a native of Scotland, and a scion of the Eglinton family. Having been translated from Derry and Raphoe to Meath, he continued to hold with it the see of Clogher, and the deanery of Norwich." This portrait is "painted on canvas in oil. Size twenty inches by eighteen. The name and armorial bearings surmounted by a mitre, being represented on the sinister top corner." This portrait, which was in the Clerical Rooms of Monaghan, was removed, with the other Clogher portraits, by the primate last year to Armagh, where it is now (1868) hung up.

CHAPTER VIII.

IT hath been said very briefly what his Lordship did as to providing wives for and settling his two younger sons. Now before these last two marriages his Lordship was a widower many months, and being at leisure, as well for diverting melancholy as to look after his affairs at Braidstane, he went into Scotland and visited his chief and superior, the Earl of Eglington, paying him all the gratefull returns of former kindnesses and countenances in his affairs from first to last. From this Earle, besides his assistances in his business in Scotland and England before his Lordship was Viscount, had not only given him a certificate (which in Scotland is called a bore brief,[1]) of the said genealogy and extraction from his family of Eglington, but also afterwards (the more to make his descent appear *lucidus in futuro*, and to shew his present respects), he consents that the Viscount's coat armorial should agree with his own in all things, except that the Viscount's hath not the same crest nor motto, and but one of the Earle's supporters, with this other difference (for a distinction as a cadet) that in the nombril of his Lordship's shield he should bear an escutchion charged with the same sword and lance, sattire wise, as he had over all his coat when he was Laird of Braidstane; and he, with his Lordship's 2d son, Sir James Montgomery, managed that affair, as appears by copys of his letters to the said Earl and the Herauld yet extant.[2] Let me

[1] *Borebrief.*—A borebrief, borbrieff, or birthbrief, was a certificate of lineage or extraction, which a person settling in a foreign land always required as an introduction to society in his own rank, and not unfrequently as a passport to preferments. Thus, George Crawfurd, in his *Memoirs of the Echlins of Pittadro*, speaking of a gentleman of that family, says:—"I think he went into foraign service, where he attained to the Degree of a Captain, and that there might be no Bar in the way of Preferment, that could not be attained but by a gentleman of blood and birth, he procured a Birthbrieff testiefeing, and declaring his descent from eight noble ancient families, both on the Paternall and maternall line." (P. 13). The *Litera Prosapiæ*, or birthbrief, when not furnished by the head or representative of the family (as it was in the case mentioned in the text), had frequently to be provided for applicants by the government. Numerous entries in the records of the Scottish Privy Council are applications from Scottish men of good family, resident abroad, for borbrieffs to be drawn up and sent to them, for the purpose already explained. These applications appear to have been more numerous before and after the Restoration than at any other previous time, in consequence, no doubt, of so many political exiles from the two great parties in Scotland having been compelled to settle abroad during the convulsions that occurred between 1640 and 1660. Among these entries are several such applications from ladies. In 1669, Maria Margaret Urrie, eldest lawful daughter of the deceased sir John Urrie of that Ilk, "being abroad in a strange country, where her birth and pedigree is not known, to the prejudice of her fortune in those parts," had purchased a certificate of her pedigree under the hands of the earl of Panmure and several other noblemen and gentlemen of quality; "and afterwards asked the Privy Council for a 'borbrieff in her favours,' conform to the said certificate." In 1670, a similar application came from Elizabeth, countess of Grammont, who had obtained the necessary "certificate of her descent and pedigree under the hand of the duke of Hamilton, the marquis of Douglass, the earles of Argyle, Marischal, lord Lauderdale, and divers other noblemen."—Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 325. In the instance mentioned in the text, the borbrief was a certificate of the first viscount's genealogy, and extraction from the family of Eglinton. By this document, the earl of Eglinton agreed that the first viscount Montgomery's arms should conform to his own in every thing excepting the particulars specified in the text.

[2] *Herauld yet extant.*—The *Eglinton Arms* are, quarterly first and fourth, azure, three fleurs-de-lis, or, for Montgomery: second and third, gules, three annulets, or, stoned azure, for Eglintoun; all within a bordure, or, charged with a double tressure, counter-flowered, gules. *Crest*,—a lady representing hope, richly attired, azure, holding in her dexter hand an anchor, and in her sinister the head of a savage by the hair; in some emblazonments, on an escrol above, the word *Towless*, or *Ropeless*, that is without a cable—in allusion, it is said, to a lady of the family who slew a

have the favour, reader, to insert (as a parenthesis) a very probable conjecture, viz., that the said 1st Viscount was god-son unto Hugh, Earl of Eglington, who was insidiously slain at the river of Annock, the 18th day of April, A.D. 1586, for the reasons formerly mentioned, there being in those days no scruple for a man to be a god-father, and to answer at the font for a friend's child.[3]

This lately said visit of our Viscount, to the said Earle, and his friends and kindred, was received with great love and respects by them all, which they continued till and after his funeral;[4]

ruffian in self-defence, while on a sea-voyage, and unprotected. *Supporters*—two dragons, vert, vomiting fire; the crest of Seton, earl of Wintoun. *Motto*—'Garde bien.' The *Mount-Alexander Arms* are, quarterly, first and fourth, azure, three fleurs-de-lis, or; second and third, gules, three annulets, or; stoned, azure, the whole within a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered of the first. Difference, an inescutcheon, charged with a sword and lance, salterwise. The following is William Montgomery's statement of the arms of Braidstane:—"Party per pale azure and gules, 3 flowers delice in chiefs, and 3 annulettes set with turquoises in base, over them a lance and a sword salterwise, all the charge being ore except the turquoises and the blade of the sword, which are proper with a crescent argent as the distinction of a second brother. . . . The coat of arms of yours (family) hath an armed hand holding a flower delice, or; as for the *Motto* of these arms, it must have been the same with the earl of Eglinton's, viz., *guarde bien*, because our Montgomerys were from that family, unless sir Hugh took another diton, of which I know not. But now, sir Hugh's posterity, and none else, may pretend to carry the arms, and use the motto of the lord viscount of Ards, both which were altered when they were first nobilitated." In this description, the author states that "the very same shield and charge bishop George Montgomery, brother of the said sir Hugh, did seal with, and the like is now over the gate house window in Newtown."—*Narrative of Gransheogh*, see *infra*. For the family arms of Braidstane and Mount-Alexander, see also Paterson's *Account of the Families and Parishes of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 282; Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. ii., on the *Indenture* between the first viscount Ards and the sixth earl of Eglinton, dated 27th February, 1630. Respecting these arms, Col. F. O. Montgomery says.—"You will observe by reference to the illuminated Deed in Fraser's *Memorials*, 2nd vol., p. 289, that the left hand side of the Braidstane shield has the ground or field *red*, William Montgomery in his *Narrative of Gransheogh* has it reversed; that is, left field *blue*, right field *red*. Also, in the Earl of Eglinton's coat on same Deed, and in Frontispiece of vol. i., contrary to the usual custom, the first and third quarters fleur-de-lis on *red* instead of *blue*. I find in a *Dictionaire de la Noblesse*, published in Paris, 1775, the writer, after describing the Arms of the Counts de Montgomery of Normandy, adds 'Quelque fois, les trois fleurs de lys sur un fond de Gueules.' In the plate of arms cut for me by the Messrs. Archer, I have adhered to the arms (of Braidstane) as given at the head of deed in Fraser's *Memorials*, though contrary to what William Montgomery says."

[3] *For a friend's child.*—If the author's words be here correctly given, his 'conjecture' is at fault. The first viscount was probably godson to the *third* earl of Eglinton, who died in 1585. The *fourth* earl, who was slain at the ford of Annock, was born in 1563, so that he must have been *younger* than the first viscount Ards, supposing the latter to have been born about the year 1560, as the author states on the following page. The *fourth* earl was only in his twenty-fourth year when he was slain in 1586, as appears from a list of the earls of Scotland in the State Paper Office, vol. xli., no. 96.—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 49.

[4] *Till and after his funeral.*—On the first viscount's return to Newtown from his visit to Eglinton Castle, he entered into a contract by which he acknowledged the earl of Eglinton as his chief, binding his heirs, as they came each, in succession, to the family estates, to present to the heirs of the house of Eglinton, a horse worth £30, in testimony of the feudal superiority of the latter. The original document is very curious, being beautifully ornamented by portraits of the earl and viscount, with a representation of their respective arms. It was preserved at Eglinton castle, and was lent by the twelfth earl to a lawyer in Edinburgh, with the view of assisting to establish his claim to succeed to the Mount-Alexander property, on the death of the fifth and last earl of Mount-Alexander, in 1757. Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 282. This indenture, or engagement, was drawn up at Newton in the Ards, on the 20th of February, 1630, and witnessed by the second and third sons of the first viscount, and by two other gentlemen, also named Montgomery, the seneschal and curate of Newtown. The alleged object for which this document was originally drawn up is thus stated by Fraser:—"The Viscount wished to secure the assistance of the earl in the then disturbed state of Ireland, whilst the earl was anxious to secure himself against any doubt that might be raised of his being the head of the house of Eglinton, the viscount being directly descended from Robert Montgomerie, Braidstane, uncle of the first earl of Eglinton. The indenture is beautifully engrossed on vellum, as may be seen from the fac-simile of it which is in the second volume. At the top there are two portraits which may have been intended to represent the earl and viscount. Fortunately for the earl, an original portrait of him has been preserved, and shows that in his case the illuminator was not a very faithful limner; it is to be hoped, that as little justice has been done to the Viscount."—*Memorials*, vol. i., *Preface*, p. xv. The state of Ireland in 1630 could not be described as 'disturbed,' but the first viscount was then deeply involved in the struggle with his rival, lord Clannaboy, and both antagonists aimed at making as many influential friends as possible. This may have been lord Montgomery's principal object in thus acknowledging the feudal superiority of Eglinton. The indenture is as follows:—

"This Indenture made the seavn and twenteth day of Februarie in the yeere of our Lord one thousand six hundred and thirty, betweene the right honourable Sir Hughe Montgomery, knight, Lord Viscount Montgomery of the Greate Ardes, on the one parte, and the right

and after it, to the two succeeding Viscounts, whilst they lived, as their heirs have a kind deference and regard to our present second Earle of Mount-Alexander.

At this time, it was during his Lordship's stay in Scotland, he married the Viscountess of Wigton,[5] and brought her to Newtown, to fill up the empty side of his bed, not minding profit from her jointure lands, which he left to her Ladyship's own disposal and ordering; but she not liking to live in Ireland, though great improvements were made, both as to his large store-houses in Newtown, sufficient for two succeeding Viscounts to dwell in, and also at Dunsky Castle,[6] which his Lordship had bought in his first Lady's time, with the lands belonging to it, and Portpatrick town, also from Sir Robert

honourable Alexander, Earle of Eglinton, in the kingdom of Scotland, on the other parte, witnesseth, that whereas the said Lord Viscount Montgomery, being descended of the honourable howse of the Earles of Eglinton within the said kingdome of Scotland, is most willing that hee and his heires should at all tymes forever hereafter acknowledg the respect and duty which they owe to the honor of the said house: In consideration whereof, and for the naturall love and affection which hee, the said Lord Viscount Montgomery, hath to the sayd Alexander, nowe Earle of Eglinton, and his heires, the said Lord Viscount Montgomery for him and his heires, doeth graunt, covenant, and agree to and with the said Alexander Earle of Eglinton, and his heires, Earles of Eglintone, which shalbee of the name and surname of Montgomery, that the heir and heires of the said Lord Viscount Montgomery shall, in perpetual remembrance of that love and dutie, freely give and deliver one faire horse of the value of thirty poundes of lawful money of and in England, or thereabouts, to the said Alexander, Earle of Eglinton, and his heires, being of the surname of Montgomery, within the space of one yeere after the heire and heires of the said Lord Viscount Montgomery shall have sued for his or theire livery, and entered into theire manors, lordshipps, landes, and hereditaments, within the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland; and the said Lord Viscount Montgomery for himselfe, his heires and assignes, doeth couenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said Earle of Eglinton and his heires, Earles of Eglinton, by theis presents, that upon default of the deliuery of the said horse of the said price of thirty poundes by the heire or heires of the said Lord Viscount Montgomery, made at the sayd tyme, contrary to the true intent and meaning of theis presents, that then it shall and may be lawfull unto the said Alexander Earle of Eglinton and his heires, Earles of Eglinton, being of the surname of Montgomery, to sue for the same, together with the sume of fifteen poundes sterling, of like money, *nomine poenae*, for every such default to bee made by the heires of the said Lord Viscount Montgomery, having first given due aduertisment and notice of theis presents, vnto the heire by whom the default shall happen to be committed aforesaid: And the said Hugh Lord Viscount Montgomery doeth by theis presents, couenant, promise, and agree to and with the said Alexander Earle of Eglinton, that hee, the said Lord Viscount Montgomery shall and will doe, make, acknowledge, finish and execute, all and euery such other reasonable act and acts, thing and things, conueyance and assurance in lawe, for the good and perfect assurance and suerty for the deliuery of the said horse of the price aforesaid, according to the true meaning of theis presents, as by the said Alexander Earl of Eglinton shalbee reasonably devised or required, soe that the said Lord Viscount Montgomery bee not desirred to travaile for the makeing or acknowledging of such assurance from his dwelling-house. In witness, whereof, the said partyes to theis presents have hereunto interchangeable putt theire hands and seales, the day and yeere first above written. "MONTGOMERY.

"Sygned, sealled, and deliuered in presens of
"J. MONTGOMERIE. J. MONTGOMERIE, Seneschell.
"G. MONTGOMERIE. R. MONTGOMERIE, Minister of Newtone.

—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. ii., pp. 289, 290. Robert Montgomerie, minister of Newtown in 1630, was probably the same who had been sometime minister of *Stewartown*, in Scotland. See p. 101, *note* 43, *supra*.

[5] *Viscountess of Wigton.*—This lady was Sarah Maxwell, daughter of William, lord Herries. She was of the house of Caerlaverock, "so celebrated in Scottish history, and in chivalry, afterwards raised to the dignities of lord Herries and earl of Nithsdale. Their direct male line failed in the person of John, Lord Maxwell, son of William the fifth earl, forfeited in 1715."—Crawford's *Renfrewshire*, p. 279.

[6] *Dunsky Castle.*—The ruins of the *old* castle of Dunsky or Dunskey occupy the summit of a high cliff overlooking a little creek anciently known as Portree, by which name *the castle* also was designated until about the close of the fourteenth century. It stood near the edge of the cliff overhanging the sea, separated therefrom by a meadow. The creek of Portree is at a little distance. See the account in the *New Statistical Account*, vol. iv., Wigtonshire, p. 132. The ancient owners of Dunskey were the Adairs, originally Fitzgeralds, of the house of Desmond, and deriving the surname, by which they were known in Galloway, from the lands of Athdare or Adare, in Ireland. The first owner of Dunskey bearing this surname was Robert Adair. Of his representatives we have the following account in sir Andrew Agnew's *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, pp. 616, 617:—

"2. Neil or Nigel Adair of Drumskey (styled of Portree) was a witness to the restoration of the lands of Lochnaw, by William Douglas to Andrew Agnew, 1426; had a second son, Robert Adair of Kildonan, *ancestor of the Adairs of Genoch;* his eldest son (or grandson).

"3. William Adair, married a daughter of Robert Vaus of Barnbarroch (sister-in-law of Quintin Agnew of Lochnaw), and had

"4. Alexander Adair (styled of Kilhilt), married first, Euphemia, daughter of sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies; and second, Janet, daughter of Uchtred M'Dowall of Garthland; killed at Flodden, 1513, leaving

"5. Ninian Adair, married Katherine, daughter of Patrick Agnew of Lochnaw, sheriff of Galloway, died 1525, leaving by her

"6. William Adair, married lady Helen, daughter of Gilbert, second earl of Cassilis, by whom he had

"7. Ninian Adair, who married Helen (or Elizabeth), daughter of sir James Gordon of Lochinvar; his *fourth* son, Alexander, was dean of Raphoe, 1616; bishop of Killaloe; bishop of Waterford and Lismore, 1641; died 1646; his eldest son

"8. William Adair, married first Rosina, daughter of sir Thomas M'Clellan of Bomby, succeeded 1608 (exchanged Dunskey for Ballymainoch (Ballymena) with sir Hugh Montgomery, viscount Airdes); married secondly daughter of Houston of Castle Steward; married thirdly Helen, daughter of Cathcart of Carlton, by whom he had William Adair, minister of Ayr, 1640 to 1684.

"9. Sir Robert Adair (eldest son of the above by his first wife), M.P. for Wigtonshire, 1639 and 1648; married Jean, daughter of William Edmondston of Duntreath, by whom he had, besides his successor, a third son, Alexander of Drummore, and Isabel, married to Patrick M'Douall of Logan.

"10. William Adair, succeeded 1655, married Jean, daughter of sir William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead; married second Anne, daughter of colonel Walter Scott; by her he had

"11. Sir Robert Adair of Kilhilt and Ballymena, a knight baronet, sold the baronies of Kilhilt and Drummore to the earl of Stair; married first Penelope, daughter of sir Robert Colville; married second Martha; married third, October, 1705, Ann M'Aulay; married fourth Arabella Ricketts; left by his third wife

"12. Robert Adair, a major of dragoons ("*now living*," *Adair MS.*, 1760); married Catherine Smallman, an English lady of fortune. The family is represented by sir Robert Shafto Adair of Flixton Hall."

Adair of Kinhilt,[7] and had put many convenient and handsome additions to it; she, notwithstanding, after some months stay, returned to Scotland, and did remain therein, which obliged his Lordship to make yearly summer visits to her, and to send divers messages (by his son George) to persweade her Ladyship to return and cohabit with him, whose attendance at Council Board, and business in law, at Dublin, and private affairs at home, would not allow his Lordship dwelling with her in Scotland.

His Lordship brought over a page to his Lady, Edward Betty,[8] the prettiest little man I ever beheld. He was of a blooming damask rose complexion; his hair was of a shining gold colour, with natural ring-like curls hanging down, and dangling to his breast, and so exact in the symmetry of

[7] *Adair of Kinhilt.*—The founder of this family is said to have been Robert Fitzgerald of Athdare, or Adare (son of an earl of Desmond) who fled to Galloway, about the year 1350, to escape the consequences of a feud. See note 6. This common story, which, however, cannot be relied on, farther states that Thomas, sixth earl of Desmond, who died at Rouen, in Normanday, 10th August, 1420, left two sons, Maurice and John (claragh), who died in 1452; in which year also Maurice, being killed by Connor O'Mulrian, was buried at Roan, and left two sons, John, ancestor (as is related) to the Adairs of Ireland and Scotland, and Maurice, to the Fitzgeralds, some time of Broghill.—Archdall's *Lodge's Peerage*, vol. i., p. 66. Sir Andrew Agnew, in his book recently published, entitled *History of the Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, pp. 243, 617, states that "William Adair exchanged Dunskey castle and the property adjoining, with sir Hew Montgomery of Braidstones, for the lands of Ballymena in Ireland." The author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, however, here distinctly states that the first viscount *bought* the Dunskey estate from sir Robert Adair. Had any such exchange as that mentioned by sir Andrew Agnew taken place, William Montgomery would have doubtless known of it, and recorded it. Besides sir Hugh Montgomery never held lands at, or in the vicinity of Ballymena. The Adair family originally got a footing in this district early in the reign of James I., by purchase from sir Faithful Fortescue, who had an assignment from Rory Oge MacQuillin, the latter having got a grant of this territory—Clanagherty—in lieu of Innishowen, which was transferred to sir Arthur Chichester. See Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 344. Sir Hugh Montgomery owned the church lands of Ballymannagh, near Carrickfergus, which probably occasioned in some way the Scottish mistake on this point. William Adair, although the first of the family who settled at Ballymena, did not sell the Scottish estate, which was in possession of the family until 1716, when sir Robert Adair parted with Kinhilt and Drummore. At the time of William's death, which occurred on the 4th of November, 1626, his Ballymena property consisted of the following denominations—viz., half of the townlands of Ballyneclosse, Ballentirriagh, Ballesirryanane, Balleloughcarry, Balleclogher, Ballecragbarrane, Ballevally, Baldromny, Ballegranchill, Ballecollrabacky, Ballekillyne, Balledromlegagh, Balledromynderragh, Balledownesyand, Balletissane, Ballenynaghdore, Ballekildony, Balletiellieny, Ballekilly, Ballesaravoy, and Ballemagherry, containing 40 messuages, and 1,000 acres, in the territory of Clynagharty alias Clynacharthy. This estate was inherited by William's son, Robert Adair, who was 23 years of age at the time of his father's death.—*Inquisitions, Antrim, no.* 4, *Car. I.* The castle of Dunskey had been abandoned as a family residence long prior to its purchase by sir Hugh Montgomery, the Adairs of Kinhilt occupying a mansion-house of which no vestige now remains, but which is known to have stood "where the line of Colfin Glen would meet the present turnpike road." The present mansion-house of Dunskey is situated on an elevation about a mile from the harbour.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. iv., Wigtonshire, pp. 132, 142. Besides the lands constituting the Dunskey property, the first viscount purchased others in the same district. The general register of sasines in the register-house connected with Wigtonshire, contains the following notices relating to such purchases:—

"1.—July, 1633, Ren. be Robert Weir to Hew Vicount of Airdis of the landis of Dincke, Wigtonshire.

"2.—December, 1634, Ren. be Gilbert Kennedy and Sir Alexander Kennedy to Hew Vicount of Airdis, of the landis of Dunvin, Wigtonshire.

"3.—June, 1635, Ren. be Uchred Agnew to Hew Montgomerie, Vicount of Airdis, of the landis of Craigvordie, Wigtonshire.

"4.—July, 1637, Ren. be James Fultoun and Katherine Adair his spous, to Hew Vicount of Airdis of the landis of Killantinzeane (now Killintringan), Wigtonshire.

"5.—November, 1638, . . . of Hew Vicount of Airdis of the foure markland of Portispittell (now Port Spittal), Wigtonshire."

The two last-mentioned purchases were made by the second viscount, his father having died in 1636. The editor is indebted for copies of the above entries to the kindness of James Paterson, esq., author of the *Account of the Parishes and Families of Ayrshire.*

[8] *Edward Betty.*—This dwarf was possibly the son of a person who had been executed at Downpatrick in 1613. At a court of assize held there, on the 27th of February, before justice Sibthorp and Mr. serjeant John Beare, Edward and William Bettee of Duffrin, yeomen, were tried and found guilty of having, on the 20th February, 1613, at Foynebrogl (Finnabrogue), carried away six cocks of oats worth 6s and 8d each, the property of Edmund O'Mullan and Cowlogh O'Kelly, and sentenced to be brought back to the gaol, through the midst of the town of Down, and be disengaged from their chains, and then led from the gaol as far as the gallows, and there to be hung by the neck until they were dead.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i., p. 264. The following clause in the will of the first viscount has reference, no doubt, to Edward Betty mentioned in the text:—"*Item*, I do ordain my son Hugh to entertain my man, Ned Beattie, and to give him in pension from me yearly the sum of £8 sterling."

his body and limbs to his stature, that no better shape could be desired in a well carved statue. His wit was answerable to what his comely face might promise; and his cunning no less, for many times, when gentlewomen, that did not frequent Newtown-house since the first Viscount's death till the second Lord brought his lady to live therein, came to pay visits to her Ladyship, this beautiful mannick was often mistaken for one or the other of his Lordship's sons, and taken up by the gentlewomen on their laps, and they kissed him to make him prattle, which he could very well do as a child. He kept them in their ignorance so long as to have occasion enough to make his Lady sport, nay sometimes he would protract his convers till his Lady came from her chamber to see the female visitant, his unmannerlyness being reproved by his Lady, so to impose on the gentlewomen, as to sit on their knee and promote the error. You may believe the mistaken ladies blushed and were extremely ashamed, and this happened when he had passed twenty years of age.[9] I did copy (after Vandyke's original) the picture of the Royal Martyr's dwarf, Jeffrey,[10] holding a silken cord, a mon-

[9] *Twenty years of age.*—It is strange that the fame of this remarkable person had not reached to the time of *Harris*, who refers to several dwarfs, inhabitants of the county of Down. He mentions, among others, one *James Downey*, a native of the parish of Clonallon, who was only three feet four inches in height. "Being one day employed in the furrow of a potatoe-garden, and suddenly rising up, a simple priest passing by took him for a fairy, just sprung out of the earth, and adjured him to approach no nearer; but the little creature moving forward to undeceive the priest, so frightned him, that he clapped spurs to his horse, and fled quite away."—*State of the County of Down*, p. 255.

[10] *Royal Martyr's dwarf, Jeffrey.*—This little fellow whose name was Jeffrey Hudson, was born in the year 1619, at Oakham, in Rutlandshire. "Being about eight years old, and not half a yard in height, the dutchess of Buckingham, whose seat was hard by, took him and cloathd him in sattin, and appointed two servants to attend him. At a splendid feast given by the duke there was a cold pye, which being opened, there reared up on end little Jeffrey, armed *cap-a-pie!* An old gossip having invited some *Tattle-baskets* to a junketting bout, some arch waggs stole her cat *Rutterkin*, flead him, dressed Jeffrey in her skin, and conveyed him into the room. When the feast was near over and cheese set upon the table, one of the females offered *Rutterkin* a bit.—'*Rutterkin can help himself when he is hungry*,' said Jeffrey, and so, nimbly, made down stairs. The women all started up in the greatest confusion and clamour imaginable, crying out *a Witch! a Witch! with her talking cat!* But the joke was soon afterwards found out, otherwise the poor woman might have suffered for it, as two others in that country did, who were hanged pursuant to the sentence of those wise judges, *Hobart* and *Bromley*, on account of another *Rutterkin*, charged with the murder of the earl of Rutland's children. Jeffrey, not long after was presented to queen Henrietta Maria, and became her dwarf. Her majesty's monkey soon scraped acquaintance with him, and none so great as Pug and Jeffrey. It was a strange contrast to see him and the king's gigantic porter, William Evans, together, particularly in that *Anti-masque* at court, where the porter lugged out of one pocket a long loaf, and little Jeffrey instead of a salver of cheese, out of the other. Once as he was washing his face and hands, he had like to have been drowned in his bason. Another day, he had been blown into the Thames, but for a spreading shrub that saved him. He was employed on a kind of embassy to France to bring over the queen's midwife; and in his return he was taken by a Flemish pyrate. This captivity is celebrated by sir Wm. Davenant in a poem called *Jeffreides*, and printed with his *Madagascar*, &c. After the rebellion broke out, being made a captain of horse in the king's service, he underwent many perils, till 1644, when he went over with his royal mistress to France. Here he had a quarrel with the lord Croft's brother, whom he obliged to meet him with powder and ball, and shot him dead on the spot. Afterwards, he was taken at sea by a Turkish pyrate, who lodged him in a drum, and carried him into slavery. Being redeemed, he returned to England, and lived on a pension allowed him by the D. of Buckingham and other persons of quality; but being a Roman Catholic, he was clapped up in the *Gatehouse*, and soon after his releasement, died, having almost attained his climacteric."—*Gentleman's Magazine* vol ii., p. 1120. A tiny volume was dedicated to Hudson entitled *The New Year's Gift, presented at Court from the Lady Parvula to the Lord Minimus, commonly called Little Jefferie, Her Majesties Servant;* 12mo., *London*, 1636. The following lines form part of the Dedication:—

"Smal Sir, methinks in your lesse selfe I see,
Expresst the lesser world's Epitomie.—
You may write Man, i' the 'abstract' as you are,
Though printed in a smaller character:
The pocket volume has as much methink,
As the broad Folio in a larger print,
And is more useful too.—Though low you seem,
Yet you are both great and high in most's esteem,
Your soul's as large as others, so's your mind,—
To greatness virtue's not like strength confined."

Scottish Journal of Topography, &c., vol. ii., p. 319. Jeffrey was eight years of age, and eighteen inches high when transferred by the duchess of Buckingham to the custody of Queen Henrietta. The transfer took place soon after the marriage of Charles I., and whilst the royal party were entertained at Burleigh on the Hill, a residence of the great duke of Buckingham. During the festivities, Jeffrey was served up naked in a cold pie. The scene of Davenant's poem was Dunkirk, and the poet's object was the celebration of a battle between Jeffrey and a turkey-

key on his shoulder, as a fancy to set him off, who, although he was very comely, well proportioned, and so diminutive as that the King's long porter's boot (as I was told Ao. 1664,[11] by old courtiers), covered his brow when he was put in it; yet he was not to be compared, for shape and beauty and far less for wit, with our homuncio, Edward, whose bones lie at the foot of the three Viscounts, whom he successively served, but did not survive the last of them, whose imprisonment at Cloghwooter Castle[12] broke our little man's great heart, that he died for grief thereof and despair of his Lordship's release, who was detained about two years in the restraint aforesaid.

As to his Lordship's said Lady, the Countess of Wigton, she continuing in her refractory, humours, went to Edinboro to reside there, being 60 years old, and falling sick, his Lordship her husband personally attended her till she died in that emporium; his Lordship buried her where she had desired, giving her all the observation and obsequies due to her peerage:[13] but returning from her interment, his coach overturned, and he received bruises, the pains whereof reverted every spring and harvest till his own fall. And now his Lordship might have bid his last adieu to his native country and Braidstane, because he never again crossed the sea after he returned to Ireland,

cock. At the time of Jeffrey's first capture by the Dunkirkers, who were not pirates, as stated in the extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, he was bringing a French midwife, a French dancing-master, and several valuable presents from the English queen's mother, Mary de Medici. He lost on that occasion £2,500 of his own money, which he had received as a present from the ladies of the French court. This little gentleman was suspected to be a party in the popish plot of 1682. For further particulars of his life and adventures, see Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. ii., pp. 14–16; *Anecdotes and Traditions from MS. Sources*, edited by W. J. Thoms, (Camden Society), p. 123.

[11] *Ao.* 1664.—The author was in London at this date, soliciting certain favours for himself, and also on behalf of his kinsman, the second earl of Mount-Alexander, who was then only fourteen years old, and left in trying circumstances.

[12] *Cloghwooter Castle.*—On the capture of the third viscount by the Irish, at the battle of Benburb, in the June of 1646, he was imprisoned for nearly the space of two years in Cloughowter castle, county of Cavan, a stronghold belonging to Owen Roe MacArt O'Neill, who died there in 1649. See *infra*. Clough-oughter castle is situated in a part of Lough Oughter. *Ord. Surv., Cavan*, s. 20. Here bishop Bedell was confined at his death in February, 1642.

[13] *Due to her peerage.*—This funeral was no doubt one of those grand heraldic processions so common at the period among the Scottish nobility. Sir James Balfour has the following notice of this lady's death—"The 29 of Marche, this Zeire (1636) dyed Dame Sara Maxwool, viscountesse of Airdis, sister of John, Lord Harries, and was solemly interred in the Abbey churche of Holyrudhousses. This ladey was thrysse married, first, to Sir John Johnstone (of Johnston), and by him had issue James, Earle of Hartefell, Lord Johnstone, and two daughters; and after his death she married to her second husband, John, first Earle of Vigtoune, and by him had issue one only daughter; and after his death, she married to her third husband, Hugh Montgomery, Lord Viscount of Airdes in the kingdom of Ireland, and by him had no issue."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 252. Between this lady's family and that of her first husband, there raged a fierce clan feud, in the course of which each family lost two of its chiefs. In the celebrated clan battle of *Dryfe Sands* the last of any note fought in the southern part of Scotland, Johnston slew lord Maxwell with his own hand, carrying off his head and right arm, and nailing them as trophies on the wall of Johnston's own castle of Lockwood, which had been burned down by the Maxwells in 1585. The battle of Dryfe Sands took place in 1593. Lord Maxwell's son, in his efforts to avenge his father's death, was guilty of deliberate murder, by shooting Johnston at an apparently friendly interview, in the year 1608. For this act he was tried and beheaded five years afterwards. —For some details of this feud, see Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 155, 252, 296, 410, 446, 447. We find from the following passage in the *Memoirs of Captain John Creichton*, that the consequences of this feud were not confined to Scotland:—"My great-grandfather, Alexander Creichton, of the house of Dumfries, in Scotland, in a feud between the Maxwells and the Johnstons (the chief of the Johnstons being the Lord Johnston, ancestor of the present Marquis of Annandale) siding with the latter, and having killed some of the former, was forced to fly into Ireland, where he settled near Kinard, then a woody country, and now called Calidon; but within a year or two, some friends and relations of those Maxwells who had been killed in the feud, coming over to Ireland to pursue their revenge, lay in wait for my great-grandfather in the wood, and shot him dead, as he was going to church. This accident happened about the time that James the Sixth of Scotland came to the crown of England."—Swift's *Works, Edited by Sir Walter Scott*, vol. x., p. 111, Edinb. 1824. Several persons named Maxwell came to settle on the lands of James Hamilton, at, or soon after the time specified in the foregoing extract. Among them were Edward Maxwell of Donover, James Maxwell of Gransha, and John Maxwell of Ballihalbert, all of whom afterwards, in 1617, obtained letters of denization. —See *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.*, p. 326.

which he did soon after his compliments were paid to his most honoured Earl, and to the beloved Montgomery Lairds, with his kindred and loving neighbours.[14]

We have his Lordship now in Newtown and in the neighbourhood, composing some differences (as to his lands) which had not been perfected to him, pursuant to articles made the 17th Dec., 1633;[15] other whiles his Lordship attended the Council Board. Thus and in the service of God, his King, and country, as formerly, he spent the residue of his life, which ended May 1636, in a good old age of 76 years.

Now reader, I have given some general notice of the affairs of the noble first Viscount Montgomery. I will only add to them a character of his person and internal parts, or endowments of his soul, and an account of his acts (as brief as I can), not to mutilate them, and the order of his funeral, with some other remarks. As to his birth, it was about Ao. 1560, when Hugh, Earl of Eglinton, by his parchment deed, signed and sealed (yet extant), not only confirmed all the lands of Braidstane aforesaid, but also sold all the lands of Montgomery, *minnock als vocat* Blackstown mynnock and Amiln unto Adam Montgomery,[16] of Braidstane (he was our first Viscount's father), and his heirs and assigns, &c., by deed aforesaid, dated 25th Nov. 1652.[17] This Earle (some small time before or after this deed) is supposed (very probably) to have been god-father to our Viscount, the said Earl slain, as aforesaid, being the first Hugh of his family,[18] as our Viscount was the first of that name in his own.

[14] *And loving neighbours.*—This last visit to Scotland, to attend the funeral of his second lady, occurred in 1636, the year of his own death. The "most honoured earl," whom he visited after the funeral, was Alexander, sixth earl of Eglinton. The "beloved Montgomery lairds" alive in 1636, and most of whom were doubtless visited by the first viscount, were sir Henry Montgomery of Giffen, second son of the earl of Eglinton; Robert Montgomery, of Hessillhead or Hazlehead; Matthew Montgomery of Bogstown, who appears to have resided for a time at Braidstane; John Montgomery of Blackhouse; Neil Montgomery of Lainshaw or Langshaw; sir Robert Montgomery of Skelmorlie; and Hugh Montgomery of Stane, afterwards of Bowhouse.—See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol i., pp. 230, 288, 289, 292; vol, ii., pp. 101, 310. His "kindred and loving neighbours" of other surnames were numerous, especially in the parishes of Beith, Largs, and Ardrossan.

[15] *17th Dec.*, 1633.—See p. 81 *supra*.

[16] *Adam Montgomery.*—This Adam Montgomery was the fifth laird of Braidstane. In 1561, Hugh, third earl of Eglinton, revoked certain charters and acts done by him in his minority, and among these "ane infeftment made be the earl to Adam Montgomery, sone and appearand are (heir) to John Montgomery of *Braidstane*, of the xij. mark lands of Braidstane and the xls. of Montgomereis Mynnok."—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 161. The author states, on the authority of family papers, that the regrant of the lands of Braidstane was confirmed by the earl to Adam Montgomery in 1562, and that the latter purchased from his chief, in the same year, certain other lands known as Montgomery *minnock*, alias Blackstown *minnock*, or 'little,' to distinguish these lands from others of the same name. "On the 7th November, 1622, John Swan, younger, in *Mylne* of Beith, granted his obligation to Matthew Montgomery and his son Robert, then in Bogstown, for eight score merks. This is on record in the books of the regality of Kilwinning, preserved in the General Register House, vol. i."—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 289. The first earl of Abercorn had a residence called Blackstown in the neighbourhood of Eglinton castle. The sixth earl of Eglinton, writing to his countess in July, 1619, says—"Therefor, fell not to send your kotch and horses eist to me after the reset of this. . . . I tink or now the horse that my lady Abercorn had is com houm to you. Gif not, ye will get him for the sending for at Blackstown." On the 3rd of June, 1620, Marion Boyd, countess of Abercorn, writes to the earl of Eglinton, from *Blackistoun*, thus:—

"MY VERIE HONORABILL GUIDE LORD—I understand my sone has wrettin to zour lordship anent our going to Edinburgh, quhair, God willing, we think to be on Tuisday at night, the xiii. of Junii instant, expecting zour lordship will be there also, as my son has desyrit zow. And because my kotchman hes gone from me, I must intreate zour lordship to send me zour cotcheman, and ane or twa of zour cotche horses, on Friday or Settirday next; quhilk, trusting zour lordship will do, as I salbe willing to pleasour zour lordship at all occasiones. Thus craving zour lordship's excuse of my hameliness, my hartliest commendatiounes rememberit to zour lordship and guid lady, I rest

"Zour lordship's maist affectionat cosigne,

"MARION BOYD."

Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., pp. 2 0, 213.

[17] *Nov.*, 1652.—This date is a misprint for 1562.

[18] *First Hugh.*—*First* is evidently a misprint for *fourth*, the earl slain at Annock being the *fourth* earl as well as the *fourth* bearing the Christian name of Hugh. It has been already shown, note 3, *supra*, that the fourth earl could not have been godfather to the first viscount.

Imprimis, then his Lordship was of a middle stature (I had his picture as large as the life),[19] he was of ruddy complexion, and had a manly, sprightlie and chearful countenance; and, I believe, his temperament was sanguine, for his body and nerves were agile and strong, beyond any of his sons or their children, according to all the stations of youth, manhood and old age, no wise troubled by cholicks, gravel or gout, or pains, but what were occasioned by the bruises aforesaid, being of a sound vigorous constitution of health, and habit of body, seldom having sickness, because he was greatly sober and temperate in meat and drink, and chaste also, and used moderate exercises, both coursing badgers[20] and hares with grey hounds on foot (before he was nobilitated), and afterwards frequently with hounds, hunting (on horses) the deer and the fox[21] in his woodlands yearly at the fittest seasons, and wolves when occasion offered.[22] His Lordship kept a blood (in Scotland called

[19] *His picture as large as the life.*—An oil painting of the first viscount is in the possession of Mrs. Sinclair, formerly of the Falls, near Belfast, who is seventh in lineal descent from him. The same lady also possesses a portrait in slate of sir James Montgomery of Rosemount, and miniature likenesses of col. Wm. Montgomery of Killough, and his wife, Isabella Campbell of Mamore. Col. William Montgomery was grandson of the author, and great-grandfather of Mrs. Sinclair.

[20] *Badgers.*—In the native Irish language the name of the badger (*meles vulgaris*) was *broc*. In old Saxon the name was *broce*, and *barsuk* in the Russian. In Scotland and Ireland the term broc is still commonly used. We learn from the *Tale of Deirdre* (see *Transactions of the Gaelic Society* vol. i., pp. 47—49, *note*), that badger's flesh was considered as a delicacy in Alba or Scotland. This tale refers to events that occurred so early as the first century of our era.—See *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., p. 194.

[21] *And the fox.*—This animal (*vulpes vulgaris*) has left its name in more than one place of the district. It was known generally as *madaidh ruadh*, 'the red dog,' and from it the townland of *Ballycarrickmaddyroe* in Castlereagh takes its name. Castle-Ward, near Strangford, was anciently called *Carrick-ne-Sheannagh*, or Sinnach, 'the Foxes' Rock.'—Harris, *State of the County of Down*, p. 41. The Sinnach or Fox was said by the ancient Irish to be 'the longest lived of dogs,' *nech is sine do conaib*. See *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., p. 194, *note*.

[22] *Wolves when occasion offered.*—See p. 60, *supra*. The wolf (*canis lupus*), sometimes called by the Irish *Mac Tire filius terræ*, 'the son of the land,' and sometimes *Cu-allaidh* or wild dog, is often referred to in modern Irish history, and did not wholly disappear until late in the eighteenth century.—*Transactions Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii, p. 193. In 1614, "the king being given to understand the great loss and hindrance which arose in Ireland by the multitude of wolves, in all parts of the kingdom, did by letters from New-Market, 26th Nov., 1614, direct a grant to be made, by patent, to Henry Tuttesham, who by petition, had made offer to repair into Ireland, and there use his best skill and deavour to destroy the said wolves, providing at his own charge, men, dogs, traps, and engines, and requiring no other allowance, save only four nobles sterling, for the head of every wolf, young or old, out of every county, and to be authorized to keep four men and twelve couple of hounds in every county, for seven years next after the date of these letters." (12 Jac. i., d. R. 17.) *Proceedings of Roy. Irish Academy*, vol. ii., p. 77. Tuttesham's work had not been thoroughly done, as wolves were very numerous in Ireland, in 1640, throughout all wooded and mountainous districts. The writer of a tract entitled *Ireland's Tragical Tyrranie*, 4to, 1642, mentions the lamentable case of an English family, named Adams, who were compelled, through fear of massacre during the outbreak of 1641, to seek shelter in the woods, where they were all, consisting of fourteen persons, devoured by wolves.—See Logan's *Scottish Gāel*, vol. ii., p. 32. On the 11th of March, 1652–3, captain Edward Piers obtained a lease, for five years, from May, 1653, for the sum of £543, of all the forfeited lands in the barony of Dunboyne, county of Meath, on the terms of his keeping up an establishment for killing wolves and foxes. His dogs were to be three wolf-dogs, two English mastiffs, and a pack of hounds of sixteen couple, three of them to hunt the wolf only, a knowing hunstman, and two men and a boy—an orderly hunt to take place thrice a month at least. As security for the performance of his engagement, he was to pay £100 a year additional rent, to be defalked in wolf and fox-heads; 6 wolf-heads and 24 fox-heads the first year; 4 wolf-heads and 16 fox-heads the second year; 2 wolf-heads and 10 fox-heads the third year; and one wolf-head and 5 fox-heads in each of the two last years of the term. In case he should fail to kill and bring in the said number of wolves' and foxes' heads yearly, then deduction was to be made out of the said yearly allowance or salary of £100, for every wolf's head so falling short the sum of £5, and for every fox's head 5s. —*Order of Council as quoted in Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæol. Society*, vol. iii., new series, p. 77, *note*. The prices offered for wolves' heads by the government of the commonwealth show how alarmingly these animals had increased during the period of the war from 1641 to 1652. There is the following *Declaration touching Wolves*, and offering immoderate prices for their destruction:—"For the better destroying of wolves, which of late years have much increased in most parts of this nation, It is ordered that the commanders in chiefe and commissioners of the revenue in the several precincts, doe consider of, use and execute all good wayes and meanes, how the wolves, in the counties and places within the respective precincts, may be taken and destroyed; and to employ such person or persons, and to appoint such daies and tymes for hunting the wolfe, as they shall adjudge necessary. And it is further ordered, that all such person

a sleuth) hound[23] to trace out thieves and woodkerns (so were torys then termed) which was a great terror to them, and made them to forbear to haunt in his bounds;[24] he also had an huntsman for those

or persons, as shall take, kill, or destroy any wolfes, and shall bring forth the head of the woulfe before the said commanders of the revenue, shall receive the sums following, viz. for every bitch wolfe, six pounds; for every dogg wolfe, five pounds; for every cubb which prayeth (preyeth) for himself, forty shillings; for every suckling cubb, ten shillings; And no wolfe after the last of September until the 10th of January be accounted a young wolfe and the commissioners of the revenue shall cause the same to be equallie assessed within their precincts. Dublin, 29th June, 1653." But the following *Declaration against transporting of Wolfe-Dogges* is, perhaps, the most significant document that could be quoted on this subject:—"Forasmuch as we are credibly informed, that wolves doe much increase and destroy many cattle in severall parts of this dominion, and that some of the enemie's party who have laid down armes, and have liberty to go beyond sea, and others, doe attempt to carry away several such great dogges as are commonly called wolfe dogges, whereby the breed of them, which are useful for destroying of wolfes, would (if not prevented) speedily decay. These are, therefore, to prohibit all persons whatsoever from exporting any of the said dogges out of this dominion; and searchers and other officers of the customs, in the severall parts and creekes of this dominion, are hereby strictly required to seize and make stopp of all such dogges, and deliver them either to the common huntsman appointed for the precinct where they are seized upon, or to the gouernor of the said precinct. Dated at Kilkenny, 27th April, 1652." The above declaration was intended to prohibit the gentry and others who had laid down their arms, and who appear to have been peculiarly attached to the dogs of this breed, from carrying them into Spain, to which country they were emigrating in great numbers. Their dogs, however, could not be spared from Ireland, where wolves were then increasing, as announced in another *Declaration touchinge the Poore*, dated at Dublin, the 12th of May, 1653 and signed by Charles Fleetwood, Edmond Ludlow, Miles Corbet, and John Jones. In this document it is stated that many of the orphan children then wandering about the country were "fed upon by ravening wolves, and other beasts and birds of prey."—O'Flaherty's *West Connaught* edited by Hardiman, pp. 180, 181; *Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæol. Society*, old series, vol. ii., p. 149; see also *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 281.

[23] *Sleuth-hound.—Sleuth* denotes the track of a man or beast as known by the scent, from the Irish *sliocht*, a track, and the *sleuth-hound* is the species of dog designated by naturalists as the *canis sagax*. This animal seems to have been of greater importance in Scotland than in any other country. The inhabitants of the *marshes* were obliged by the border laws to keep a certain number of sleuth-hounds in every district. Thus, "in those parts beyond the *Esk*, above the foot of *Sark*, by the inhabytants there was to be kept, one dog. *Item*, by the inhabytants insyde the *Esk*, to *Richmond Cleugh*, to be kept at the *Moot*, one dog. *Item*, by the inhabytants of the parish of Arthuret, above *Richmond Cleugh*, to be kept at *Barleyhead*, one dog." And so on throughout the border lands. Persons aggrieved, or who had lost property by robbers, were allowed to pursue the *hot trode* with hound and horn, with hue and cry, and all other accustomed means of hot pursuit.—Nicholson's *Border Laws*, p. 127, as quoted in Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, 1772, pp. 77, 78. Walter Harris, in his additions to Sir James Ware, speaking of the sleuth-hound, says:—"But this character (scenting the track of game) does not hit the Irish wolf-dog, which is not remarkable for any great sagacity in hunting by the nose. Ulysses Aldrovandus and Gesner have given descriptions of the *Canis Scoticus*, and two prints of them very little different from the common hunting hound. They are (says Gesner) something larger than the common hunting hound, of a brown or sandy spotted colour, quick of smelling, and are employed on the borders between England and Scotland to follow thieves. They are called the *Sleut-Hound*. In the *Regiam Majestatem* of Scotland is this passage:—*Nullus perturbet aut impediat canem trassantem, aut homines trassantes cum ipso ad sequendum latrones aut ad capiendum malefactores*,—'No person shall give any disturbance or hindrance to tracking dogs, or men employed with them to track or apprehend thieves or malefactors.'—*Ware's Works*, vol. ii., p. 167. The Scottish sleuth-hound appears to have been peculiar to that kingdom, so much so as to be named the *Scotticus canis* in the sixteenth century "when modern Scotland", says Harris, "was well known by the name of *Scotia*." At an earlier period, the same term *canis Scoticus* would have meant the *Irish dog*, for *Scotia* was originally a name for Ireland. Harris, in his account of the Irish *wolf-dog*, observes:—"I cannot but think that these are the dogs which Symmachus mentions in an epistle to his brother Flavianus. 'I thank you,' says he, 'for the present you made me of some *(Canes Scotici)* Scottish dogs, which were shewed at the Circensian games, to the great astonishment of the people, who could not judge it possible to bring them to Rome otherwise than in iron cages.' I am sensible, Mr. Burton, treading in the footsteps of Justus Lipsius, makes no scruple to say that the dogs intended by Symmachus in this passage were *British Mastives*. But with submission to such great names, how could the British Mastive get the appellation of *Scoticus* in the age Symmachus lived? For he was a Consul of Rome in the latter end of the fourth century; at which time, and for some time before, and for many centuries after, Ireland was well known by the name of *Scotia*, as I have shewn before, chapter i.—*Ware's Works*. vol. ii., p. 166. The *sleuth-hound* mentioned in the text appears to have been a species coming in between the wolf-dog and the beagle, and combining the wondrous *scenting power* of the one, with much of the courage and strength of the other.

[24] *To haunt in his bounds.*—For notices of wood-kerns and tories see p. 60, *supra*. Sir Arthur Chichester, who unscrupulously employed whatever means he considered most efficient in accomplishing his objects, was charged by Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, with having enlisted the services of wood-kern to intimidate and plunder the tenants of the latter. This extraordinary charge is circumstantially stated in *Articles exhibited by the Earl of Tyrone*

games, and a falconer to manage his hawks,[25] netts and spaniels; but he delighted little in soft easy recreations (fit only, as he said, for Ladies and boys), from his youth taking most pleasure in the

to the King's most Excellent Majesty, declaring certain causes of discontent offered him, by which he took occasion to depart his country. Two principal wood-kern, so employed by Chichester, were Henry Oge O'Neill and Henry Mac-Felymye, who, with others, "committed many murders, burnings, and other mischievous acts against the earl's tenants, and were always maintained and manifestly relieved among the deputy's (Chichester's) tenants and others their friends in Clandeboye, and did openly sell the spoils that they took from the earl's tenants amongst them."—See Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 201—203. Notwithstanding the many and stringent legal enactments against *tories*, these successors of the wood-kern continued to pillage and alarm the Scottish and English settlers throughout the whole period of the Commonwealth. They survived the Restoration, although the most active means were employed against them by the authorities in Ulster. The places in Ulster principally infested by tories after the Restoration were the counties of Down, Donegal, and Tyrone. Among their principal leaders were two disinherited chiefs, named Costello and Maguire.—*Rawdon Papers*, pp. 223, 224. Perhaps a still better known tory leader was Redmond O'Hanlon, who haunted generally the Fews mountains, and levied contributions extensively throughout the counties of Down, Armagh, and Tyrone. This formidable freebooter was finally assassinated by one of his own associates in the year 1681. It is generally believed that his life was taken whilst he slept, a belief which arose probably from the supposed impossibility of reaching him at any other time. There was printed in Dublin, however, a tract, now very rare, entitled *Count Hanlan's Downfall*, 1681, in which his death is stated to have been somewhat differently inflicted, although still by a stratagem. A Mr. Wm. Lucas of Drumintyan, county of Down, having received a commission from Ormond, the lord lieutenant, for the destruction of proclaimed tories, entered into an agreement with one Art O'Hanlon, his own (Lucas's) foster-brother, who was out with Redmond, for the killing of the latter. The following is the account of this transaction at p. 7, of the tract abovenamed:—"On Monday, the 25th April, 1681, the said Art O'Hanlan and William O'Sheel, in company with Redmond O'Hanlan, were near the *Eight Mile Bridge*, in the county of Down, waiting for prize, on the score of a fair that was held there, at which place, while they were watching for their prey, Redmond took some occasion to quarrel with Art, as they were smoaking their pipes, and in the close bid him provide for himself, for he should not be any longer a tory in any of the three counties (viz., Monaghan, Down, or Ardmagh) whereupon Art rose up and said, I am very glad of it, and will go just now; and then taking up his arms (having his authority and protection about him) immediately he shot Redmond in the left breast, with his carbine, and forthwith ran to the *Eight Mile Bridge*, for a guard, but Art returned with a guard, and Mr. Lucas, who soon had notice at the Newry where he was waiting Redmond's motions, for the same ends, found Redmond's body, but the head was taken off by O'Sheel, who fled with it, the body they removed to the Newry, where it lies under a guard, till orders be sent how it should be disposed of; and since that Mr. Lucas hath sent out a protection and assurance to O'Sheel, to bring in the head of that arch traytor and tory Redmond O'Hanlan." As rewards for the successful execution of their plot, Lucas received a command in the army, and Art O'Hanlon a sum of money. Redmond O'Hanlon's head was exhibited on the front of Downpatrick Gaol, and his body is said to have been buried in the grave-yard of Ballynaleck, in the county of Armagh, on the left hand side of the road leading from Tandragee to Scarva. After the Revolution of 1688, as the tories greatly increased throughout the waste, desolate portions of the country, the measures adopted by the government became more and more stringent. All persons whose names were presented as tories by the gentlemen of counties, and proclaimed as such by the lord lieutenant, *might be shot without trial as outlaws and traitors*. Rewards were offered for capturing or killing them, and the Irish inhabitants of each barony were to compensate for all robberies, to pay ten pounds to any person wounded by tories, and thirty pounds to the heirs of any one whom they had slain. Any tory who should betray and kill two other tories was pardoned for all the former burglaries and robberies committed by himself, a measure which excited great distrust among their ranks, and contributed very much to their final abatement. This terrible act did not expire until the year 1776.—Abridged from *Journal of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæol. Society*, new series, vol. iii., pp. 163, 164. During the continuance of the act above-mentioned, hunting tories became the order of the day, and the county of Down was the scene of many such barbarous exhibitions, even in the eighteenth century. In 1711, Art O'Haggan, a rapparee, was executed at Downpatrick, and the sum of £2 10s given to Andrew Ferguson, for taking him prisoner. In 1716, Malcolm M'Neal received a reward of £20 2s 2d, for capturing Loughlin M'Quoy, alias Pat Morgan, a proclaimed tory, who was hanged at Downpatrick. In 1717, James Stewart of Newry, received £5, as a reward, for seizing James Hamilton, a murderer, robber, and rapparee, who was executed in Downpatrick. In 1718, Robert M'Neight and John Warrick received £5 for taking prisoner William Tuck, a noted robber, executed at Downpatrick.—See M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 381–384.

[25] *His hawks.*—Ancient Ireland was celebrated for the best breeds of these birds, which were trained in great numbers for field sports.—See Ware's *Antiquities*, edited by Harris, chapter xxii.; O'Flaherty's *West Connaught*, edited by Hardiman, p. 115, and *note; Journal of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. ii., pp. 150, 151. "In 1605, James I. appointed sir Jeffrey Fenton, then principal secretary for Ireland, to be master of the hawkes and game of all sorts within that realm. It is stated in his patent that many honours and estates are held of the *King* by the service of rendering of a falcon eagle (ger-falcon or sea-eagle), gentle, goshawk, or tarsel of goshawk, or other kind of hawk, and that lords or chieftains of territories had paid unto the king or his ancestors at the receipt of their exchequer sundry hawks of the kinds aforesaid, of which hawks the king was for the most part defrauded through the negligence of his officers, who ought to receive or demand the same." For reformation of this

active sports which the tennis court, the foyles, the horse, the lance, the dogs, or fowling-piece gave him; for he could endure fatigue, yet was always complaisant in bearing company to ladies, or his guests, at any house game, but would not play for sums of money.

Secondly, as to his mind, his Lordship enjoyed a continual presence of it, ready on all emergent difficulties, which did extricate him out of them. He was not passionate nor precipitate in word or deed, though he had ardour and martial inclinations enough. He retained his Latin, Logicks, and Ethicks, which he had acquired in Glasgow, and very promptly and aptly he applied verses of Roman poets, or sentences out of Tully and other authors, and the adages of his own country, to the discourse in hand, without ostentation. He spoke and wrote with gravity, either as to law or gospel. I have by me his letters of learned and full instructions to his son, J. Montgomery, for obtaining the Smiths' pretences, and his skill in law is evidently seen in removing thereby his other troubles. I have also his pious letters (like a learned divine's), condoling and consolating his said second son upon the death of his lady, dated February, Ao. 1634;[26] but in this point, his actions, in their place to be related, will describe him more fully.

His Lordship was very obliging by his condescending humility and affability; his usual compilation was kind (often in his ultry grand climaterick years), calling inferior men, my heart, my heart, and naming them; his worst word in reproaching them was baggage, and his most angry expression was beastly baggage, and commonly followed by the lifting up the staff at the trespasser, or a committal to constable or stocks; this was his latter days intercomuning with his misdoing servants and yeomen tenants; but towards gentlemen or the nobility, his behaviour and discourse was no otherwise than as befitted him. His Lordship was a good justicier, dispensing to men their rights, inflicting the punishments of the law with the tender pity of a parent. Item, over and above all these and other commendable qualifications, as courage, liberality, constancy in friendship, which he placed discerningly, and other his excellent virtues, (whereof I have heard a great deal) his Lordship as a truly pious soul, which on very good grounds I verily believe (as generally others did, and all the old people yet do) is now in the Heavenly Paradise, blessed with the fruition (in part) of his Lord and Master's joy, reserved for all his elected servants till the consummation of their happiness be given them at the great day of general judgment, which in order leads me to the relation at least of a few of his generous, noble and pious acts.

and other enormities connected with the stealing and sale of hawks, sir Jeffrey was to be receiver of *rent hawks* for the king.—*Journal of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. ii., p. 152. As an illustration of the value attached by private gentlemen to these birds, it may be mentioned that Morogh na Maor O'Flaherty, of Bunowen, Connemara, by his will dated 13th April, 1626, directed that his third son, Brian, should have the lands of *Cleggan*, "excepting onlie the Aiery of hawkes upon Barnanoran," which wasreserved for his eldest son.—O'Flaherty's *West Connaught*, edited by Hardiman, p. 67, *note*.

[26] *Ao.* 1634.—This fixes the date of the death of sir James Montgomery's first lady. On the 7th of April, 1635, sir James Montgomery was fined in £20, and Hugh Montgomery, esq., in £50, for defaults and neglects as members of the Irish House of Commons, which fines were remitted by the House on the 11th of the same month, their absence being occasioned by the death of sir James Montgomery's late lady.—*Commons Journals of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 191, 195. The following is her funeral entry:—

"Dame Katherine, daughter of Sir William Steward of Monestewarde, in the county of Tirone, Knight and Baronett, wife of Sir James Mountgomery of Mountross, in the county of Downe, Knight, departed this mortal life, the fifteenth of February, 1631, and was buried in the parish church of Ashera, [Ardstraw?] in Newstewardstowne, in the said county, the xviiith of March following. She had issue by the said Sr James one sonn named William, of yr age of eighteen months, at the time of taking this Certificate. The truth of the premisses is testified by the subscription of the said Sr James this xiith of May, 1635. "MONTGOMERIE.

"Taken by me Thomas Preston Ulvester King of Armes, to be recorded in myne office."

Extracted from *Funeral Entries*, vol. vi., p. 88. A magnificent tomb was erected to dame Katherine's memory in

In the third place, then, as to or for his acts beyond seas, or in Scotland, no more remarkable are come to my knowledge than what I have already expressed,[27] and as for those good ones done in Ireland, what is herein before said shall not be repeated, and for the residue of them they are so

Ashera (Ardstraw?) church, which building, including the tomb, was destroyed by the Irish, at the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641. Harris, *Antient and Present State of the County of Down*, p. 51.

[27] *I have already expressed.*—The author had probably never heard of a transaction in which the first viscount Montgomery was concerned in his youth, and which, under other circumstances, and during more peaceful times, might have subjected him to severe criticism. At the period of the occurrence, however, it was probably regarded in the light of a daring feat of retaliation, intended to redress some wrong that had been previously inflicted on himself or a member of his numerous maritime connexion. The following letters, preserved in the council book of Ireland, and now printed for the first time, will explain the affair to which we refer, and which took place in the year 1585, about two years prior to the first viscount's marriage. For copies of these letters the editor is indebted to the kindness of sir J. Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms, whose readiness in rendering his valuable assistance to historical inquirers is so well known:—

"From the Council Book of Ireland, 1580–1585, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

"*The Copie of the Kinge of Scotts lre. written to Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy:—*

"Right trustie and welbeloved, we grete you heartilie well. It is right heavylie lamented unto us by sondrie o^r^ good subiects, inhabitaunes of o^r^ townes of Irewinge, Glascoe, and Salcotts, how that they hastinge this yeare begane, directed to the ptes. of Ireland subiect to o^r^ dearest sister the Queene yo^r^ soveraigne's domynyon, greate stoars of fysches and other marchandizes for the use and comoditie of the countrie. Y^t^ in the moneth of August last you gave speciall warrant and commaunde to sir Nicholas Bagnoll, Marshall of Ireland, and to all maiors, sheriffs, bailiefes, and others, o^r^ said dearest sisters officers, mynisteres, and lovinge subiects in those ptes., to staie and arrest whatsoever goods pteyninge. to any inhabitaunes of o^r^ said townes that shod repaire in those ptes. and to keepe and sequestrate the same in their wardes, until one Thomas Coppran, marchaunt of Dublin, pretendinge him to haue bin spoyled of certain fyshe and other merchandizes some space before by one Montgomery of Braidstanes, accompanied, as ye were informed, with fortye fower inhabitaunts of o^r^ said townes, were redressed and satisfied of his said loss, as the tupie of y^or^ said warrant and direction, given at Dublin the xxiii^th^ day of August last, shewed and exhibited to us in Council, is at length verified: Whereupon, as we are credibly informed, some saine of the compl^ts^ goodes are in verie deed staid and arrested. And the fyshes which they send thether in the time of Lent being thereby disappointed of the due season of their market, haue perished in the factor's hands, to their grete hinderance and verie skathe, a forme of dooinge which in verie deed we find both in the self and for the daunger of the

insolent and strange, considringe y^or^ said warrant founded upon a simple and naked narrative of the complainte, without any mention therein of trewe taken of the truthe and information. And albeit he could have verefyed and proved the said Braidstanes, accompaned in manner af^d^, to have attempted the said faet, wherewith, till we heare further, we wil be lothe to note them: Yet justice and o^r^ laws being patente to all men, we never suld with redres or protestacon taken of o^r^ refuse to give out letters for troublinge and arrestinge of o^r^ peacable and honest subiects' goodes, and make them answerable for an attempt neither comitted, assisted to, nor allowed by them, we thinke y^t^ harder, nor can be warranted in reason farr less allowed by o^r^ dearest sister and her counsel. Wherefore, we will request you verie earnestlie to consider with us the strangenes and apparent iniquitie thereof, and to geve spedie order for the discharge of the effect and execution which y^t^ followed, or in anie time hereafter maie follow thereupon to the hindrance of the said honest traffequers of o^r^ said townes. Appointinge with them in like maner for the greate losse and damage they have susteyned therthroughe in the said fyshes perished by that occacon th ^t̄^ said factor's handes. Ay^t^ ins will showe you well affected to the contynuance of the goode amytie betwix us and o^r^ said dearest sister, yo^r^ soveraigne, and comend unto her yo^r^ service in that chardge. Failinge thereof, which we cannot looke for, that ye will let us understaunde in answere what ye have for ye, that we may thereupon acquainte o^r^ dearest sister and her counsell with yo^r^ resolucon, or take such other order therewith as we shal be advised. Whereof trustynge ye will be lothe in this chardge and office to give us just occasion, we committ you, right trustie and welbeloved, to God's good protecion. From o^r^ Palas of Halyrud hous, the xxiii^th^ daie of Aprill, 1585, and of o^r^ raigne the xviii^th^ yeare.—Yo^r^ lovinge frend,

"James R.

"*The Answer of the L. Deputie to the Kinge of Scotts lre.:—*

"It maie please yo^r^ Highnes. I have received yo^r^ lres. of the xxiii of Aprill, concerning certen merchaundize goodes supposed to be staied, and belonging to some of yo^r^ goode subiects of Irewynge, Glasco, and Salcotts, who as y^t^ shold seme haue enformed of greate hinderaunces susteyned by them upon my warrant of restrainte in August last. And like as yo^r^ Highnes doth take knowledge of the grief of yo^r^ subiects, and as a gracious prince towardes them requireth a a restitucon of the the things staied, so in the same equitie and honour of my soveraigne I am truelie to laye before you the greefes of Her Ma^ts^ subiects here, that have suffered violence by yo^rs^, and then to render a reason of my doings, and a true reporte what haue succeeded thereof to the inhabitaunts of those townes. The complainte made by Coppran of Dublin againste Montgomery, leard of Braidstanes, hath by deposicon of two other M^rs^ of Barques being then in view of the spoyle, appeared unto me and to this counsell. After w^ch^ some of yo^r^ Highnes's subiects being examined here, haue deposed that the provost of Glasco bought the goods, and a neere neighbor of that towne, called John a Knock, bought the Barque: other deposicons and circumstannces ther be extant to prove that the inhabitaunts in those townes before named were parcel of Montgomerie's companie in that spoile.

"Another poore man of Knockfergus, named John Ascollin, a victualler of the Queene's garrison's in Ulster, being weather-driven to the islandes, and taking land upon Ila, was ther spoyled of his Barque and goodes, his men, some executed and cruelly throwne downe the rockes, others imprisoned, and himself miraculously escaped in a small cocke, and so recovered this coast. Coppran, the first of those whose spoyle (as he affirmeth) was great, half frantique with his losses, aged and tymorous, neither durst, nor as I conceived was of sufficient cappacitie to attend yo^r^ Highnes, yet both exclaymed. I offered them my lres. to yo^r^ Highnes, assuringe them of good regarde of their causes; but feare restrayned them, bearing them in minde that the offenders themselves are to be founde in their dailie trades to this coaste; whereupon I geve out my warrant, not with purpose to staie anie of yo^r^ subiects' goodes, as appeared by the sequel, longer than to examine their persons and staie the faultie, if anie were. For proofe, my warrant was dated in August last; no execucon of y^t^ till therde of Marche, and in beginning of Aprill yo^r^ Highnes's subiects complayned, and the matter by my appointment examyned by two of Her Ma^tes^ Privie Councill here, and had grate restitucon, without anie hinderance or losse, as may appeare by the testimony under certen sealles of the citie of Dublin and towne of Droigheda, brought by this gent., captain Dawtrie, whom I have sent of purpose to make the same manifest to yo^r^ Highnes. Onelie bondes were taken of some of them to answere the fact if it were proved upon them hereafter—bondes I have now commaunded to be cancelled, because yo^r^ Highnes promised justice.

"The chardge that the Queene's Most Excellent Ma^te^, my soveraigne, geve me to preserve the good and happie amytie between both kingdoms ys a reason sufficient to give yo^r^ Highnes's subiects justic, favour, and her Ma^tes^ supportacon, if need were, so long as that good amytie shall (as I always wish it) have contynuance. In particular, I am to yeld yo^r^ Highnes humble thankes that you vouchsafed to write letters before you complayned to her Ma^te^ in England. The leke measure I use now (as her Ma^tes^ deputy) to complayne to yo^r^ Highnes before any sute for restitucon be pretended in England. Besechyns yo^r^ Grace to favour the cause of the two poore merchaunts aboue named, whose estates by this gent. shall be deliveryed unto you, to whom I haue alsoe given an instruccon to move yo^r^ Highnes for the restrainte of the Irish Scottes from dis-

numerous and so many of them escaped my memory (besides those which were never in it) that therefore and to avoid being tedious, or to seem affectedly and partially bent to over-magnify my ancestor, I have rather chosen to mention only a few of them as followeth, viz:—First of all he sent over to Donaghadee (by the understanding Irish then called Doun da ghee,[28] *i.e.* the mount or burial place of the two Worthies or Heroes[29]) before him some hewn freestone, timber and iron, &c. of which he caused to be built a low stone walled house for his reception and lodging, when he came from or went to Scotland. Mariners, tradesmen, and others, had made shelter for themselves before this time, but the Viscount's was the first stone dwelling house in all the parish. Then he repaired the old stump of the Castle in Newtown, as aforesaid. After a while's residence at Newtown, he assiduously plyed his care and pains to repair the chancel (a word derived from the upper part of the church, separated by a screen of nett or lattin work from the body thereof, like the sanctum sanctorum of Solomon's Temple), for the communion table, which place the ancient clergy (in and after Constantine the Great's days) called cancelle of the church.[30] It is now a chappel, and all the part thereof wherein sermons and divine service are used, itself alone being above — feet in length, and 24 in breadth.[31] In process of time the rest of that church was repaired, roofed, and replenished with pews (before his death), mostly by his Lady's care and oversight, himself being much abroad by his troubles aforesaid. His Lordship, in his testament, left a legacy sufficient to build the addi-

turbynge her Ma^tes subiects here, thereby the rather to prevente all violence, and to confirme the good amytie and the intercourse of the subiects of both realmes. And so promissinge all good offices therein, I comend yo^r Hignes to the proteccon of the Lord.

"At Dublin, the vi^th of June, 1585.

"To the King of Scotts Excellent Highnes."

The "difficulty" above-mentioned was probably so explained and arranged by captain Dawtrie, as to require no further proceedings therein. At the date of these letters, piracy, more or less aggravated, was a frequent occurrence in the Scottish and Irish seas. For several illustrations, see Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 175, 176, 429, 430.

[28] *Down da ghee.*—O'Curry, in *MS. Materials for Ancient Irish History*, p. 287, supposes that the early name of Donaghadee was *Oirear Caoin*, this being the place from which king Dathi (who suceeded Niall of the Nine Hostages in the year 405), invaded Scotland. This Irish name, however, is more like *Arkeen*. Dathi passed *Magh Bile* now Movilla, on his march from Newry to the coast. In reference to the modern name of *Donaghadee*, Dr. Reeves, our highest authority on this point, states that "the spelling in the Taxation looks as if the word was formed from *domhnach dith*, 'the church of loss.'"—See *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 17.

[29] *Two worthies or heroes.*—A ridge of earth known as the *Giants' Grave* extends along the base of the Mound at Donaghadee in a north-eastern direction. Although this ridge was opened in 1834, we have not seen any report on the subject. It has been stated, however, that a stone coffin was found, and also the bones of various animals, but no human bones. An urn, eleven inches in height and nine in diameter, was taken from the opening then made. This urn is preserved in the Museum, Belfast.

[30] *Cancelle of the church.*—*Chancel* is a Franco-Norman word from the Latin *cancellus*, and the chancel is so called because separated from the rest of the church *a cancellis*, by bars or lattice-work. "The *cancellarii* were officers of a court of justice who stood *ad cancellos* at the railings, received the petitions of suitors, and acted as intermediaries between them and the judge. To them naturally fell the office of keeping the seal of the court, the distinctive feature of the chancellors of modern times."—See Wedgewood's *Dictionary of English Etymology*.

[31] *And 24 in breadth.*—That part of the old church forming the chancel was afterwards converted into a chapel by sir Robert Colville who bought the manor of Newtownards from the second Earl Mount-Alexander in 1675. Harris notices this chapel, at p. 57, as follows:—"Divine service is performed in a Chappel adjoining to it (the church), built by Sir Robert Colville for his family since the Revolution; the Entrance into which is by a large stone Door-Case, curiously adorned with Sculpture. This Chappel is the neatest piece of Church Building within side that is to be met with in Ulster. The Pulpit is finely carved and guilded, and so are two large Seats of the Colvilles placed on each side the great Door, over which are the King's Arms, and under them this Inscription:—

"*Sanctuarium meum reveremini.*"

The other Seats are regularly placed and painted, the floor well flagged, the compass Cieling divided into nine Pannels, and curiously adorned with stucco work in Plaister of Paris, well executed in various Wreaths, Foliages, and the Figures of Angels. The Communion Table is raised and wainscotted, and encompassed with twisted Pillars carved and guilded. These Ornaments, and much more of the same kind, added to the well lighting of the Room, have a fine Effect." Attached to the north and east walls is the vault of the Colvilles on which are the following inscriptions: *Lady Rose Colville Dyd Feb. the* 6, 1693: *Sr Robert Colville departed this Life June. the* 12th 1697: *Hugh Colville Esqr. Dyed Feb. the* 7th 1701 *Anno. etatis* 25. Above each inscription is the family coat of arms.

tional church, contiguous to the body of the old one, and the steeple, which are now in good repair,[32] which was performed by the second Lord Viscount, soon after his father's death, for he then came to dwell in his father's house in Newtown.[33] Next, after this church, the said first Viscount repaired two-thirds of that which belonged to the abbey of Comerer,[34] the Lord Claneboy finishing the third part thereof, for he had the third part of the lands and tithes in that parish, as also the advowson to present (every third turn) a clerk of priestly order as Vicar, to officiate therein.[35]

The said first Viscount Montgomery also wholly repaired the church of Grayabbey, (in Irish, it is called Monastre Lea—in the patent, called also Abathium de jugo Dei and Hoar abbey[36]) placing his Chaplain, Mr. David M'Gill (who married his Lady's niece), as Curate therein.[37] Then his Lord-

[32] *Now in good repair.*—For the previous repairs of the old church, see p. 61, *supra*. The following is Harris's notice of the more modern building as completed by the second viscount:—"The old Church of Newton is a large building, divided into Isles by four handsome stone Arches of the Dorick Order. It was finished, or at least repaired and adorned, in 1632, as appears by an Inscription on the Pulpit. Another Inscription on a Stone over the North Entrance shews that the Steeple was finished in the year 1636. The Door, which affords an Entrance under the Steeple, is an Arch curiously ornamented with carved Work in Stone, where may be seen the Arms of the Montgomerys, under which, over the Portal, are the letters in Cypher NA. The Steeple is but moderately high, yet neatly built, and a Spire of hewn Stone erected lately on it, gives it a handsome Appearance. A large Tomb of the Colville Family (to a descendant of which the town now belongs), stands in the North Isle, raised five or six feet above the Floor, but naked of any inscription. This Church is only kept roofed, but entirely out of repair within side, and the seats, except a few, destroyed."—P. 57. The monogram over the door, which Harris mistakes for the letters NA, is clearly a combination of the capital letters HLM, the initials of *Hugh Lord Montgomery.—MS. Notes of Col. F. O. Montgomery.*

[33] *House in Newtown.*—The second viscount had resided at Mount-Alexander from the time of his marriage, in 1623; but from the date of his father's death, in 1636, he occupied Newtown House. The fate of this church, built by the 1st viscount, and about which he was so anxious, is described in the following letter, written two centuries after his death:—

"Newtownards, 9th June, 1836.

"SIR,—In answer to your inquiries respecting the raising of the flat stones in the floor of the old church here, I have to inform you, that the old church was demolished in 1830, by a condition between the present marquis of Londonderry and me, whereby I agreed with his lordship, for a certain sum of money, with the priviledge of using any of the flags in the floor of the old church which I considered serviceable for laying the floor of the adjoining part of the building, which is the present Session House. I have further to inform you, that I was present at the raising of the flat stones in the church floor, and there appeared to be among them certain Tombstones, and I recollect of seeing one of John Alexander, but I do not recollect that it had any long inscription upon it then remaining. I think it is one of the flags of the Session-House at present, but most of them were drawed over to answer the flooring.—I am, Sir, your obt. Servt.

"CHARLES CAMPBELL."

This letter was addressed to 'Ephraim Lockhart, W.S., Edinburgh,' a lawyer employed to collect evidence in defence of a Mr. Alexander, nominal earl of Stirling, who was prosecuted for alleged forgeries in his efforts to establish his right to that earldom. The defendant was acquitted, and his representative at the present day is engaged in prosecuting his claim.

[34] *Comerer.*—See p. 64, *supra*.

[35] *To officiate therein.*—The arrangement here mentioned was made pursuant to the award of the earl of Abercorn in 1618.

[36] *Hoar abbey.*—This place will be noticed in connexion with the author's account of the Ards.

[37] *As curate therein.*—David McGill belonged to a well-known family in Scotland, the founder of which appears to have been James McGill, a merchant in Edinburgh. A son of the latter, known as David McGill of Nisbet, became a celebrated lawyer, and was appointed lord advocate and a judge of the court of session, in the reign of James VI. In the *Historie of the Kennedyis*, he is styled "aduocatt to his Majestie." He died in 1596, leaving two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth. The elder, married lord William Cranstoun, and Elizabeth married first, Robert Logan of Restalrig, and secondly sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, son of the third earl of Cassilis. David McGill left also three sons, one of whom, named James, was created baron Oxenford by Charles I., and viscount Oxenford, in 1651, by Charles II. He died in 1663. His son, Robert, died without issue, in 1706, and the title became extinct.—*Scots Rudiments of Honour*, pp, 396, 397. The family Arms were *Ruby, Three Martlets, Topaz.* Crest.—*a Phœnix in Flames;* Motto—*Sine Fine.* The chief family seat was Cranstoun-Magill, county of Edinburgh, three miles east of Dalkeith. The estate passed into a collateral branch of the family named Dalrymple in which it now remains. *New Statistical Account of Scotland, Edinburh*, vol. i., p. 191. Mr. David McGill, mentioned in the text as curate of Greyabbey, was either a son or nephew of David McGill, lord advocate and judge. He was most probably his son. He is evidently the person named in the will of Symon Ferguson of Kilkerran, who died in 1591, and who appears to have been a family connexion. In one passage of that document, the testator "requeyris and nominats Bernard Fergussone, his father, sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, knight, and Elizabeth McGill, his spous, to be or'sears to his said bairnes. Item, he levis in legacie to the said Christian his spouse, his hors and his naig. Item, he levis to the bairn his said spous is now with, incaice it be a femall, the sowme of ane thousand punds money, and ordainis his air to pay the same befoir yir witness Mr. David M^cgill, Younger."—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 391. Before coming to Ireland, Mr.

ship built the great church and bell-tower in Donaghadee, near the mount and town, and Portpatrick church also; both of them large edifices, each having four gable ends (for the figures of them are crosses) raised on new grounds and slated, now in good repair, as the rest are, apparent to the view of all men.[38]

Lastly, his Lordship being tenant to the Bishop of Down (as he was also to the Lord Primate,) he repaired a church on the episcopal lands in Kilmore parish,[39] furnishing all those six houses of God with large Bibles, of the new translation, and printed Ao. 1603,[40] with common Prayer Books, then likewise set forth, both sorts being in folio,[41] and fair Dutch print (except the contents of chapters, and explanatory interjections, marginal notes, &c., and such like). One of those Bibles, now covered, my father and I preserved by transporting them to Scotland, with our best things, when he fled thither Ao. 1649, and I Ao. 1689,[42] it being bestowed to be used in Grayabbey Church, where it is now read, his Lordship being always a firm professed friend to episcopacy and our liturgy, as all his race have contined to be and are at this day.[43] There is one of the said common Prayer

David McGill had married Elizabeth Lindsay whose mother was a sister of the first viscountess Montgomery of the Ards. He died in 1633. Harris mentions, p. 55, that "under the Coat of Arms of the Rev. David Magill, minister of this and the neighbouring parishes, within the church (of Greyabbey), on a Stone in the South Wall, is this Inscription:—

"*Voce gregem, vitâque Deo, Lethoque fideles,*
Qui pavit, placuit qui cruciavit, hic est.
Obiit 15° Octobris, Anno 1633."

[38] *To the view of all men.*—In 1744, Harris describes the church in Donaghadee as "old," but "in good Repair, and erected in the Form of a Cross, with narrow Gothick arched Windows. At the West End of it is a Square Steeple, not so high as the church, and seems never to have been finished."—*Antient and Present State of County of Down*, p. 66. The church at Portpatrick, built by the first viscount, has been long in ruins. Its old walls are still standing, surrounded by the present parish manse, the parish school, and other houses.

[39] *Kilmore parish.*—The present church in Kilmore was built in 1792, from private funds, supplied principally by the Crawford family, of Crawfordsburn, to whom the estate of Redemon, in Kilmore, belongs. The parish is situated partly in the barony of Kinelearty, and partly in the barony of Upper Castlereagh.

[40] *Printed Ao.* 1603.—These Bibles were, most probably, copies of the *Geneva* translation, which was printed in "Dutch," and was very generally in use until about 1640, when it was superseded by the authorised version.

[41] *In folio.*—Both the Geneva Bible and the Bishops' Bible were printed, according to Lowndes, in folio, in 1602, and both *in quarto*, in 1603; so that either Lowndes or the author must be slightly mistaken. The Prayer-book here mentioned was entitled *The Booke of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments*, London, R. Barker, folio, 1603. There is a copy of this edition in the Lambeth Library, another at Cambridge, and an imperfect one, in the British Museum. It is not improbable that some of the copies referred to in the text may yet exist. See Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*.

[42] *And I, Ao.* 1689.—The author's father, sir James Montgomery, removed to Scotland, on the defeat of the royalist forces in Ulster, at Lisnastrain, near Lisburn, by those of the Commonwealth, in 1649. The author also retired to Scotland in 1689, when the army sent by Tyrconnell scattered the troops raised by the northern protestants, in the neighbourhood of Dromore.

[43] *Are at this day.*—This statement is nearly, but not altogether, correct. The lady of the second viscount Montgomery (Jean Alexander) was a *vehement presbyterian*, and when her son, the third viscount, succeeded to the estates in 1642, he certainly appears to have been also imbued with presbyterian principles. A letter written by him, on the 20th of June, 1643, to the Scottish General Assembly, goes far to prove his early partiality at least for presbyterianism, however much he may have afterwards changed his views. This letter, which has been printed in Dr. Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., p. 378, commences with an expression of the writer's regret at the want of a "lively ministry," in his immediate neighbourhood, which want, he states, was "*partly occasioned by the violent acts of prelates in driving away some of our best ministers from the same.*" He then expresses his gratitude to the assembly for "sending pastors to this place by turns;" and concludes by entreating them "to make choice of some two grave and learned ministers, of good and holy lives and conversations, and them recommend, and send over to this country, the one for the parish church of Newton, and the other for my regiment, and by the assistance of God, they shall not want competent stipends." The 'prelates' to whom the third viscount refers in the above extract were bishops Echlin and Leslie, the former of whom had deposed, or 'driven away,' the presbyterian ministers, Dunbar, Blair, Welsh, and Livingston, in 1631; and the latter had deposed, or 'driven away,' the presbyterian ministers Brice, Ridge, Cunningham, Colvert, and Hamilton, in 1636. Of these ministers, Blair, Cunningham, and Hamilton had officiated respectively at Bangor, Holywood, and Ballywalter in the Ards. Another fact may be mentioned, which tends to show that the author's statement must be received in a somewhat modified sense, at least so far as the third viscount's career is concerned prior to the year 1646. When he was captured

Books (much mangled because ill kept and not used, because of the new ones established by law) which hath his Lordship's coat of arms, as Laird of Braidstane,[44] stamped on the cover with leaf gold, as all the other said service books and Bibles had.

His Lordship likewise furnished the said six churches with large bells, one to each of them, having in like manner the said coat-armorial on them. They are all extant (except those of Comerer and Kilmore, which were taken away in the rebellion, begun Ao. 1641, and since then), which makes me and others take it for granted that, considering his Lordship's piety and liberality, the said books and bells were his free gift to the said churches, and an humble offering to God, who had preserved and exalted him—for these words, *Soli Deo Gloriæ*, are in great letters embossed round this bell in Grayabbey, and, I believe, is so on the other three;[45] and I cannot imagine any reason why the bells should differ, or that they and the books were not his Lordship's gift and offering as aforesaid, because I have enquired heretofore at the oldest sensible men who dwelt in those towns, and of some yet alive, who averred for truth my assertion; and, for my part, I have searched all the papers I could come at, for making the whole narrative, and cannot find one iota or tittle to contradict my belief, nor to gainsay the testimony of the old, honest, unbiassed men aforesaid.

His Lordship also built the quay or harbour at Donaghadee,[46] a great and profitable work,

in that year by Owen Roe O'Neill, at the battle of Benburb, Charles I. solicited his liberation, O'Neill at first declining, on the ground that "the lord viscount Montgomery of Ards hath sided these two years past and more with the parliament rebels of England in open hostility against your majesty." But a still stronger proof of the third viscount's early presbyterianism is supplied by dean Rust, who preached his funeral sermon, at Newtown, in 1663, and who stated on that occasion that the deceased nobleman, in becoming, as he did, a faithful churchman, had risen superior to the prejudices of his early education, thus implying that he had been brought up in a different communion. It is a fact, besides, that the Ards family were very generally influenced in all political and religious movements by the family of Eglinton—the former recognising the feudal superiority of the latter. And it so happened that both the sixth earl of Eglinton and the third viscount Montgomery received the most flattering partisan testimonies from presbyterian ministers, the one in 1644, and the other in 1646.—See Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., pp. 268, 269; Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., pp. 58, 59.

[44] *As laird of Braidstane.*—For Braidstane Arms see p. 111, *supra*.

[45] *On the other three.*—Of the two bells thus bestowed to the churches of Comber and Kilmore nothing is known but it may be presumed that they were converted to some use by the insurgent Irish. The motto on the bell now in Greyabbey church is *Soli Deo detur gloria, recast* 1714, from which we infer that it is in all respects the true representative of the original one bestowed by the first viscount. The following extract of a letter from lieut.-col. F. O. Montgomery, dated 22nd July, 1866, explains the history of the old Bell at Portpatrick:—"I have had a reply from the Rev. S. Balmer, minister of Portpatrick, to whom I had written to enquire if the bell mentioned, page 104 *Montgomery Manuscripts*, was still extant. He tells me he got two men to go up to the bell on the Old Church, which is still there, and examine it. On it they found a Crown and Scotch Thistle, and the words and figures '*Parish of Portpatrick*, 1748.' He also inspected the Parish Records, and under the Minutes of 1747, he found that the previous Bell had fallen down and been broken, and that the fragments thereof, with £8 15s., had been sent to Bristol to procure a new one. We may suppose the Bell broken in 1747 to have been one of the six mentioned in the *Montgomery Manuscripts*. . . . I don't believe the old Bell remains at Newtownards though there is a Bell in the old Church Tower. Donaghadee, then, is the only remaining one of the six to be enquired after." The bell in the old tower at Newtownards was recast, and has *in wreath* the date 1732. The bell in the tower at Donaghadee has *Roger Ford, London*, 1733.

[46] *Harbour at Donaghadee.*—This work was accomplished about the year 1626, the date at which the first viscount commenced his repairs at Portpatrick harbour on the opposite coast. In reference to the latter work, there is the following passage in a letter of Charles I., to lord-deputy Falkland, dated Whitehall, April 2, 1626:—"And because the Viscount (Montgomery), having lands in our Kingdom of Scotland, may have occasion frequently to repair thither, and specially at this time being to build a church at Port Montgomery (Portpatrick), and to *repair the Port*, the doing whereof hath been often recommended to us by our British undertakers as a thing very necessary for our service, our further pleasure is, that you grant a licence to the viscount, to pass into Scotland, so often as his occasions shall require, and the licence to continue, till upon further considerations, we shall be pleased, or you from us, to discharge the same; and likewise, that the

both for public and private benefit; and built a great school at Newtown, endowing it, as I am credibly told, with twenty pounds yearly salary, for a Master of Arts,[47] to teach Latin, Greek and Logycks, allowing the scholars a green for recreation at goff, football, and archery, declaring, that if he lived some few years longer, he would convert his priory houses into a College for Philosophy; and further paid small stipends to a master to teach orthography and arithmetic, and to a music-master, who should be also precentor to the church (which is a curacy), so that both sexes might learn all those three arts; the several masters of all those three schools having, over and beside what I have mentioned, wages from every scholar under their charge; and, indeed, I have heard, in that church, such harmony from the old scholars, who learned musick in that Lord's time, that

Viscount have liberty to transport all such materials, victuals, and other necessaries from his own bounds in Ireland as are requisite for his own use and advancing of the work intended at the port in Scotland, with as much liberty and immunity as can be granted, in regard of the barrenness of the place of the country where the port doth lie."—Morrin's *Calendar, Charles I.*, p. 201. The harbour of Donaghadee was still in good repair in 1744. The following account is given of it by Harris, *State of the County of Down*, page 65:—"The Kay of Donaghadee is made of large Stones, in Form of a Crescent, without any Cement, and is 128 Yards in length, and about 21 or 22 feet broad, besides a breast Wall of the same kind of Stones about six feet broad. It affords good shelter to vessels that lie here from the East and North-East storms, and is capable of receiving twelve or fourteen Bottoms of considerable bulk." At page 269, Harris adds—"The Kay of Donaghadee was built by the Lord Mountgomery."

[47] *Master of Arts.*—Among the first (probably the first) teachers in this school, was one John Maclellan, son of Michael Maclellan, an inhabitant and burgess of Kirkcudbright. Livingstone says of him that he "was first schoolmaster at Newtownards in Ireland, where he bred several hopeful youths for the college." As Maclellan came originally from Kirkcudbright, he was probably a family connexion of sir Robert Maclellan, who married Elizabeth, elder daughter of the first viscount, about the year 1620. The date of this marriage was probably the time of John Maclellan's coming to teach at Newtown. During his employment as a teacher, he occasionally officiated in the pulpits of Presbyterian ministers in the district. "Being first tried and approved," says Livingstone, "by the honest ministers in the county of Down, he often preached in their churches. He was a most streight and zealous man; he knew not what it was to be afraid in the cause of God, and was early acquainted with God and his ways." He was appointed minister of Kirkcudbright in 1638. Sir Robert Maclellan, then lord Kirkcudbright, applied to the magistrates to grant the new pastor the sum of 200 marks, for vicarage tiends, which had been enjoyed by Mr. Glendonynge, the former minister. They refused, however, alleging that they had only paid Glendonynge 50 marks, and that the other 150 marks were conferred upon him as a token of their esteem and respect. Probably this refusal had some effect in shaping the rebukes for which Mr. Maclellan's pulpit orations were remarkable. In 1639, one Gilbert Reid threatened to shoot him with "a pair of bullets," for which he was punished by imprisonment and fine; and in 1642, Janet Creichton spoke "misrespectt fully" to him while in the kirk, and when he was actually engaged in the discharge of his ministerial duties. Janet was compelled to expiate this offence by standing at the kirk door *from the time the bell began to ring till the text was given out*, with a paper on her head setting forth the nature of her sin! The pastor of Kirkcudbright, together with Mr. Samuel Rutherford and Mr. John Livingstone, were denounced by a commissioner from Galloway at the meeting of Assembly in 1640, as being great encouragers of private gatherings at night for the purpose of reading scripture and engaging in prayer. "At their own hands, without the allowance of minister or elders, the people had begun to convene themselves confusedly about bed-time in private houses, where for the greater part of the night, they would expound scripture, pray, and sing psalms, besides discussing questions of divinity, whereof some sae curious that they do not understand, and some sae ridiculous that they cannot be edified by them." The consequence was that they began "to act lichtly and set at naught the public worship of God." Mr. Henry Guthrie brought in a formal complaint against these practices, which, it was charged, had become very general throughout the west and south of Scotland. An act was then, or soon afterwards, passed by the Assembly, directing—1st, That family worship be performed by those of one family only, and not of different families. 2nd, That reading prayers is lawful when none of the family can express themselves properly extempore. And, 3rd, That none be permitted to explain the scriptures but ministers and expectants approved by the presbytery. A short time before Mr. Maclellan's death, which occurred early in the year 1650, he wrote his own epitaph, as follows:—

"Come, stingless death, have o'er; lo! here's my pass,
In blood charactered by His hand who was,
And is, and shall be. Jordan, cut thy stream,
Make channels dry; I bear my Father's name
Stamp'd on my brow. I am ravished with my crown;
I shine so bright, down with all glory, down,
That world can give. I see the peerless port,
The golden street, the blessed soul's resort;
The tree of life, floods gushing from the throne,
Call me to joys. Begone, short woes begone;
I lived to die, but now I die to live,
I do enjoy more than I did believe.
The promise me unto possession sends,
Faith in fruition, hope, in having, ends."

—*Minute Book kept by the War Committee of the Covenanters in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright in the years* 1640 *and* 1641, edited by J. Nicholson, pp. 215—20; *Maxwells of Maitland Club*, vol. i., p. 476, as quoted in Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 127.

no better, without a full quire and organs, could be made. For the precentor's method was this—three trebles, three tenors, three counter-tenors, and 3 bass voices, equally divided on each side of them (besides the Gentlewomen scholars which sat scattered in their pews), which sang their several parts as he had appointed them, which overruled any of the heedless vulgar, who learned thereby (at least) to forbear disturbing the congregation with their clamorous tones.—The scholars of the great school also came in order, following the master, and seated themselves in the next form in the loft or gallery, behind the Provost, who had his Burgesses on each hand of them.

But, alas! this beautiful order, appointed and settled by his Lordship, lasted no longer than till the Scottish army[48] came over and put their Chaplains in our Churches; who, having power, regarded not law, equity or right to back or countenance them; they turned out all the legal loyal Clergy, who would not desert Episcopacy and the service book, and take the Covenant, a very bitter pill, indeed, to honest men;[49] but they found few to comply with them therein; and so they had the more pulpits and schools to dispose of to other dominies, for whom they sent letters into Scotland.[50]

[48] *Scottish army.*—The Scottish army which came to Ulster in 1642 consisted of ten thousand men. Its sixteen regiments were commanded by the following officers, viz., Alexander Lesly, earl of Leven, commander-in-chief; the marquis of Argyle; the earls of Lothian, Cassilis, Lindsay, Eglinton, and Glencairn; lords Sinclair and Loudon; the laird of Largey; sir Duncan Campbell of Sleat; general Robert Monro; and colonels Montgomery, Lauder, Hume, and Dalzell. On the 2nd of April, the first instalment of this army, consisting of 2,500 men, arrived at Carrickfergus, under the command of general Robert Monro; and on the 4th of August following the remaining portion appeared, with Alexander Lesly, earl of Leven, at their head.—M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 52, 403. "On the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, October 23rd, 1641, the then Lords Justices of Ireland, finding that the Protestant forces of that kingdom were unable to make head against the enemie, wrote importunately to England for a speedy supply of men, money, and arms, to oppose the rebels, and particularly proposed that in regard the Scots could be more easily transported over to the North of Ireland than the English, methods might be taken to bring forces from Scotland to their assistance; whereupon, Articles and Propositions were assented to by King Charles 1st and the Parliaments of England and Scotland, for transporting 10,000 Scots into Ireland, to fight against the bloody Irish. By the third of these articles it is provided 'that they have the command and keeping of the town and castle of Carrickfergus, with power to them to remain still within the same, or to enlarge their quarters, and to go abroad in the country upon such occasions as their officers, in their discretion, shall think expedient for the good of that Kingdom. And if it shall be thought fit, that any regiments or troops in that province shall join with them, that they receive orders from the commanders of their forces."—Husband's *Collections*, p. 57, as quoted in Kirkpatrick's *Loyalty of Presbyterians*, p. 252.

[49] *To honest men.*—At the commencement of the rebellion, the Protestant bishops, with few exceptions, fled from their sees, their people being cut off in vast numbers by the skeins and pikes of the Irish insurgents. The presbyterian ministers, therefore, who came as chaplains with the Scottish forces, as well as those who soon reappeared on the scene of their former humiliation (see p. 124, *note* 43, *supra*), now found everywhere throughout Ulster a clear stage for the amplest presbyterial operations. "Meantime," says Adair, *True Narrative*, p. 95, "the country was destitute of ministers; for the bishops and their party were generally swept away by the rebellion, and now began to be also discountenanced by the parliament of England. So that from that time forth the *Lord began more openly to erect a new tabernacle for himself in Ireland, and especially in the northern parts of it, and spread more the curtains of his habitation.*" No doubt such episcopalian ministers as had clung to their charges notwithstanding the departure of their bishops, found the covenant 'a bitter pill,' administered so soon after their sufferings from the rebellion. Only a few, it would appear from the text, were able to swallow it, and all who could not, were summarily expelled from their parishes. There were three Scottish covenants, or rather three varieties of one covenant. The first was framed during the minority of James VI.; the second, known as the *National Covenant*, in 1638; and the third, or *Solemn League and Covenant*, in 1643. The first was simply an engagement against the dreaded encroachments of popery, whilst the second and third were designed to uproot prelacy, as the accursed thing, which, at all hazards, was to be encountered and destroyed. The writer of *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland*, at p. 53, says:—"The rooting out of prelacy and the wicked hierarchy, therein so obviously described, is the main duty."—See Buckle's *Civilization in England*, vol. ii., p. 336 and *notes*. The covenant referred to in the text, was the *National Covenant* of 1638,

[50] *Letters into Scotland.*—Curiously enough, the term *dominies* is here used as a contemptuous designation, although it was originally employed as a title of respect. Du Cange states that a bishop, abbot, and canon enjoyed the distinction of *dominus*. *Domine*, the vocative case,

All those mighty and (as I may justly term them) pious works were performed by his Lordship before his second marriage. In the patent for his lands, which, by the trouble aforesaid, he could not get passed till 2d Car. Ao. 1626,[51] which was then positively ordered by his Majesty, at the earnest solicitation of James Montgomery, Gentleman Usher in his Privy Chamber aforesaid. His Lordship had grants therein of fairs and weekly markets in Donaghadee, Grayabby and Comerer, towns aforesaid, with a free port to each of them;[52] from whence all goods *(except linen yarn)* might be exported, and the ordinary customs, both inward and outward, were granted to himself and his heirs, which he took at very low rates, the more to encourage importers, and such as would come to plant on his lands; which usage did wonderfully further and advance his towns & plantation with trade, which was begun and to a great degree encreased in the first seven years after it began, which was Ao. 1606, as aforesaid; and thus it continued growing better and better till his Lordship's death, and afterwards, also, even until the Lord Strafford's administration, when patents were renewed, and the grants of ports, customs and officers were retrenched by Parliament, and vested in the crown again.[53] His Lordship also (before he was nobilitated) had his coat armorial, according to the bearing of his ancestors, gilded on his closet books, as the Bible and Prayer Books were.

His Lordship had also granted to him many franchises, immunitys and privileges in his lands

came to be the form of address from pupils to their teacher, when they wished to say *Sir*, or *Master*. The word was at length used as a name of contempt for ministers and schoolmasters alike. In Ritson's *Collection of Songs*, vol. i., p. 179, we have the following:

> "Ministers' stipends are uncertain rents
> For ladies' conjunct-fees laddie;
> When book and gown are all cried down
> No dominie for me, laddie."

The term was commonly prefixed, in conversation, to the surname of the minister spoken of, and was sometimes so used even in print: Thus in Franck's *Northern Memoirs*, p. 114, the author says, when speaking of a particular locality:—"But there is one thing remarkable and that's the house of Dominie Caudwell (Caldwell), who absolved the thief, and concealed the theft, so lost his breeches."—See Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary*. The ministers to whom this term was applied by the author in the text were Messrs. Cunningham, Baird, Peebles, and Simpson, who had come as chaplains to Scottish regiments, and were soon afterwards followed from Scotland "by other dominies," as the pulpits were emptied of their episcopal occupants. These others were located at Ballymena, Antrim, Cairncastle, Templepatrick, Larne, Belfast, Carrickfergus, Ballywalter, Portaferry, Newtownards, Donaghadee, Killyleagh, Comber, Holywood, and Bangor.—Adair's *Narrative*, pp. 95, 101, 102.

[51] *Ao.* 1626.—See p. 77, *supra*.

[52] *Free port to each of them.*—See this Patent of 1626 in Appendix F, at the end of the volume.

[53] *Vested in the crown again.*—Strafford's administration commenced from the date of his patent, July 3, 1633, and came to a close on the 30th of December, 1640, when lord Robert Dillon and sir Wm. Parsons were appointed to administer the Irish government on his impeachment. Strafford was lord deputy until Jan. 13, 1639, when Charles raised him to the higher dignity of lord lieutenant. The patent for the latter appointment recites that Thomas, earl of Strafford, having for six years and more approved his obedience and industry to the crown, in the office of L.D. of Ireland, and general of the army there, the king in recompence for his services in those stations, for his Majesty's honour safety of the church, and the whole people's good, appointed him L.L. for Ireland."—*Liber Hibernie*, vol. i., p. 7. Notwithstanding these honours, the administration of Strafford was one of the most disastrous this country ever witnessed, and led directly to the outbreak of that fatal rebellion which soon afterwards followed. "Upon a stale assumption of a title in the crown to Connaught, large tracts in Munster and also in Leinster, he caused commissions to be issued out of chancery into the several counties in which the coveted possessions lay, and by a compulsory process with juries which the lord lieutenant of that day had the power to apply, findings were obtained exactly suited to Strafford's inconsiderate political programme. . . . . The feeling of insecurity to all real property engendered by the inquisitions adverted to was natural, and the subsequent attainder and execution of Strafford, did not mitigate it, as the title of the crown to the devoted possessions was suffered to remain recorded in the court of chancery; and that title, although by circumstances suspended, might, at the earliest convenient opportunity, be called into action. Had the English parliament upon Strafford's conviction, pronounced these inquisitions illegal and ineffective as was afterwards done in the preamble to the Act of Explanation in 1665, it would in all probability, have produced reaction, and created a confidence in the public mind that would have disarmed the spirit of disaffection and revolt, which the proceedings of Strafford, and the unconciliating and bitter tone of the Irish parliament towards their Roman catholic fellow-subjects had excited to desperation."—See *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy, Antiquities*, vol. xxiv., pp. 380, 381.

and courts, and to his senischall, which, whether they stand on the old bottom, or be fallen, because of taking out the new patent, 13 Car. upon the Commission, for remedy of defective titles,[54] I will not say *pro* or *con*, but leave it to those who shall be concerned, and so surcease mention of his other acts; and shall tell of him things which his Lordship never did nor knew, viz.—the last memories, I mean his funeral, which I here write of him, who was, by the Irish, to the highest degree, beloved whilst alive and lamented when dead.

[54] *Defective titles.*—In 1636, a commission was issued to inquire into defects supposed to exist in all titles to estates, and to prepare an act of parliament for remedying the same. After the passing of this act the second viscount Montgomery, who had succeeded to the estates in 1636, took out a new patent, 13 Car. I. 1638—See Appendix H.

CHAPTER IX.

LASTLY as to his late Lordship's funeral, it was managed by the said Sir James, joint-executor, with his eldest brother[1] to the defunct's will,[2] as the alteration of his coat armorial had been. I here transcribe from his pen the order of it as concerted between him and Ulster King at Arms,[3] and Albone Leveret, Athlone (whose acquittances for fees I have), being his pursuivant.[4] The solemnity was performed with all the pomp that the rules of heraldry[5] would admit and decency did require. For the preparations thereunto no time was wanting, his late Lordship (as hath been said) dying in May, 1636, and his corpse being embalmed and rolled in wax searcloths was close coffined, (no more now Lord or Montgomery) was locked up in a turrett till a week before its interment, at which time (being in September the said last mentioned year), it was carried privately by night a mile out of town, and in a large tent laid in state, and attended with the formalities of wax candles, friends and servants, till the day of the procession on foot from the said tent to the Church. The persons who made up the procession were all clothed in blacks (called in Scotland dueil weeds[6] from this word dueil, but, burrowed from the French, signifying mourning)

[1] *Eldest brother.*—This was Hugh, who had now become second viscount.

[2] *Defunct's will.*—The reader will find a copy of this document in Appendix I.

[3] *Ulster King at Arms.*—This was Thomas Preston, esq., who had been Portcullis Herald in England, and who was appointed Ulster King in 1633. He died in 1642, and was buried in St. Werburghs, on the 12th of July. —*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol i., part ii. p, 85.

[4] *Being his pursuivant.*—Albone or Alvane Leveret, was eldest son of William Leveret, appointed Athlone pursuivant, by patent dated March 28, 1595. William Leveret surrendered this patent the 16th July, 1608, and on the following day, he and his son Alvane, or Albone, received a new patent including both their names.—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. i., part ii. p. 85.

[5] *Rules of heraldry.*—Heraldry has been defined to be the art of arranging and explaining in appropriate terms every particular connected with the bearing of coats of arms, badges, and other hereditary or assumed marks of honour. It is also described as the science of marshalling processions, and conducting the ceremonies of coronations, creations of peers, funerals, and all other public solemnities. Depreciators of this art stigmatize it as "the science of fools with long memories." It should rather be designated, others aver, "as a science which properly directed, would make fools wise. It is a key to history which may yet unlock stores of information. At present its learned professors have studied the art itself more than the use which may be made of it."—See *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. xii., pp. 139, 144. The significance of heraldic ceremonies may be inferred from a letter addressed by Charles I. to the lord-deputy Falkland, in 1626. The king commences this letter by referring to "diverse abuses and disorders concerning Arms and Armoury there (in Ireland) occasioned partly through the boldness of some mechanical persons who presume to set forth arms for the nobility and gentry, . . . and partly through the nobility and gentry themselves, who have of late, as we are informed, wholly in a manner laid aside all funeral rites and ceremonies." This neglect the king describes as "a matter requiring speedy redress and reformation in regard of the gentry and nobility themselves whom so deeply in honour it concerneth, and whose houses cannot but in a short time grow into so many perplexities and confused disorders in their arms and pedigrees, if all use of arms be laid aside at obsequies and funerals, and no entry made of the day of their decease, matches, and issues." The letter concludes as follows:—"And our further pleasure is to see our servant (Daniel Molyneux, then Ulster King of Arms) countenanced and furthered in the execution of a commission of Heralds' visitation throughout the several places and quarters of that our kingdom; and if any whom it shall concern be backward or refractory against the due execution of the forenamed commission, our pleasure is that you take special notice of them, hereby requiring and authorizing you to use such means, as in any wise they be made obedient to this our command and pleasure to you signified in that behalf." The reader may find the whole of this remarkable letter printed in Morrin's *Calendar, reign of Charles I.*, p. 208.

[6] *Dueil weeds.*—*Dueil* is the French for dule or dool, a Scottish word meaning *grief*. The Gaelic form is *doilghias*, and the Latin *dolor*. The following illustration of the use

and were seen in the following order, which the reader may please to peruse, if he doe not already know well enough the manner of burying Viscounts,[7] which is, viz.—Imprimis, 2 conductors (with black truncheons) named Thomas Kenedy and John Lockart, both of Comerer—2dly, poor men (the oldest could be had) called salys (i.e. almsmen[8]) in gowns, to the number of 76, the year current of his late Lordship's age, walking two and two, with their black staves—3dly, the servants of Gentlemen, Esquires, Knights, Barons, Vicounts, and Earles hereafter named, viz., by two's as they went.

Hy. Savage, of Arkeen[9] - - - - - 1 Hu. Kennedy, of Greengraves[10] - - - 1
Rt. Barclay, Dean of Clogher[11] - - - 2

of this word occurs in Bellenden's *Chronicle*, book vi., Chap. 18:—"Efter proscription of the men, come sundry ladys of Scotland, arrayit in their *dule* habit, for doloure of their husbandis, quhilkis war slane in this last battall." Wynton (*Chronicle*, vii., 4,) says:—

"Mackbeth-Tynlayk and Lulawch fule,
Oure-drevyn had all their dayis in dule."

See Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary*.

[7] *Of burying viscounts.*—The author has given us here perhaps one of the most complete accounts of this ceremony on record. The burying of a viscount differed only in certain heraldic arrangements from the burying of an earl, of which latter ceremony there are several instances recorded. The first earl of Buccleuch, who died in London at the close of 1633, was buried on the 11th of June, 1634, an interval somewhat longer between the death and the funeral than was observed in the case of the first viscount Montgomery at Newtown. When Buccleuch's body was brought from England, where it had been embalmed, it rested twenty days in the church of Leith, whence it was removed to the family residence of Branxholm, and thence, in due heraldic time and order, transferred to its last resting-place in Hawick church. The procession which preceded the body along the banks of the Teviot was composed first, of forty-six *saulies* (the number of the years deceased had lived) in black gowns and hoods, each carrying a black stave; then came a trumpeter, in the family livery, sounding his trumpet at intervals; next advanced Robert Scott of Howshaw, fully armed, riding on a *fair-horse*, and carrying on the point of his lance a little banner of the defunct's colours, azure and or. After him came a horse in black trappings, led by a lackey in mourning, another horse with a crimson velvet foot-mantle, and three trumpeters in mourning, on foot 'sounding sadly.' Then, the great scutcheon or gumpheon of black taffeta carried on a lance; the spurs of the deceased earl carried by Walter Scott of Lauchope; his sword borne by Andrew Scott of Broadmeadows; his gauntlets by Francis Scott of Castleside, and his coat of honour by Lawrence Scott, all near kinsmen of Buccleuch. Eight gentlemen of the clan Scott followed, each bearing the coat of arms of one of the various paternal and maternal ancestors of the defunct. Other gentlemen of the name of Scott carried the great pencil, the standard, the coronet and the arms. After them went three other trumpeters, and the three pursuivants in mourning. 'Last of all cam the corpse, carried under a fair pall of black velvet, decked with armes, larmes, and cipress of sattin, knopt with gold, and on the coffin the defunct's helmet and coronet, overlaid with cipress, to shew that he was a soldier. And so in this order, with the conduct of many honourable friends, marched they from Branxholm to Hawick church, where, after the funeral sermon ended, the corps were interred amongst his ancestors.'—*A MS. by sir James Balfour*, and *Ancient Heraldic Tracts*, as quoted by Chambers, in *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 73, 74.

[8] *Salys (i.e. almsmen).*—*Salys*, more generally written *saullies*, were hired mourners who walked in procession before the corpse. Acts, Jac. VI., 1621, c. 25, s. 12, directs that "no deule weedes be given to Heraulds, Trumpetters, or *Saullies*, except by earls, and lords, and their wives. And the number of *saullies* to be according to the number of the deule weedes, under the pane of one thousand punds." Fergusson, the Scottish poet, uses the word in the following couplet:—

"How come mankind, when lacking woe,
In *saullie's* face their heart to show?"

This term is supposed to be derived from the constantly repeated *salve* uttered by the mourners who preceded the corpse in Roman catholic times.—See Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary*.

[9] *Hy. Savage, of Arkeen.*—This Henry Savage, whom the author afterwards notices especially in his *Incidentall Remembrances of Two Ancient Families of the Savages*, was son of Jenkin Savage, and grandson of Ferdoragh Savage, of Ardchin. See Erck's *Repertory, &c., of Patent Rolls*, p. 251.

[10] *Hu. Kennedy, of Greengraves.*—Greengraves is the name of a townland in the parish of Newtownards. There were many settlers in the Ards of this surname of Kennedy, belonging, no doubt, to several branches of the family in Ayrshire. One of the best known at an early period of the settlement in Down was *Fergus Kennedy*, who held extensive landed property in the parish of Comber, and of whom *Hugh*, mentioned in the text, may have been a son, probably so called after sir Hugh Montgomery. A second *Fergus Kennedy's* name appears on an early rent-roll in connexion with lands in Ballyclogher, Ballylurgan, and Ballyalteskeoge, in the parish of Comber. —*MS. Paper preserved at Donaghadee.*

[11] *Rt. Barclay.*—For dean Barclay's several appointments see *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, vol. ii., part v., pp. 106—111; Morrin's *Calendar, reign of Charles I.*, p. 592, where his name is erroneously written *Buckley*. In the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 104, 105, the reader may see a curious account of Barclay's at-

Robt. Adair, of Ballymenagh[12]	-	-	-	1	Sir Wm. Murray, Kt. and Bart.[15]	-	-	1
Archd. Edminston, of Duntreth[13]	-	-		2	Mr. Jo. Alexander[16]	-	-	1
Sir Jos. Cunningham, Kt.[14]	-	-	-	1	Sir Edw. Trever[17]	-	-	2

tempt to reconcile certain family difficulties between lord Ridgeway and sir James Erskine. In 1643, dean Barclay suffered deposition at the hands of the presbyterian ministers, who accused him of "trading in a way inconsistent with the ministry, of cursing and swearing, profaning the Sabbath, intruding on a neighbouring parish, and frequent drunkenness."—Adair's *Narrative*, p. 140. Two others, named Robert Young and Archibald Glasgow, deposed at the same time, on more serious charges, were appointed at the Restoration to the rectories of Culdaff and Clondevaddock. Had dean Barclay lived until the Restoration, his deposition by the presbyterians would, no doubt, have had the effect of securing his advancement also. He purchased an estate in the county of Monaghan in the year 1632, and died at Glasslough in 1659. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Maxwell, dean of Armagh, by whom he left one child, Mary, who became the wife of a gentleman named Cope, and who was thirty years of age at the time of her father's death.—*Inquisitions, Monaghan*, no. 112 Car. I.; no. 5 Car. II.

[12] *Robt. Adair, of Ballymenagh.*—See p. 113, *supra*. Robert Adair, afterwards sir Robert, born in 1603, succeeded to the family estate, at Ballymena, in 1626, the date of his father's death. He acted as an arbitrator on one occasion for the first viscount Montgomery, as appears from the following sentence in the will of the latter:—"*Imprimis*, there is due and remaining unpaid unto me by Francis Lyall, Esqr., according to an award made by Arthur Lyall and Robert Adair, Esqr., the sum of £800 sterling." At the time of sir Robert Adair's death, in 1655, he resided at *Ballymena als Kinhiltstowne*, and was in possession of the towns and lands of Ballycloghcarry als Ballyloughnegarry, 120 acres; Ballyclogher, 120 acres; Ballycreegyburran als Ballycreegyvarran, 120 acres; Ballyvalley als Bally, 120 acres; the three quarter land of Ballydromin, 100 acres; Ballydownefiane, 120 acres; Ballynegarvey, 120 acres; half a quarter land in Ballytissane called Killin, 20 acres; the towns, lands, and tenements of Ballymeanagh als Kinhillstowne, 120 acres; Ballyloughan, 120 acres; Ballyloymore, 120 acres; half of the town and lands of Duneveagh, 60 acres; half the town and land of Dungall, 30 acres; Monaghan, 120 acres; Clonteconnelagh, 120 acres; half the town and lands of Kilflegh als Kilflugh, 30 acres; the parcell of land called Ballylugg, alias Wm. M[c]Gee's parcel, 20 acres; the quarter of Broghmolt, 60 acres; the quarter of Cormunck, 30 acres; the quarter of Carrowdumoge, 30 acres; the half of Antenecunties, 60 acres; and the half of Ballynecabra, 30 acres, all lying in the territory of Clanagherty, county of Antrim. Robert Adair owed the earl of Antrim £507 10s, for which he paid to the latter the yearly sum of £50 15s. The earl of Antrim assigned this annuity to Alexander Colville, doctor of divinity.—*Inquisitions, Antrim*, no. 3, Car. II.

[13] *Archd. Edminston, of Duntreth.*—Son of William Edmonston and Isabella Haldane, see p. 58, *supra*.

[14] *Sir Jos. Cunningham, Kt.*—Sir Jos. Cunningham is mentioned afterwards as holding a commission under sir William Stewart, in 1642. He is not noticed by Lodge, but most probably belonged to one of the many families of this surname settled in Donegal.

[15] *Sir Wm. Murray.*—This was sir William Murray of Clermont, in the county of Fife, who had married Margaret, second daughter of sir Wm. Alexander, and was therefore brother-in-law to the second viscount Montgomery of Ards. This marriage took place in Kensington church, near London, and is recorded as follows in the parochial register:—"1620—Mr. W. Murray and Mrs. Margaret Alexander, daughter of sir William Alexander, a Scottish knight, July the 20th." See Appendix G. Sir William Murray was created a baronet of Nova Scotia on the first of July, 1626. His family was a branch of the ancient house of Murray, which has been seated in Blackbarony, county of Peebles, since the middle of the fifteenth century. See Burke's *Peerage*.

[16] *Mr. Jo. Alexander.*—This was the fourth son of sir William Alexander, earl of Stirling. Of him Mr. Banks says in his *Memoir*:—"Which Honourable John Alexander, after the death of his father, having been greatly harassed for the engagements he had entered into for his said father, to enable him to furnish the immense expenses continually required from him, to support his colonies in America, was obliged to quit Scotland, and thereupon he went to Ireland, where his mother, the Dowager Countess of Stirling, and his sister, the Viscountess Montgomery, were residing, and there by the assistance of his brother in-law, Gen. Monro, he found an Asylum, and thenceforth fixed his domicile. In the more early part of his life, he had attended with his three brothers, William, Lord Alexander, Sir Anthony Alexander, and Charles Alexander, the funeral of the first Viscount Montgomery at Newtown Ardes—and he now rejoined the society of the family. He married Agnes, the daughter and Heiress of Robert Graham of Gartmore, in Scotland, and had an only son John, the great grandfather of the present (1829) Earl of Stirling." It is believed that the hon. John Alexander resided in the neighbourhood of the town of Antrim. He was interred in the vault of the Montgomery family at Newtown. When the old church was demolished in 1830 (see p. 123, *note* 33, *supra*) his tombstone, with others, was used as flagging to make the floor of the court-house. It is strange that William Montgomery, who was usually careful to give to every man his proper title, does not designate John Alexander or his brother Charles by the epithet *honourable*, although they were sons of an earl.

[17] *Sir Edw. Trever.*—Sir Edward Trevor was an old man at the date of the first viscount's funeral in 1636. He had served against the Irish during the rebellion of Hugh O'Neill, and was highly distinguished as a gallant officer in that service. Sir Edward's name appears on several important commissions connected with the county of Down.—See Erck's *Patent Rolls*, James I., pp. 329, 352; Morrin's *Calendar*, Charles I., pp. 65, 289; *Ulster Inquisitions, Armagh*, no. 7, Jac. I.; 13, 27, Car. I.; *Down*, 11, Jac. I.; 5, 39, 46, 51, 65, 84, 93, 97, Car. I.; Harris, *County of Down*, pp. 83, 87.

Jo. Shaw, of Greenock, Esq.[20]	-	-	-	1
Geo. Montgomery, Esq.[21]	-	-	-	2
Sir Anthy. Alexander, Kt.[22]	-	-	-	1
The Lord Alexander[23]	-	-	-	2
The Lord Viscount Claneboy[24]	-	-	-	3
Sir Wm. Semple, Kt.[25]	-	-	-	2
Charles Alexander[26]	-	-	-	1
N. Montgomery, Esq., of Langshaw[27]			-	1
Pat. Savage,[28] of Portaferry, Esq.			-	5
Sir Jas. Montgomery, Kt.[29]	-	-	-	6

[20] *John Shaw, of Greenock.*—This gentleman was son of James Shaw, and Margaret, daughter of Robert Montgomery, sixth laird of Hazlehead. James died in 1620, leaving John, his only son and heir, who added very much to the family estates, and died in the year 1679.—Crawford's *Renfrewshire*, p. 125. Crawford errs in stating that Margaret Montgomery was daughter of *Hugh*, the fifth laird, she being his grand-daughter. 'The Commissary Records of Glasgow show that Margaret Wallace, spous to Robert Montgomerie of Hessilheid,' who 'deceissit in the moneth of Julii, 1602, left a daughter, *Margaret Montgomerie* (Mrs. James Shaw), in favour of whom her latter will and testament was made.' —Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., pp. 291, 292, *note*.

[21] *Geo. Montgomery, Esq.*—The third son of the first viscount was named *George*, but he, as chief mourner, followed the hearse on this occasion. The gentleman mentioned in the text was a kinsman. The second viscount, writing to the earl of Ormonde, on the 24th of March, 1641-2, says:—"I may not forgete to give your lo^p. humble thankes for one George Montgomerie, a kinsman of myne, whom your lo^p. had been pleased to profarre as ensigne to lieutentant colonell Stirling. I shall intreate, that as your lo^p. fyndes the young gentleman to deserve that, your lo^p. will be pleased to take him in your care for further preferrment."—Carte *Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford*.

[22] *Sir Anthy. Alexander.*—Sir Anthony was second son of the earl of Stirling, and a brother of the second viscountess Montgomery. In the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, there are preserved two folio volumes in manuscript, entitled *Secretary Alexander, his Register of Letters*. This *MS.* contains the following notice of sir Anthony's death, which was most probably written by his father, the first earl of Stirling:—"Londone, Sonday, 17 Septm., 1637, S^r. Anthony Alexander, knyght, dyed."

[23] *The Lord Alexander.*—This was William, eldest son of the earl of Stirling, and eldest brother of the second viscountess Montgomery. In the collection or *Register of Letters* above quoted, there is the following notice of his death:—"Londone, May 18, 1638, William, lord Alexander, eldest sonne to W. Alexander, earle of Stirling, dyed." The editor is indebted for the two foregoing extracts to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Rogers, Greenwich, the author of *A Week at Dunoon*. In the *Memoir* of Mr. Banks, there is the following notice of the lord Alexander mentioned in the text:—"William, viscount Canada, eldest son and heir apparent of William, earl of Stirling, was a young man of great talents and spirit. He was knighted in the life-time of his father, and for a considerable period was his deputy and lieutenant in Nova Scotia, in which station he was at great pains in settling the colony, but the hardships and fatigues he had to encounter in that undertaking so impaired his health, that, on his return to England, he died at London on the 18th of May, 1638, in the prime of life, and before his father. He married the lady Jean Douglas, daughter of William, marquis of Douglas, and by her (who survived him), had one son, William, and three daughters, viz., Katherine, Jane, and Margaret, whereof the first married Walter, lord Torphichen, and the last, sir Robert Sinclair, bart., of Longfermachas. William, only son of viscount Canada, succeeded his grandfather as earl of Stirling, on the 12th of February, 1640, but died in May following, under eight years of age, leaving his three sisters as his co-heirs at common law; but the titles and estates of the family, having by the charter of *Novo Damus*, of the 7th December, 1639, coalesced, and been limited to descend together, the right of the whole inheritance devolved upon his uncle Henry, third son of William, the first earl of Stirling."

[24] *Viscount Claneboy.*—James Hamilton, created viscount Claneboy in 1622. He died in 1643. See p. 31, *et seq.*, *supra*.

[25] *Sir Wm. Semple.*—Sir William Semple or St. Paul of Letterkenny, county of Longford, was brother-in-law of sir James Montgomery of Rosemount, having married Anne, the second daughter of sir William Stewart, and sister of sir James's first wife. This sir William Semphill was probably a son of Robert, fourth lord Semple, and lady Agnes Montgomery, a daughter of the house of Eglinton.—Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., p. 247.

[26] *Charles Alexander.*—This gentleman was fifth son of the earl of Stirling, and fifth brother of the second viscountess Montgomery. He married Anne, daughter of —— Drurie, and left one son, Charles, who died without issue.—Banks's *Memoir of Sir Wm. Alexander*.

[27] *Of Langshaw.*—The Montgomerys of Langshaw, or Lainshaw, in the parish of Stewarton, county of Ayr, were descended from Nigel or Neil Montgomery, second son of Hugh, first earl of Eglinton, and the lady Helen Campbell, a daughter of Colin, first earl of Argyle. Neil Montgomery, who was present at the funeral in Newtownards, was the sixth laird of Lainshaw. His mother was Maria Mure, daughter of sir William Mure of Rowallan. In the will of Patrick Houston of Park, who died in 1635, there is the following passage referring to this laird and his mother as debtors to the testator:—"Item, there was awand, &c., be Marioun Muir, ladie Langschaw, as principall, and Neill Montgomerie, hir sone, as cautioner for hir, the sowme of twa thousand poundis money, obleist be thame to the defunct, in the name of tocher, with Agnes Montgomerie, dochter to the said Marioun Muir, for the marriage solemnizat betuix hir and George Houstoune."—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 453, 454.

[28] *Pat. Savage.*—Son-in-law to the first viscount. See p. 89, *supra*.

[29] *Sir James Montgomery.*—Of Rosemount; second son of the deceased.

Sir Wm. Stewart,[30] Kt. and Bart. - - 5 The Lord Montgomery,[31] the Earle's son - 2
The Earle of Eglinton[32]- - - - - 5
Besides the attendants on their two Lordships' bodies.

4th, Then marched the standard borne by Lt. Robert Montgomery.[33]

5th, After it followed the servants to the second Viscount, the chief mourner, viz.—

John Boyd,[34] Henry Purfrey, Hugh Montgomery, of Grange,[38] jun.
William Catherwood,[35] Hugh Montgomery, of Newtown,[37] Edw. Johnston,[39] of Greengraves.
Mr. Samuel Row,[36] James Fairbairn,

[30] *Sir Wm. Stewart.*—See pp. 93, 94, *supra.* Sir Wm. Stewart survived the Revolution, and died at a good old age. His grandson was created lord Stewart of Ramelton, and viscount Mountjoy in 1692. The grandson of the latter was created earl of Blessington in 1745, and died without issue in 1769. The titles were revived in favour of the representative of Thomas Stewart of Fort-Stewart, county of Donegal, who was second son of the first sir William Stewart of Aughentean and Newton-Stewart. The titles have again become extinct, the late well-known countess of Blessington being the widow of the last earl. For an interesting account of this branch of the Stewart family in Ulster, see Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., pp. 245—258.

[31] *Lord Montgomery.*—This was Hugh Montgomery, eldest son of Alexander, sixth earl of Eglinton. He became seventh earl, on the death of his father in 1661, and died in 1669.

[32] *Earle of Eglinton.*—The sixth earl, surnamed *Greysteel.* See p. 7, *supra.*

[33] *Lt. Robert Montgomery.*—Lieut. Robert Montgomery (as the author afterwards states in his memoirs of various families of this surname) was the second son of Nicholas Montgomery of Derrybrusk, near Enniskillen. His elder brother was Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly, county of Fermanagh, and his younger brother was Andrew Montgomery, rector of Carrickmacross.

[34] *John Boyd.*—This gentleman was, no doubt, a descendant—probably a grandson—of colonel David Boyd. John Boyd of Drumnafaddie, or Drumfad, near Donaghadee, held a bond for £150 against the second earl of Mount Alexander, in 1676.—*MS. Paper preserved at Donaghadee.* A rent-roll of the Mount-Alexander estate, at the close of the seventeenth century, represents David Boyd as in possesson of Drumfad, formerly held by John Boyd. The lands contained 176 acres, for which the yearly rent was £4 13s 4d.

[35] *William Catherwood.*—Of Ballyvester, parish of Donaghadee. See p. 54, *supra.*

[36] *Mr. Samuel Row.*—A Presbyterian minister of this name was settled for a time in Ulster, but it is not known in what locality. He returned to Scotland before 1640, and became the colleague of Mr. Henry Macgill, in Dunfermline.—Dr. Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., p. 212. Probably Mr. Row, whilst in Ulster, had not charge of a congregation, but acted as chaplain to some family of the gentry or nobility.

[37] *Hugh Montgomery, of Newtown.*—This gentleman was seneschal of Newtown. He is mentioned more particularly in the author's account of several families of this surname towards the end of his Memoirs.

[38] *Hugh Montgomery, of Grange.*—This Hugh was son of John of Gransheogh, murdered by wood-kerns. See p. 60, note 46, *supra.* Hugh here mentioned, although said to be a servant of the second viscount, was also his second cousin, their fathers being cousins-german. This Hugh was member of parliament for Newtown in 1634, and was fined in the sum of £50 for absence from his duties in the Irish House of Commons in that year, which fine was remitted when it was known that his absence was caused by the death of sir James Montgomery's first lady. See p. 120, note 26, *supra.* On the 21st of Nov., 1628, the first viscount and his son, Hugh Montgomery, by Indenture, conveyed the lands of Grangee (afterwards better known as Gransheogh) for thirty shillings rent, to the gentleman named in the text, which Indenture was made in pursuance of articles of agreement dated 19th June, 1622. The lands thus conveyed in fee-farm for ever are described as adjoining the lands then occupied by Elizabeth Morriss (previously held by Matthew Montgomery), William Calderwood, Andrew Cunningham, and Andrew Clersane (Clernane?). Hugh Montgomery of Gransheogh was bound by the terms of this grant to do the usual suit and service to the baronial court; to grind at the landlord's mill, paying the sixteenth grain as moulter or toll; to pay on entering into possession a sum equal to two years' rent in the name of a *Reliesse*, together with fourtie shillings in the name of *hericht*; and never to grant any portion of the lands "unto any the native or natives of the meere Irish." In a memorandum on the back of the Deed, it is provided that Hugh Montgomery shall attend his landlord, "newe furnished on horseback as ane gentleman," for all general hostings within the province of Ulster, during the space of fourteen days on each of such occasions. The attorneys who superintended this business for both parties were their "trusty and well-beloved in Christ, John Heriot and David, or either of them." In addition to the parties concerned, this Indenture is signed by George Montgomery, —— Blair, Patrick Montgomery, H. Montgomerie, W. Schaw, and Daniel Evans. The premises were assigned by Hugh Montgomery to his son, also named Hugh, in 1646. The original Deed is in the possession of Hugh Montgomery, Esq., of Greyabbey, the seventh in descent from the gentleman to whom the grant was made. The editor has been kindly permitted to examine the very interesting collection of family papers preserved at Greyabbey.

[39] *Edward Johnston.*—Several families of this surname were early settled in the Ards and Castlereagh. James Johnston the elder and James Johnston the younger are mentioned in a Deposition referring to events in 1644, as having been engaged in a massacre of the Irish which

6th, Next came the servants to the defunct—

Jo. Loudon, his clerk,	Jo. Jerden,	Matthew Haslepp,
Jo. Montgomery, of Newtown,	Jo. Gillmore of the same,	Jo. Millen, of Grayabby,
Thos. Aitkin,	Archibald Millen,	Wm. Burgess.

7th, In the 7th space came two trumpeters fitly equipped, sounding the death march.

8th, Walked the horse of mourning, led by the chief groom, Jo. Kennedy, and one footman.

9th, In the next place went the Divines, neither Doctors nor Dignitaries—

Mr. James Mirk,[40]	Mr. Js. Blair, Portpatrick,[42]	Mr. William Forbes.
Mr. Hugh Nevin,[41]	Mr. James Montgomery,[43]	

took place in the barony of Castlereagh. This Deposition is printed in the *Notes* connected with the author's Memoir of sir James Montgomery. See *infra*. A respectable family of the name of Johnston was settled at Kirkistown, in the parish of Ardkeen. Mr. Edward Johnston, of Kirkistown was married to a daughter of captain James Magill, of Ballyvester. This Mr. Johnston's son, named Robert, inherited the house and lease of Ballyvester at the death of his grandmother, Mrs. Jane McGill, which happened in January, 1711–12, his sister, Mrs. Madden of Fermanagh, getting the chattels and personal property.—*MS. preserved at Greyabbey.*

[40] *Mr. James Mirk.*—An inquisition taken at Downe, on the 8th of October, 1657, mentions Mr. James Mirke as 'preacher' in Killmore parish before the rebellion. The original report of this inquisition is in the possession of the Right Rev. Robert Knox, bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore.

[41] *Mr. Hugh Nevin.*—See p. 54, *supra*. In 1623, Thomas Nevin, Ninian Nevin, and Mr. Hugh Nevin, are witnesses to a testamentary deed.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 253. On the 1st of December, 1634, Mr. Hugh Nevin was appointed, by royal presentation, to the vicarages of Donaghadee and Ballielty (?), with clause of union *pro hac vice tantum.*—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. ii., part v., p. 111. This clergyman is mentioned in Adair's *Narrative*, p. 96, amongst those who had been most conspicuous in their "conformity and defection," and who afterwards "owned their sinful defection in those places where they had been particularly scandalous." It is remarkable that Adair does not name any other of the persons or places referred to. William Montgomery states, p. 127, *supra*, that 'few' could be found to swallow the "bitter pill" of the covenant in 1542. Mr. Hugh Nevin resided in Ballycopeland, parish of Donaghadee. His Will is dated at the commencement "12° Oct., 1652," and at the end "Second of November, in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-two." In this document he mentions his "spouse Margaret," but does not give her family name. He appoints his "brother (in-law), Tho. Maly, to be an overseer," and also nominates as overseers and assistants of his family, his "beloved friends and kinsmen, Sir Robert Adair, Mr. Hendrie Savadge, Mr. William Schaw of Newtowne, and Captaine William Howstowne, and Captaine James McGill, and I hope the right honourable the lord of Ardes will give his assistance. I shall likewise desire my good friends, Hugh Montgomerie of Granguch (Gransheogh), John Montgomerie of Bellie Rollie, Mathew Haslett, and Robert Callewell, to be assisting to the above-named overseers." His Will is witnessed by John Montgomery and Mathew Haslett, the latter of whom makes his mark on the paper. He left by his wife four sons, Thomas, Robert, William, and Archibald; and two daughters, one of whom was named Elizabeth. I. His son Thomas left two sons, Cowell and James. The former married Marjory, daughter of Anthony Lucy, and left two sons named Anthony and Richard, and two daughters, Marjory and Rebeckah. II. Robert, second son of Mr. Hugh, married Jane, the eldest daughter of David Boyd of Glastry, by whom he left a son, the Rev. Thomas Nevin of Marlborough, near Downpatrick, in the county of Down, and one daughter named Margaret. The Rev. Thomas Nevin married his cousin, Margaret, eldest daughter of Thomas Boyd of Glastry, by whom he left a family of four sons and three daughters. His wife survived until 1767. III. William, the third son of Mr. Hugh, resided at Bally-McChrews, in the parish of Donaghadee. He married and had issue a son and three daughters. His daughter Margaret was married to a Hugh Montgomery. His daughter Elizabeth, born in 1670, became the first wife of Hugh White of Ballyree, in the parish of Bangor. IV. Archibald, fourth son of Mr. Hugh, does not appear to have left any family. The Nevins of Ballymacrews retained the family property until about twenty years ago, when it was sold by the last proprietor, Benjamin Nevin. For the foregoing details respecting Mr. Hugh Nevin and his descendants, the editor is indebted to Robert S. Nicholson, Esq., Ballow, near Bangor. A *MS. Rent-roll*, preserved among the family papers at Donaghadee, records the names of Robert and John Nevin as occupying lands in the parish of Comber, about the year 1650. Three members of the Nevin family were successively Presbyterian ministers of Downpatrick. Thomas Nevin was ordained there in 1710, and died in 1744. He was succeeded by his son, William Nevin, who was ordained in 1746, and died in 1780. A son of the latter, also named William, became pastor of the congregation in 1785, but resigned the charge in 1789. He was afterwards a distinguished physician, and died in 1821.—*MS. of the late Rev. James Nelson, D.D.*, of Downpatrick.

[42] *Mr. Js. Blair.*—This clergyman was, most probably, minister of the church built by the first viscount at Portpatrick, and a member of that family of Blair by whom the Dunskey estate was afterwards purchased from the third viscount. See *infra*.

[43] *Mr. James Montgomery.*—James Montgomery succeeded Mr. David M'Gill in the charges of Newtown and

10th, Then came the Gentlemen and Esquires, who were mourners, viz.—

Jo. Cunningham, of Newtown,
James Lenox,
James Coningham, of Gortrie,[44]
Water Hows Crymble, of Donaghadee,[45]
Hugh Montgomery, of Derrybrosk,[46]
Richard Savage,[47]
William Melville,[48]

Greyabbey, and also married Mr. M^cGill's widow. The author, in his subsequent account of the *Ballymagown* branch, states that Mr. James Montgomery was of a family sprung from the Hessilhead Montgomerys, who had settled in the vicinity of Munross (Montrose). This clergyman died in 1692, and was buried in Greyabbey church. He must have lived to a very advanced age, as his predecessor, David McGill, died in 1633. His epitaph is printed in Harris's *State of the County of Down*, p. 53. See also the author's *Memoir of Ballymagown*, *infra*. Another clergyman, named Mr. James Montgomery, was one of the arbitrators who made an adjudication between Robert Johnston of Kirkistown and Samuel Madden, of county Fermanagh, esqrs., respecting the property bequeathed by Mrs. Jean McGill of Ballynester, who died in the year 1711–1712. See note 39, *supra*.

[44] *James Coningham, of Gortrie.*—There was a *Gortry* (now Gartree) in Kilmakevett, county of Antrim, but the *Gortrie* mentioned in the text was no doubt the quarter of that name in the barony of Raphoe, granted with other lands to Cuthbert Cunningham, on the 19th Sept., 1610.—*Calendar Patent Rolls*, Jac. I., p. 167.

[45] *Water Hows Crymble.*—Waterhouse Crymble was probably a son of Roger Crymble, who married a daughter of sir Edward Waterhouse. The latter came to Carrickfergus with the earl of Essex in 1573. He had written several letters from Chester prior to this date conveying intelligence to the council in Dublin respecting the movements of Sorley Boy Macdonnell, and other Scottish leaders.—Hamilton's *Cal. of Irish State Papers*, vol. i., pp. 356, 386, 387, 406, 408, 410, 413, 516, 523, 526. Rowland Savage, by grant bearing date 3rd February, 1617, demised to Waterhowse Crimble the messuages and park lately in possession of Henry Lyssy, lying in the town of Portferry, for the term of 31 years.—*Ulster Inquisitions, Down*, no. 9, Jac. I. In 1625, Waterhouse Crymble was appointed to the office of comptroller of the customs, great and small, subsidies and impositions, in the ports and towns of Newcastle, Dondrome, Killough, Ardglasse, Kilcliffe, Strangford, Portferry, Donnoghadee, Bangor, Holliwood, and Loughcoyne, to hold during good behaviour.—Morrin's *Calendar*, Charles I., p. 7. Crymble held this appointment until the year 1649, when there seems to have arisen a feeling of dissatisfaction with the manner in which he had been performing his duties. Among the Family Papers preserved at Donaghadee is a 'Warrant' signed by the third viscount Montgomery, and "authorising Robert Campbell and others to receive the customs of Donnadee and Groomes Port for one moneth, from the 6th of July, 1649." There is also the copy of "A Petition from Waterhouse Crymble to the Lord Viscount Montgomery, setting forth his desire to be continued in the office of Comptroller of the Customs in the several Ports of the county of Down, according to his late Majestie's Letters Patent: And that the House built by him at Donnadee to be a Custom-House, may be imployed for that use onely, and no other, as by the same petition more at large may appear;" upon which was endorsed this ensuing order:—

"By the Commander in Chiefe.

"10th July, 1649.—Upon consideration of this Petition, I hold it fit, and doe therefore soe appoint and order, that the House in the Petition mentioned, appointed and built for a Custom-House, shall hold and continue for that use only, and the habitation therein, if so he think fit: And for the rest of the Petition which concerns the ports, when I am fully of his in his said imployment of Comptroller of the Customs, both before and since the Rebellion, I shall take such further course therein as shall in equity to his demerits.

"MONTGOMERIE."

On the same day another Petition was exhibited by Waterhouse Crimble to the Lord Viscount Montgomerie, "shewing that not only his Majesty's customs, but also the established fees due to him as Comptroller, have been taken up and not accounted for since the 15th of May last, by Serjt.-Major Finlay Ferguson," upon which was indorsed the following order:—

"10th July, 1649.—Serjt.-Major Ferguson is hereby required to appear before me, on Monday next, by nyne of the clock in the morning, at Newtowne, and to come sufficiently prepared to exhonerate himself of what he is charged withal, in the within Petition.

"MONTGOMERIE."

[46] *Of Derrybroske.*—See pp. 99, 100, *supra*.

[47] *Richard Savage.*—In the author's *Incidentall Remembrances* of the Savages, he states that Richard Savage, brother of Henry Savage of Ardkeen, married a daughter of Nevin of Monk-Roddin, and niece to the first viscountess Montgomery. There was also a Richard Savage, son of Robert Savage, a near family connexion of the Savages of Portaferry. The last-named Richard had a mortgage on the lands of *Carrogh*, belonging to the Portaferry estate. His father, Robert, had also a mortgage on the lands of Tullycarnan, a part of the same estate. Robert died in 1632, leaving, besides this Richard, two other sons named William and Rowland. At this date Richard was 21 years old, and was married.—*Ulster Inquisitions, Down*, nos. 9, 14, Jac. I.; 37, 48, Car. I.

[48] *William Melville.*—Three gentlemen named Melville are mentioned as attending the funeral, viz. William, James, and Thomas, who were probably brothers, and the sons of sir John Melville, knight, who died in 1628. Robert Swoordes, alias Croly, by Indenture, dated 9th March, 1610, granted to sir John Melville, knight, for the term of 21 years, and at the rent of £28 per ann., the following towns and lands in the county of Down, viz., Tobbercorran containing 80 acres, the two Ballyrollies 120 acres, Lissomayle 80 acres, Tullynamurray 60 acres, Corbally 60 acres, and Ballynagallbeg 60 acres.—*Ulster Inquisition, Down*, no. 5, Car. I. Sir John was buried in the old church of Inch, near Downpatrick. *Harris* who mistook his Christian name for *James*, tells us that he was supposed to have been descended from the celebrated sir James Melville, secretary to Mary queen of Scots. Speaking of sir John Melville's tomb, *Harris* thus de-

Tho. Kenedy, of Pingwherry,[49]
James Edminston,[50]

Jo. Gordon, of Pingwherry, sen.
Mr. Jo. Echlin, of Ardquin,[51]

scribes it, fortunately preserving the inscription:—"The first-mentioned of these knights has here a monument of freestone erected to his memory, and placed in an arch on the north-side of the Altar, thus set out. Over a Scutcheon of Arms, the supporters of which are two birds (the rest being defaced), you have this line, viz.

"S. ANNO 1628. D.

"Then on the top of the Scutcheon in one quarter, I.M., and in the other quarter, A.R. At the foot of the Scutcheon on one side are these words thus placed:—

"CHRISTO ET CRUCE
IN————————SPERO.

and underneath this inscription:—

"INSIGNIS. MILES. MELVILLUS. CARNBIA. PROLES.
MOLR. SUB. HAC. LAPIDUM. MORTUUS. ECCE. JACET.
SCOTIA. NATALEM. CELEBRAVIT. HIBERNIA. FUNUS.
INTUS. HABET. TUMULUM. SPIRITUS. ASTRA. COLIT.
SEXAGINTA. OCTO. FELICES. VIXERAT. ANNOS.
QUADRAGINTA. NOVEM. EX. HIS. ANIMOSUS. EQUES.
MILES. ET. SEXCENTOS. VICENOS. EGERAT. ANNOS.
ET. OCTO. CHRISTUS. CUM. TUMULATUS. ERAT."

Harris, *County of Down*, pp. 37, 38. The "two birds" mentioned by Harris, were the eagles, supporters in the Melville Arms. The motto is *Denique coelum*. The one word *Carnbia* in the foregoing inscription decides the particular branch of the Melville family to which sir John belonged. Carnbia, or Carnbee, is the name of a parish in Fifeshire, in connexion with which the Melvilles are mentioned in public documents, as lairds, from the year 1466 until 1598 when the family property was sold by sir James Melville.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland, Fifeshire*, p. 916. The Melvilles being kinsmen of bishop Echlin, were probably induced to settle in Down through his influence and encouragement. The bishop's grandmother was the daughter of sir John Melville of Melville and also of Raith. See Crawford's *Memoirs of the Echlins of Pittadro*, p. 7. A clergyman of this name was settled in Downpatrick, and formally excommunicated Livingstone, the well-known presbyterian minister, after the latter had been deposed by bishop Leslie, in November, 1635.—Reid, *Hist. Pres. Church*, vol. i., p. 178. A James Melville was rector of Kilmegan, at a later period, about 1690.—*MS. Status Diœcesis Dunensis*.

[49] *Of Pingwherry.*—Pingwherrie, more frequently written *Pinquhirrie*, was the name of a small estate owned by a family of the Kennedys, in the parish of Calmonell, Ayrshire. In the great family feud between the Kennedys of Cassilis and the Kennedys of Bargany, the laird of Pinquhirrie sometimes took one side and sometimes the other, so that it is not known to which of these families the Kennedys of Pinquhirrie were the more immediately related. Thomas Kennedy, who attended the funeral in Newtown, died in 1644, and was the last of his name who enjoyed the family property. See a curious notice of this family in the *Historie of the Kennydis*, ed. by Pitcairn, pp. 12—14; see also Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 311.

[50] *James Edminston.*—James Edmonston came to Ireland with William Edmonston, see p. 57, *supra*, and was no doubt a younger brother. James was their father's Christian name, but there is no evidence that the latter ever settled in Ulster. Besides William and James Edmonton already mentioned, other persons of this surname had settled in Ulster early in the seventeenth century. An Alexander Edmeston, of Ardfracken, near Carrickfergus, had a grant of denization on the 28th of November, 1617.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 339. A Wm. Edmonston, whose mother's uame was Helen Cathcart, inherited, in 1600, from her, the lands of Ery, Carne, and Maghery, in the county of Tyrone, which he sold to Thomas Morris of Mountjoy. A Robert Edmonston bought the lands of Bovane in the same county in the year 1620, and afterwards sold them to John Coulson, gent., Henry Clarke, and Wm. Ploughman.—*Inquisitions, Tyrone*, nos. 5, 12, Car. II. In 1621, James Edmonston of *Ballybantry*, sir Hercules Langford, and Thomas Kilpatrick of Carrickfergus, were appointed executors to his will by William Edmonston of Redhall. It was found by Inquisition, held at Carrickfergus, on the 17th of Aug., 1636, that Hugh Mergagh O'Neale, of Kilmakevett, sold to James Edmonston the towns and lands of Crossleggedrom containing 120 acres, Randocke 60 acres, Largy 60 acres, and Gartry 60 acres. These lands were soon afterwards sold by James Edmonston of Brediland to Arthur Langford.—*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim*, nos. 3, 103, 118, Car. I. The following account of the family to which Hugh Mergagh O'Neale belonged is kindly supplied by the Rev. Dr. Reeves:—

KILMAKEVIT AND KILLELAGH BRANCH.

Hugh O'Neill son of Felim Bacagh.
|
Niall.

Niall Oge of Killelagh, his patent 1606.—(Calend. Pat. Rolls, Jac. I, p. 94), ob. 1628; (and Erck, p. 285).
|
Sir Henry O'Neill, Bart, born 1625. Creation, 1666.
|
Sir Neill O'Neill, Bart, died of his wounds after battle of Boyne, 8 July, 1690.

Hugh, joined with his brother in Pat. of 1606. He or his son was the Hugh Mergagh of the Inquis. temp., Car. I.

[51] *Jo. Echlin, of Ardquin.*—John Echlin was son of Robert Echlin, bishop of Down and Connor, who died in 1635, who was son of Andrew Echlin of Pittadro, in Fifeshire, who was son of William, who represented the Echlin family in the year 1517. The editor of Crawford's *Memoirs of the Echlin Family*, is inclined to believe that the bishop left another son named *Robert*, who was born about the year 1629—from the fact that in the old church of Ardkeen there is a tombstone, under the reading-desk, bearing this inscription:—*Here lyes Interred the bodie of Robert Echline, of Castl Boye, Esqr; who died the 25 day of April*, 1657, *in the 29th year of his age—as also the Bodie of his daughter Marie.*—Crawford's *Memoirs of the Echlins of Pittadro, Appendix*, pp. 22, 23, *note b*. In 1634, John Echlin was appointed one of the executors of Peter Hill of Castlereagh, who died in that year. Rory McBryan Oge Maginnis of *Edentycollowe*, alienated his large estate, without a royal license, to Richard Parsons, Edmund Stafford, William Usher, and John Echlin.—*Ulster Inquisitions*,

Mr. William Cunningham, of the Rash,[52]
Malcom Dormont,
Thomas Nevin, of Monkroddin, jun.[53]
James Melvill, Esq.
John Crawford,[54]
Andrew Cunningham, of Drumfad,[55]
Pat. Muir, of Aughneil,[56]
Hu. Kenedy, of Drumawhay,[57]
William Montgomery, of Ballyheft,[58]
Hugh Echlin,[59]
Lieut. Thomas Melvill,
Mr. William Adair,[60]
Jo. Gordon, of Aghlain, jun.[61]
William Burley, Gent.[62]

Down, nos. 53 and 60, Car. I. Speaking of the family residence of the Echlins at Ardquin, *Harris* says, p. 47:—"This seat is a bishop's lease, which has continued in the family of the Echlins for several generations, even before the rebellion of 1641; and the house stands northward of a mountain which is reckoned the highest land in the Ardes. Ardquin, the name of the place is a corrupted word from *Ard-Cuan*, signifying the heighth over the Lough of Strangford, formerly called *Lough-Cuan;* and the situation of the place corresponds herewith." In Mr. J. W. Hanna's account of the parish of *Inch*, there is the following reference to this John Echlin:—"Previous to 1630, we find Finnebrogue the property of John Echlin, esq., of Ardquin (eldest son of bishop Robert Echlin, and brother of Mrs. Henry Maxwell), who probably acquired it from Macartan. In October, 1633, Mr. Echlin, in consideration of the loan of £1,000 (for four years) obtained a lease for 61 years, from lord Cromwell (Thomas), then viscount Lecale, of the adjoining lands of Inch (part of which projecting into the Quoile river is still called Echlin's point), Ballyrennan, Dunanelly, and Magheracranmony, and also of the Ferry and Ferryboat of Portillagh, with liberty of fishing in Loughcoan (now the marshes), at the annual rent of £110; with a proviso that if said sum and interest were not paid within said term of four years, then Mr. Echlin was to hold the lands for 1000 years, from the expiration of the said term of 61 years, at a certain rent. Mr. Echlin afterwards assigned his interest in the entire lands to his brother-in-law, Mr. Maxwell."—*Downpatrick Recorder.*

[52] *Mr. Wm. Cunningham, of the Rash.*—The Rash, or Rush, may have been the present Ballyrush, a townland in the parish of Comber; but more probably this Mr. Cunningham resided at the Rash, a well-known locality in the neighbourhood of Omagh, county Tyrone. On the 23rd of April, 1638, sir William Stewart purchased lands near Omagh, afterwards known as the *Rash* estate, from George Arundel. See Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., p. 246, *note*. The name is now only applied to a *wood* in the district.

[53] *Thomas Nevin, of Monkroddin, jun.*—Thomas Nevin was elder brother of Hugh, mentioned in *note* 41, *supra*.

[54] *John Crawford.*—Probably ancestor of the Crawfordsburn family. The name of *Andrew Crawford* appears on no. 8 *of the Clandeboye Maps*, which contains part of the lands constituting the manor of Bangor. These maps were constructed in 1625 and 1626, so that, probably, the Crawfords came among the first Scottish settlers, about the year 1606. They are believed to belong to the Kilbirnie branch of the Crawford family. The estate known for three hundred years as Crawfordsburn, near Greenock, was formerly reckoned as part of the barony of Kilbirnie, in Ayrshire. The mansion-house belonging to the Scottish Crawfordsburn is still in good preservation. It was built early in the sixteenth century, and is now regarded as a very interesting specimen of the old baronial residence. The armorial bearings of the family are carved in stone, over the entrance to the court-yard, and are as follow:—Gules, a fesse, ermine, between a crescent in chief and two swords salterwise, hilted and pomelled; or, in base. For a *crest*, a sword with a balance, and the motto, *Quod tibi hoc alteri*. The trees in the park are described as "fine old sylvan giants, which would have delighted the soul of an Evelyn or a Gilpin."—Mac Donald, *Days at the Coast*, pp. 87, 88. William Crawford of Cunningburne, and John Crawford of Ballyaquart, had grants of denization, 20th May, 1617.—*Calendar Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 326.

[55] *Of Drumfad.*—The name of a townland in the parish of Donaghadee. David Cunningham of Drumfad, had a grant of denization on the 20th May, 1617.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 326.

[56] *Of Aughneil.*—Quintene Moore of Aughneill, and and John Moore of Donaghadee, had grants of denization, on the 20th May, 1617.—*Calendar Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 326.

[57] *Of Drumawhay.*—The name of a townland in the parish of Newtownards.

[58] *Of Ballyheft.*—The name of a townland in the parish of Newtownards.

[59] *Hugh Echlin.*—The editor of the Echlin *Memoirs* is inclined to think that Hugh Echlin was a younger son of bishop Echlin, and that he was the gentleman of this name whose murder at Armagh, in 1641, is mentioned in Dr. Robert Maxwell's deposition. The following is the passage referring to this massacre:—"The like they did at Armagh, when they murdered Hugh Echlin, esqr.; they hanged and murdered all his Irish servants which had any way proved faithful or useful to him during this rebellion."—Temple's *Irish Rebellion*, p. 119.

[60] *Mr. William Adair.*—Probably the minister of Ayr, who was *brother* of sir Robert Adair. Sir Robert's son, William, would have been too young to attend the funeral in 1636.

[61] *Jo. Gordon of Aghlain.*—There was an *Aughlane* in the county Fermanagh.—*Calendar Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 306; and an *Auchlean* in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, which is probably the place here referred to. Several families of this surname resided within the Stewartry, during the 17th century.—*See Minutes of War Committee of Kirkcudbright*, pp. 118, 200.

[62] *William Burley, Gent.*—This gentleman was afterwards a captain in sir John Clotworthy's regiment of horse, and was wounded whilst defending Lisburn against sir Phelim O'Neill, in 1641. In the preceding year he had been high-sheriff for the county of Down, Michael Garvey being sub-sheriff.

Thomas Boyd, of Whitehouse,[63]
Hugh Hamill, of Roughwood,[64]
Henry Savage, of Arkeen, Esq.[65]
Thomas Nevin, of do., sen.[66]
William Montgomery, of Briggend,[67]
Mr. Marcus Trevor,[68]
Mr. William Stewart,[69]
Robert Adair, of Ballymenagh,
Arch. Edminston, of Duntreth, Esq.
Mr. John Trevor,[70]
Alex. Lecky, of Lecky,[71]
Hugh Kenedy, of Girvan Mains.[72]

[63] *Of Whitehouse.*—A Thomas Boyd was member of Parliament for Bangor, in 1663, and was expelled from the house for complicity in Blood's plot. He was originally a northern man, although afterwards described as a Dublin merchant. The remains of the "Old Whitehouse" still exist in the locality now known as *Macedon Point*, on the Antrim side of Belfast Lough. The troops brought by William III. to Ireland, in 1689, disembarked at the *Whitehouse*, and were there joined by the king, who had come on shore at Carrickfergus. He rested here for a time, probably in the house that had been occupied by Thomas Boyd, and was here joined by duke Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirk, and other officers.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i., p. 131.

[64] *Of Roughwood.*—The lands of *Roughwood* consisted of 160 acres in the parish of Beith, and 85 acres in the adjoining parish of Dalry, Ayrshire. The estate was so called because its soil formerly consisted, for the most part, of clayey and mossy grounds. The Hamills were a very old family, Robert Hamill of Roughwood having obtained a grant of Braidstane from John de Lyddale, prior to its possession by the Montgomerys. The Hamills continued to hold Roughwood until the year 1713, when the estate was sold to Robert Shedden. It is now occupied by a family named Patrick.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., pp. 274, 279. Two brothers named Hamill came from Beith with the first viscount, and obtained lands from him in the Ards. *Ballyatwood House* was built by one of the Hamills. In the year 1672, the first earl of Mount-Alexander "demised, sett, and to farme lett," to Hugh Hamill of Ballyatwood, "all that parte of the towne and lands of Blackabby which was formerly held and possessed by major William Buchanan, and now in the tenure and possession of William Pettcon and James M'Kee," for the full term of thirty and one years, at the yearly rent £8 10s, the first payment to commence on the 1st day of May following the date of the Indenture.—*MS. Indenture preserved at Donaghadee.*

[65] *Henry Savage of Arkeen.*—See p. 131, *supra*.

[66] *Thomas Nevin of do., sen.*—Henry Savage of Ardkeen had married, as his second wife, Elizabeth Nevin, eldest daughter of the laird of Monkroddin; and perhaps this Thomas Nevin was her father. This marriage is mentioned in the author's subsequent account of the two leading families of Savage.

[67] *Of Briggend.*—*Bridgend* is the name of a small estate in the parish of Maybole, situated on the banks of the river Doon, nearly opposite Kirk-Alloway. In former times this residence was known as Nether Auchindraine. William Abercrummie, episcopal minister at Minnibole (Maybole), who wrote an account of Carrick about the year 1690, describes Bridgend as a "pretty dwelling, surrounded with gardens, orchards, and parks." The residence is now known by the attractive name of Doonside, but the house and grounds have been permitted to fall into comparative decay.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 367. William Montgomery of Bridgend, who attended the funeral of the first viscount, was of the Lainshaw or Langshaw branch, his ancestors, for several generations, holding a highly respectable rank in Doonside. His grandson, also named William, sold the property of Bridgend in 1701, and emigrated to America, settling in Monmouth county, East Jersey. From him and his excellent Quaker wife, Isabella Burnett, has sprung a numerous progeny on the other side of the Atlantic, many of whom have attained to a high social position. The *Genealogical History of the Family*, by Thomas Harrison Montgomery, published at Philadelphia in 1863, contains an interesting and faithful account of the several families of this surname in the United States.

[68] *Marcus Trevor*—Marcus Trevor was a son of sir Edward. He was soon afterwards knighted, and, in 1662, was created first viscount Dungannon. His sister, Magdalen, was married to sir Hans Hamilton of Monella and Hamilton's Bawn.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol., i., p. 270.

[69] *Mr. William Stewart.*—This was a son of sir William Stewart of Newtownstewart; he died young, and unmarried.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., p. 274.

[70] *Mr. John Trevor.*—John Trevor and Arthur Trevor are spoken of in an Inquisition, (*Down*, no. 84, Car. I.), as sons of sir Edward Trevor and Anne his wife. About the year 1633, John Trevor purchased the lands of Ballynleantagh and Cargagh-igry, county of Down, containing 240 acres, from Ever Magenuse of Ballychryne, and his son Rory.—*Ulster Inquisitions, Down*, no. 58, Car. I.

[71] *Lecky of Lecky.*—Lecky of that Ilk, in Stirlingshire, appears to have settled at Castle-Lecky, in the county of Londonderry, early in the seventeenth century. In 1639, he refused to take the *Black Oath*, and was compelled to return, for a time to Scotland. Adair, *True Narrative*, pp. 61, 62, gives a graphic account of Lecky's escape from pursuivants at Newtownstewart.

[72] *Of Girvinmains.*—The Kennedys of Girvinmains were nearly allied by blood to the Kennedys, earls of Cassilis. They, and the numerous families of this surname in Carrick, were of Irish descent. William Abercrummie, already quoted, when describing the people of this district, has the following observations:—"The inhabitants are of ane Irish originall, as appears both by their names, being generally all *Macks*—I mean the vulgar,—and all their habitations of Irish designation; their hills are *knocks*, their castles *ardes*. But although the great and almost only name among them be the Kennedies, yet there be beside them the Boyds, Cathcarts, Fergussons, and Moores, that have been old possessors. But the later names that enjoy some of the ancient honourable seats of the Kennedies are *Hamiltons* that possess *Bargany*, *Whitewords* that possess *Blairquhan*, and *Crawfuirds* that have *Ardmillan*.

11th, In this space went together the late Lord's Phisitians, viz., Hugh M'Mullin,[73] practitioner, and Patrick Maxwell,[74] Dr. in physic, and next after them came—

12th, Alexander Colvill, Dr. in Divinity,[75] Robert Barclay, Dean of Clogher.[76]

13th, Then there walked Knights and Noblemen's sons, mourners, viz.—

Sir Jas. Conningham, Kt.[77]

Yet the Kennedies continue still to be the most numerous and the most powerful Clan. Besides the Earl of Cassilis, their chiefe, there be Sir Gilbert Kennedy of *Girvanmains*, Sir Archibald Kennedy of *Colarne* (Colzean), Sir Thomas Kennedy of *Kirkhill*, Kennedy of *Beltersan*, Kennedy of *Kilherque* (Kilchendie), Kennedy of *Kirkmichael*, Kennedy of *Knockdone*, Kennedy of *Glenour*, Kennedy of *Bennan*, Kennedy of *Carlock*, and Kennedy of *Drummellan*. But this name is under great decay, in comparison of what it was ane age ago; at which tyme they flourished so in power and number, as to give occasion to this rhyme:—

"Twixt Wigtoune and the towne of Aire,
And laigh doun by the cruves of Cree,
You shall not get a lodging there
Except ye court a Kennedy."

History of the Kennedyis, edited by Pitcairn, p. 166.

[73] *Hugh M'Mullin.*—McMullan, or McMullin, was a surname very prevalent in Kirkcudbrightshire, and probably this medical practitioner was a native of that district. Alex. Mullan, of Greyabbey parish, was an officer under the command of the third viscount during the troubles after 1641. A distinguished physician named Allen Mullen, a native of the north of Ireland is known as the author of the following publications, viz:—*An Anatomical Account of the Elephant accidentally burned to death in Dublin in June*, 1681; *Anatomical Observations on the Eyes of Animals*; 1682; *Five Essays printed in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. The first named work was dedicated to sir William Petty, and the second to the Hon. Robert Boyle.—Taylor's *History of the University of Dublin*, p. 374.

[74] *Patrick Maxwell.*—This Dr. Maxwell attended bishop Echlin during his last illness, and, according to Adair's *True Narrative*, p. 39, reported an exclamation of that prelate, which appears to have been accepted by Presbyterians as a mysteriously extorted testimony to the superior innocence and truth of their own cause, when contrasted with that of the bishops. During one of Dr. Maxwell's visits to the death-bed of bishop Echlin, he asked his patient to say of what he particularly complained, to which the latter replied "*its my conscience, man!*" The doctor immediately exclaimed "*I have no cure for that!*" Maxwell afterwards reported this circumstance at Newtown House, and the first viscount, then an old man, recommended the doctor not to repeat it in other quarters; whereupon, his daughter-in-law, Jean Alexander, who was a zealous presbyterian, cried out—"No man shall get that report suppressed, for I shall bear witness of it to the glory of God, who hath smitten that man (Echlin) for suppressing Christ's witnesses." These 'witnesses' were the presbyterian ministers, Dunbar, Welsh, Blair, and Livingstone, whom the bishop had recently deposed. Dr. Maxwell, mentioned in the text, afterwards became physician to Charles I.

[75] *Alexander Colvill, D.D.*—This clergyman was of the Colvilles of Ochiltree, and, therefore, a family connexion of bishop Echlin, whose mother was Grissel Colville, daughter of Robert Colville of Clish, in the county of Kinross, ancestor of the Colvilles of Ochiltree.—Douglass's *Peerage of Scotland*. It is probable that Dr. Colville was induced originally to come to Ulster by his kinsman, bishop Echlin. He was ordained deacon, Jan. 8, 1622, and priest, Aug. 5, 1622. On the 18th of August, 1622, being then chaplain to the chancellor, he was presented to the precentorship of St. Saviour's, Connor, with a clause uniting the same *pro hâc vice tantum* to the vicarage of Coule (Cammoney), of which he was at that date in possession. On the 13th of December, 1634, he was presented to the rectory of Rathcavan and Skerry in the same diocese, with a clause of union, *pro hâc vice tantum.*—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. ii., part v., pp. 107, 111. See Cotton's *Fasti Eccl. Hibernica*, vol. iii., p. 262, 271.

[76] *Dean of Clogher.*—See p. 131, *supra*.

[77] *Sir Jas. Conningham, Kt.*—James I., in July, 1610, granted to this sir James Cunningham's father the lands known as the "small proportion of Moiagh alias Ballyaghan, situated in the precinct of Portlagh, barony of Raphoe, and county of Donegal, and containing the quarters called Moiagh, Dryan, Magherybegg, Magherymore, Tryan-Carrickmore, Eredy, and Grackhy, with their appurtenances, amounting to 1000 acres. On the 1st of May, 1613, James Cunningham let these lands to the following settlers, viz., the quarter of *Moiagh* to Alex. Dunne, John Dunne, Donnell M'Kym, Joh. Dunne, jun., John Younge, William Hendry, Alex. Grynney, and Will. Stewart; the quarter of *Grackky* to Wm. Valentyne, Hugh Moore, Will. Moore, and David Kennydy; the quarter of *Magherymore* to John Watson, Robert Paterson, Will. Ekyn, George Blacke, Andrew Smythe, James Gilmore, Will. Gaate, George Peere, John M'Kym, Andrew Brown, Will. Sutherland, Will. Rankin, and John Smythe; the quarter of *Magherybegg* to John Purveyance, John Harper, Hugh Lokard, Thomas Scott, and John Brown; the quarter of *Dryan* to John Roger, Will. Teyse, and Donnell M'Eredy; the quarter of *Tryan-Carrickmore* to David Kennedy and Will. Valentyne; the quarter of *Eredy* to Will. Arnett, Andrew Arnett, John Alexander, John Hutchine, Peter Stevenson, John Hamylton, Edward Holmes, and George Leich. On the lands of Moiagh, at Ballyaghan, the landlord built a house 52 feet in length, 20 feet broad, and 22 feet in height, in a court or bawn, enclosed by a wall 228 feet in circumference, and 10 high.—*Ulster Inquisitions, Donegall*, no. 7, Car. I. In the year 1629, sir James Cunningham, son of the above, obtained a grant from the crown of the lands already named, with a fishery in the waters of Lough Swilly. The premises were erected into a manor called *Fort-Cunningham*, with power to create tenures, hold 400 acres demesne, courts leet and baron, a market and two fairs.—Morrin's *Calendar, Charles I.*, p. 453.

Sir William Semple, Kt., the Lord Semple's son,[78]
Mr. Charles Alexander,[79]
Sir James Erskin,[80] Kt. and Privy Counsellor,
Sir Wm. Murray,[81] Kt. and Bart.
Mr. John Alexander,[82]
Sir Ed. Trevor,[83] Kt. and Privy Counsellor.

14th, Went Mr. Robert Montgomery,[84] Clerk, the Curate in Newtown, alone.

15th, Dr. Henry Leslie,[85] Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, who preached the funeral sermon.

16th, Then followed the great banner, advanced by William Montgomery, of Ballyskeogh.[86]

[78] *Lord Semple's Son.*—See p. 133, *supra.*

[79] *Charles Alexander.*—See p. 133, *supra.*

[80] *Sir James Erskin.*—This sir James Erskin was nephew of the *first* countess of Stirling, and cousin of the second viscount Montgomery's lady, being a son of Alexander Erskin, second son of John, earl of Mar. Sir James held some appointment in the royal household at the time that sir William Alexander, first earl of Stirling, was in high favour with James I. Erskin's fortunes becoming desperate, he, as many others in similar circumstances, obtained lands in Ulster, about the year 1630. The editor of bishop Spottiswoode's *Life*, states that sir James Erskine's wife was Mary, daughter and co-heir of Adam Erskine of Cambuskenneth. By this lady he had four sons. "The two eldest, Henry and John, died without issue; the third, Archibald, married first Beatrix Spottiswoode, daughter of the bishop; and, secondly, Lettice, daughter of Sir Paul Gore, bart. Sir James died on the 5th, and was buried in St. Michan's, Dublin, on the 8th of March, 1636. Archibald had one son, Thomas, who died without issue, under the age of eighteen, and two daughters, viz., Mary, wife of Wm. Richardson, esquire; and Anne, wife of John Moutray, or Moutrey, gent. On the death of Archibald, in 1645, his younger brother, colonel James Erskine became guardian of the infant children. Whether these children were by the first or second marriage is uncertain." It is probable they were by the second marriage. The *Richardsons* now hold the Augher estate, and the *Moutrays* enjoy that known as *Favour Royal*, consisting of the lands of Portclare, Ballykiggir, and Ballmackell. The Moutrays are patrons of Errigal-keerogue parish, in county Tyrone. See mention of it in Stewartson's *Parochial Survey.*—*The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 104, *note.*

[81] *Sir Wm. Murray.*—See p. 132, *supra.*

[82] *Mr. John Alexander.*—See p. 132, *supra.*

[83] *Sir Ed. Trevor.*—See p. 132, *supra.*

[84] *Mr. Robert Montgomery.*—This clergyman was probably a member of the Hessilheid branch, but to what particular family he belonged we have not been able to ascertain. "R. Montgomerie, minister of Newtowne," is a witness to the indenture, in which the first viscount pledges himself and heirs to acknowledge the feudal superiority of the house of Eglinton. See p. 112, *supra.*

[85] *Dr. Henry Leslie.*—Henry Leslie was born about the year 1580, and came to Ulster in 1614. The writer of bishop Spottiswoode's *Life*, who spells his name *Harrye Lasly*e, states that he commenced his career as a curate in Tredagh (Drogheda), and that he was very anxious, even then, to have Spottiswoode deposed and himself made bishop of Clogher in his stead. For a curious, but not complimentary, notice of Leslie, see the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 116, 148, 150. Although his designs on the bishoprick of Clogher failed, his promotion to other good livings was not long delayed. In 1620, he was presented by the crown to the prebend of Connor, with appurtenances to the cathedral church of St. Saviour's, at that place. In 1622 he became rector of Muckamore. He was soon afterwards appointed dean of Dromore and vicar of Ballee. In 1627, he became dean of Down; and, in 1632, treasurer of St. Patrick's, Dublin.—See Cotton's *Fasti*, vol. iii., p. 206; and vol. v., p. 235. In 1635, on the death of bishop Echlin, Leslie was advanced to the sees of Down and Connor. During his progress he was twice engaged in litigous proceedings on behalf of the church, being successful in one case, but foiled in another, although backed up by the powerful assistance of Strafford.—Morrin's *Calendar*, reign of Charles I., pp. 217, 328, 610; see also Hanna's *Account of the Parishes of Tyrella, Ballykinlar, and Bright*, published in the *Downpatrick Recorder*. On the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1641, bishop Leslie was among the first to leave his diocese. Colonel Matthews, who commanded a small company at Dromore, besought him to remain as an encouragement to the inhabitants, with whose assistance that officer intended to take up a position which, he hoped, would arrest the advancement of the insurgents in their progress farther north. But his efforts to inspire courage appear to have been made in vain, for, when Matthews, who ventured out a little way from Dromore to reconnoitre, came back again, he found the town "in a manner deserted by the bishop, and all the substantial inhabitants (except one Boyd, a merchant) having taken the opportunity of his absence to march off with bag and baggage, and the poorest sort ready to follow the example; nor could he prevail with these people to stay without Boyd, whom he was forced to put into prison, when he could not persuade him by fair means to stay."—Carte, *Life of Ormond*, vol. i., p. 186. On Leslie's return, at the Restoration, in 1660, he was promoted by Charles II. to the richer and less troublesome diocese of Meath. He died in 1661, and was interred in Christ's Church, Dublin. Thiprelate is generally acknowledged to have borne a very high character for piety and learning. For notices of bishop Leslie's publications, see Ware's *Works*, edited by Harris, vol. ii., p. 342; also Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., pp. 180, 230.

[86] *Of Ballyskeogh.*—Paterson states that William Montgomery of *Balliskeoch*, in Scotland, was third son of William Montgomery of Bridgend, and that he accompanied his father to the funeral of the first viscount in 1636. This William Montgomery, who had the honour of carrying "the great banner," married Barbara, daughter of John Montgomerie of Cockelbie, and died without issue. There is a townland named *Ballyskeagh*, in the parish of Newtownards, but the place mentioned by the author in the text was most probably the Scottish *Belliskeoch.*—See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 368.

17th, Neile Montgomery, of Langshaw,[87] Esq., bore the cushion with a Viscount's coronet on it, and a circolet about it.

18th, Athlone[88] Pursuviant at Arms, appeared marching by himself, and presenting to view the spurs, gauntlet, helm, and crest.

19th, Then the defunct's Gentleman Usher, named Jo. Hamil,[89] walked bare-headed next before the King at Arms.

20th, Ulster King[90] at Arms carried the sword, target or shield armorial.

21st, Then was drawn (by six led horses, cloathed in black) the hearse, environed with a circolet mounted on the carriage of a coach, supported with posts or pillars, under which was laid the coffin, inclosing the remains of that late worthy Viscount, covered with a velvet pall, and on it pinned taffeta escutchions of his Lordship's own, and his matches coat's armorial, and elegys of the best sort also affixed thereto. The hearse on each side being accompanied by six men, with single banner rolls without; and even in rank with them went six footmen belonging to his late Lordship and his three sons, each having a black battoun in his right hand.

22d, Next immediately after the hearse followed now the Right Hon. Hugh, 2d Lord Viscount Montgomery, of the great Ardes, the chiefest mourner; after him, walked Sir Jas. Montgomery, George Montgomery and Pat. Savage aforesaid, as next chiefest mourners (I dare say it), both in hearts and habits.[91]

23d, Then walked the Viscount Claneboy[92] and the Earl of Eglinton together; the Lord Alexander and the Lord Montgomery[93] together; John M'Dowal[94] of Garthland, and the Baron of Howth's son;[95] — St. Lawrence, Esq., and Sir William Stewart, Knight, Bart., and Privy Counsellor, in one rank. All these, as chief mourners, who were attended by some of their own servants, appointed to wait on them and be near their persons; six men, also covered with long black cloaks, marching by two and two, in the servants' rear, a great mixed multitude following and going about the herse at decent distance; only all the women in black, and those who had taffeta scarfs and hoods of that colour, went next the six men in cloaks. The great bell then in the west end of the Church tolling all the while that the procession was coming from the tent.

24th, And now all being orderly entered and seated, and the coffin placed before the pulpit

[87] *Of Langshaw.*—See p. 133, *supra.*

[88] *Athlone.*—Albone Leveret was Athlone Pursuivant. See p. 130, *supra.* In 1608, he and his father were appointed "Pursuivants of Ireland by the name of Athlone, and the style, title, liberty, pre-eminence, and perquisites to such office of old accustomed; to hold, to them and the survivor of them, during good behavour; with the fee or annuity of £10 English."—Erck's *Repertory of Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 489.

[89] *Jo. Hamill.*—From Roughwood in Beith, and probably son of Hugh Hamill mentioned at p. 139, *supra.*

[90] *Ulster King.*—Thos. Preston, esq. See p. 130, *supra.*

[91] *Hearts and Habits.*—These chief mourners were the three sons and son-in-law of the deceased.

[92] *Viscount Claneboy*—See p. 133, *supra.* Although he attended this funeral, there was no cordiality as yet between him and the family of the deceased. The litigation went on between them until the year 1641.

[93] *Lord Alexander and the Lord Montgomery.*—These were the eldest sons of the earls of Eglinton and Stirling.

[94] *John M'Dowall.*—This gentleman was either father-in-law or brother-in-law of George Montgomery, third son of the deceased. See p. 94, *supra.* By the Inquisition of 1623, it appears that Balleloghan, Ballestoker, and Balle M'Claffe, were then in the possession of sir Jo. M'Dowell, by an estate from the lord viscount of Ardes, but what the estate was (by what tenure he held these lands) the jurors did not know. The first viscount, when making his will, enumerates the moneys owing to him, and in this enumeration the following sum is specified:—"Item, there is due unto me by sir John M'Dowell the sum of 5000 merks Scottish, being £277 sterling or thereabouts."

[95] *Baron of Howth's Son.*—This was William St. Lawrence, only son of Nicholas, twenty-third lord Howth, and Jane, daughter of Dr. George Montgomery, bishop of Meath.

and the service ended, the Lord Bishop preached a learned, pious and elegant sermon (which I have seen in print long ago, from whence I might have borrowed some memories if I had it now). This done, and the corpse moved to the upper end of the chancel, was (after the office for the dead performed) there inhumed. The Church pulpit and chancel being circoled with black baze, and stuck with scutchions and pencils[96] of the defunct and his matches,[97] at due distances; the whole edifice thoroughly illuminated by wax candles and torches. The full obsequys were thus ended.[98]

Divers elegant elegys and epitaphs were made by Newtown school (as was their grateful duty) and others on his Lordship's death, as encomiums of his life (whose love to the learned was eminent), but these being too long and bulky to have room here, I will only in a few lines write my remarks on worldly grandeur and prophesy as a poet of the defunct. Take them; thus they are:

As shaddows of dark clouds doe fleet away
On sudden sunshines of an April day,
So all the glorys of our Birth, Acts, State,
Swiftly (like powder fir'd) evaporate.
Not th' less his Justice, Piety and Name,
Shall be preserv'd (in memory) by Fame:
For written Monuments more lasting are
Than those of Stone, or Metall, rear'd by farr.
And Sun, Moon, Starrs (tho each a centinell)
Doe by their beams, dangers and safetys tell:
Yet virtue (to give life) wants parallel.

In confirmation hereof *vivit post funera virtus*, says Ovid,

And only the actions of the just,
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

This funerall was extraordinary great, and costly; all the noblemen and noblemen's sons, and the gentry which came from Scotland, and the knights, gentry, and heralds, with their retinue, and

[96] *Scutchions and pencils.*—Scutchion or escutcheon, from the Norman French *ecusson*, Latin *scutum*, is a family shield on which armorial ensigns are exhibited. The word in early times was generally spelled *escocheon*, as in the following illustration from Wharton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. iii., p. 9:—"The addition of the *escocheon* of Edward the Confessor to his own, although made by the family of Norfolk for many years, and justified by the authority of the Heralds, was a sufficient foundation for an impeachment of high treason."—Latham's Edition of *Johnston's Dictionary*. *Pencils*, correctly *Pencels*, were little flags or streamers from the tops of lances, bearing armorial designs. The word is from the old French *Pennonceel*; hence also the diminutive *Pennon*. "And the chariot was garnished with banners and *pencelles* of tharms of his dominions, titles and genealogies." See Richardson's *New English Dictionary*.

[97] *Matches.*—In other words, the armorial quarterings of the Shaws and Maxwells, the families to which his two ladies had belonged. According to Crawford, the Armorial bearing of *Shaw* is Azure, three covered cups, or; supported by two savages, wreathed about the middle; and, for a crest, a demi-savage; with the motto *I mean well*. According to the same authority, the Armorial bearing of *Maxwell* is, Argent; on a saltyre, sable; an annulet, or; stoned, Azure; supported by two monkeys; and for a crest, a stag's head; with the motto—*I am ready*.—*History of the Shire of Renfrew*, pp. 35, 126. When a widower died, as in the case of the first viscount, his arms were impaled with those of his deceased wife or wives, having a helmet, mantling, and crest, all the ground outside the escutcheon or shield being *black*.

[98] *Were thus ended.*—There is an account of this funeral procession in Ulster's office, drawn up, no doubt, under the immediate superintendence of the then Ulster King at Arms, Thomas Preston. For a copy of this account the late sir William Betham charged the sum of £1 11s. 6d., which may be considered very moderate for a herald. This is mentioned in a letter from J. T. Banks (author of the *Memoir of Sir William Alexander*, printed in Appendix G) to the late William Montgomery, esq., of Greyabbey. The letter was written on the 15th March, 1829.

the rest which came from Farmanagh, Tirowen, Donnegall, Armagh, and Antrim (which was no smal number) with the attendants of all these mourners, and their horses, besides the phisitians, divines, and bishop; and their servants, etc., were all entertained to the full, in meat, drink, lodging and other accommodations. The better sort of them in the Viscount's house, and the residue in the town, where wine (because there was no excise or new impost) was plenty at his Lordship's expense; the atcheivments (alone) costing above 65*l.*[99] at the lowest rate that they could be bought by Sir James Montgomery, who was one of the executors to the late Lord his father's last will and testament.

His late Lordship was generally well reported of, and even by those with whom he contended at law to gain possession of his own right, and they could not do otherwise (except clandestinely) because his Lordship took all the civil and fair wayes imaginable to obtain his lawful purposes. And he was universally revered, loved and obeyed by the Irish, and much esteemed of by Con O'Neil and his followers, but especially of his tenents of that nation, who loudly lamented for their loss of him, now he was dead: because he had been in general carefull to protect them all (within his reach) from injurys, and familiarly conversing with them his own tenents, when he used his summer recreations of hunting and fishing in his woodlands, rivers and loughs, by which means his British planters seldom lost any goods (by stealth or robbery) that were not retrieved.

[99] *Costing above* 65*l.* — Achievement, often written *Hatchment*, was the coat of arms fully emblazoned on an escutcheon, which was exhibited on the hearse at funerals, and sometimes hung up in churches. The following passages contain illustrations of this term :—

"There was hung o'er the common gate an *achievement*, commonly called a *Hatchment*."—Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii., p. 149.

"His means of death, his obscure funeral,
No trophy, sword, nor *hatchment* o'er his bones,
No noble rites, no formal ostentation,
Cry to be heard."—Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, iv., 5.

"I would have Master Pyed Mantel, her grace's herald, to pluck down his *hatchments*, reverse his Coat-Armour, and nullify him for no gentleman."—Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*.

"Receive these pledges,
These *hatchments* of our grief, and grace as so much
To place 'em on his hearse."—Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonudca*.

—See Richardson's *Dictionary of the English Language*. It was the duty of the Heralds in attendance at a funeral to record a genealogical account of the family of the deceased. These records were deposited in the Heralds' colleges, and are important as containing evidence of descent in every case. Most of them are richly emblazoned, and engrossed on vellum, being technically known as *funeral certificates*. Soon after the close of the seventeenth century, Heralds ceased to attend the funerals of the nobility, and are now only summoned to superintend personally the funerals of the Royal Family. The following is the first viscount's *funeral certificate*, for a copy of which the editor is indebted to the kindness of Wm. Pinkerton, esq., F.S.A., Hounslow, London :—

"The Right Honble. Sir Hugh Mountgomery, Knight, Visct. Montgomery of the Ardes, son and heir of Adam Mountgomery, Esq., and Margaret, daughter of Hugh Mountgomery, of Hazlehead, in the Kingdom of Scotland, Esq., his wife, which Adam was eldest son of John Mountgomery, Esq. and Elisabeth, his wife, daughter of Jervice Colchoine of Lusse, Esq., in the County of Kerry, eldest son of Robert Mountgomery and dame Margaret, his wife, and daughter of Sir Adam Mure of Caldwell, Knight, and widow of Sir Adam Cunningham, Alexander Lord Mountgomery of Scotland, and second brother to Hugh eldest brother of Alexander Mountgomery and Elizabeth his wife daughter of Cunningham of Aughinkeer in the forsaid Kingdom, which Alexander was eldest son of Robert, which Robert was second son of Hugh Mountgomery, first Earl of Eglinton, in the Kingdom of Scotland, which Ld. Visct. Mountgomery, of Ardes, departed this mortal life at Newtowne in the County of Down, in the Province of Ulster, the 15th of May, 1636, and in the 75th year of his age, and was Honourably interred with the attendance of the King of Armes and Athlone officers of Armes, in Newtowne aforesaid, the 8th day of September following. This defunct, the Viscount, took to his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of James Shaw of Greenock, in foresaid Kingdom, Esq., by whom he had issue three sons living, and some others died young, *viz.* :—Hugh Visct. Mountgomery of the Ardes, who married dame Jane daughter of William Alexander Earl of Stirling in the Kingdom of Scotland aforesaid; Sir James Mountgomery, Knighted by King Charles, Anno 16, and one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy Chamber, who took to wife Katherine, daughter of Sir William Stewart, Knt. and Baronet; and George, third son, who took to wife Griselle daughter of Sir John Macdougal (Macdouall), of the kingdom of Scotland aforesaid;

"And a daughter, *viz.*, Elizabeth, married Sir Robert M'Clellaid, Baron of Kilcobry, in the aforesaid Kingdom, which Elizabeth died without issue. Jane 2d married to Patrick Savage of Portaferry, in the County of Down, Esq.

"This defunct took, to his second wife, dame Sara, daughter of Maxwell Ld. Harye, in the said Kingdom, and Countess Dowager of Wigton, widow of the Earl of Wigton in the foresaid Kingdom, by whom he had no issue. This defunct was Knighted by King James, the third year of his reign, being born in the Kingdom of Scotland aforesaid, and deserveth to be eternized for his worthy works of Plantation in the Ards and other parts in the said County of Down. The truth of the premisses is testified by the subscripsions of the Rt. Honble. now Visct. Mountgomery of the Ards, the said eldest son of the Defunct, who hath returned this Certificate to be recorded in the office of the Ulster King of Arms, taken by Thomas Preston, Esq., Ulster King of Arms, and Allbone Leverett, Athlone, officer of Arms, the of September, 1636, afore.—*Funeral Certificates in Ulster's Office*, 4870, Plut. clxix., 1.

For remarks on this account of the descent of Brisdetans from an earl of Eglinton, see p. 4, note 11, *supra*.

But for all the said costly pomp and what was expended at the 2d and 3d Lords burialls, there is not as yett, An. 1698, any monument (but this) erected to the memory of any of them. Such hath been (as it is easy to be demonstrated) the troublesomness of the times elapsed since the said funeral,[100]

I shall only say, it hath been a frequent fate of great and good personages, to have no tombs; and the luck of sordid capricious rich men, to have them, but then this latter sort do often build them (as Abraham bought a field and a cave for a burial place for him and his, and Jacob erected a pillar over Rachel) in their own life time, otherwise their heires, notwithstanding all the lands or money is left to them, are seldom so respectful or grateful as to doe it, tho it were prudence to gett a good name and repute thereby both alive and dead.

But lett us see the poet's ill advised angry distich, and let who will discant on it, viz.,

"Marmoreo tumulo Licinus jacet, at Cato parvo;
Pompeius nullo: Quis putet esse Deos."[101]

Which I English thus:

Glutton Licinus, in gilt marble sleeps,
In a small urn Utica Cato keeps:
Pompey the Great no lodging hath; yet wee
Miscall them Gods, were lesser men than Hee.

I will now make a few generall remarks of the Montgomerys, and first of their ages; the first Viscount's forefathers lived long by reason of temperance, abstaining from excess, as wine, women,

[100] *Since the said funeral.*—There have been no monuments erected over the graves of the two viscounts, or of their descendants, the five earls of Mount-Alexander. From the date of the first viscount's death, in 1636, until the death of the first earl, in 1663, the times were indeed troubled. Subsequently to the latter date, the fortunes of the family had greatly declined, and the means of erecting costly monuments, even if there had been the desire to do so, no longer existed. Probably the same cause prevented also the Scottish branches of the family from the erection of monuments; as, of all the once numerous and potent houses of this surname in Ayrshire, or rather in the district of Cunningham, not one such is known to exist, save that which was erected in 1637 by sir Robert Montgomerie of Skelmorlie, in the church of Largs. The family vault of Eglinton is beneath the parish church, and precludes, therefore, the idea of any monumental display. But it is a fact still more remarkable, that no lettered stones remain in the burial-places of that district to mark the graves of humbler members of the clan. Not even in the church or churchyard of Beith is there a monumental trace of the family of Braidstane, or Giffen, or Hessilhead, or Bogstown, or Craighouse. This remarkable circumstance was communicated to the editor in a letter from *Wm. Dobie, esq., Grangevale, parish of Beith*, dated 19th November, 1866. See also *The Edinburgh Topographical Magazine*, 1849, p. 176. Although there were no monuments erected at Newtown, the graves of the Montgomerys buried in the old church were undoubtedly covered by large flat stones recording their names, titles, and dates of their death. These tombstones were no doubt, used by the builder, Charles Campbell, in 1830, when laying the floor of the session-house. (See his letter, p. 123, *supra*.) They "were dressed over to answer the flooring." At the trial of the so-called earl of Stirling, to which reference has been made in note 33 of same page, "Margaret M'Blain deponed that her husband was a mason to his business,—that he was employed in new flagging the floor of the old church (when being converted into a session-house) at the east end of Newtown House, and that after the work was finished, he stated to deponent that he had been on various graves, and he particularly mentioned the grave of lady Mount-Alexander, with whom the deponent had lived several years in her youth." This lady Mount-Alexander was Mary Angelica De La Cherois, countess of the fifth and last earl. As she died in 1771, the inscription on her tombstone was no doubt quite legible when being "*dressed over*" in 1830. The other and earlier inscribed stones were not so legible, and did not attract the mason's attention. This witness farther testfied that the tombstone of the hon. John Alexander also attracted the observation of her husband. See p. 132, *supra*.

[101] *Putet esse Deos.*—This epigram of P. Terentius Varro is as follows:—

"*Marmoreo tumulo Licinus jacet, at Cato parvo;*
Pompeius nullo: Quis putet esse deos?
Saxa premunt Licinum, levat altum fama Catonem;
Pompeium tituli. Credimus esse deos.

—*Anthologia, &c., Ed. Meyerus*; tom. i., p. 19.

and variety of food, and useing corporeall exercises, abandoning idleness and a lazy life and soft pleasures, which hath corrupted the healths of the last century.[102]

His Lordship was past the midle of his 76 year, his son George [103] lived to 68; of the other's shortness of life you shall hear in the sequel of this narrative: But to proceed on this head imprimis, I know An. 1646 (when at Newtoun school) many artificers and yeomen (whom his Lordship conduced to plant) that lived to great ages. Among which one Adam Montgomery (who told me many things of Braidstane, when I was young, which I studied not to remember), he lived to about 105 years as I am told, and as himself said he was a little before his death.[104] Also John Peacock of Tullycavan,[105] my fee farmer, lived above 100 years, a healthy man, and had travelled much with the first Viscount. There was John Montgomery of Ballyrolly, who lived so long in sound health (but not memory) that he would play at hide and seek, and such like childish games, with his wife and his great grand children.[106] Also the Goodwife of Busby,[107] after the 85th year of her age,

[102] *Last century.*—The six lairds of Braidstane lived between the years 1390 and 1636, which shows an average of only forty-one years for each. The fourth laird, however, must have been ninety years of age at the time of his death in 1558.

[103] *Son George.*—See p. 94, *supra*. George Montgomery resided first at Drumfad, near Donaghadee, and afterwards at Ballylesson. He lived during the later years of his life at Rosemount, and died there.

[104] *Before his death.*—This Adam Montgomery was a carpenter, and is mentioned in an Inquisition of 1625, which was held to inquire what waste had been committed in the woods of the territory called Slutt Neales. The report of this commission states that "one Adam Montgomery, for two summers, with three or four workmen, cut no less than 40 trees on Lisdalgan, and other inland towns."—*Ulster Inquisitions, Down*, no. 105, Car. I.; Morrin's *Calendar*, Charles I., p. 65. The name of an *Adam* Montgomery who occupied the position of a gentleman, and was, no doubt, of the Braidstane line, appears among the earliest settlers. By deed, dated 25th of April, 1610, sir Hugh Montgomery of Newtown, in the county of Down, knight, one of the esquires of the king's body, sold to *Adam Montgomery*, of Ballyalton, in the said co., gent., the two towns and lands of Ballehenrie and Ballyalton, in the parish of Comber, in the lower Clandeboy, at a fee-farm rent of £3 3s. 8d. English, to be paid in two equal parts, payable at May-day and Hollantide; these lands were bounded by the townland of Ballydamphe, in the occupation of Robert Montgomery, gent, E.; by the lands of sir James Hamilton, W.; by the townlands of Ballymacreny and Ballygovernor, held by Robert and James Cathcart, esqrs., N.; by the hill of Scraboe, N.E.; and by sir Hugh's lands of Comber, S. and S.W.—all courts leet and baron, waifs, strays, and all royalties excepted; the tenants to perform suits of court and mill, paying for grinding their corn the 16th part thereof; herriots; and for relief double the rent. To pay also as a common fine at every court leet, himself and his heirs, 6d.; and for each of his undertenants, 3d.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, James I., pp. 254, 255.

[105] *Of Tullycavan.*—To this fee-farmer, who is styled *gent.* in documents quoted below, the first viscount granted the lands of Tullykeaven, accounted for 60 acres, and Ballydowen, at the yearly rent of 40 shillings, for ever.—*Inquisition of* 1623. Tullykevin is the name of a townland in the parish of Greyabbey. This patriarchal farmer lived to have a succession of three landlords, after his settlement in June, 1623. On the 6th of August, 1631, Isabella Haddan (Haldane), widow of William Edmonston, of Braidisland, and Archibald Edmondston, her son, sold the lands of Ballybrian, in the parish of Gray Abbey, to John Peacock, of Tullykeavin, gent., for the sum of £333 6s. 8d. These lands were then jointly occupied by tenants named Cathcart and Cunningham. Peacock was bound to pay, as the Edmonstons had been, the sum of six pounds yearly, a chief rent to viscount Montgomery, in two equal payments, at the feasts of Pentecost and St. Martin the Bishop, to do suit and service, and to grind all the corn used on the premises in the landlord's mill. Mrs. Edmonston and her son appointed as their attorneys, to give possession and receive the purchase-money, their "well-beloved friends, Mr. James Hamilton, minister at Ballywalter, and Robert Allen, or either of them." This indenture is witnessed, among others, by Jhone Edmondstoune and Robert Edmondstoune. On the 14th of December, 1670, James Peacock (son of John) and Janet Peacock, alias Fairly, his wife, conveyed the above-named lands of Ballybrian to James M'Gill of Ballymonestragh, for the sum of £316 1s. 6d.—the yearly chief rent being then £7 15s. This indenture was witnessed, &c., by James Rosse, Wm. Schaw, Wm. Buchanan, Hugh Montgomerie, Calibb Bayly, Alex. Bayly, and others. —*Original Documents preserved at Greyabbey.*

[106] *Great grand-children.*—Ballyrolly is the name of a townland in the parish of Donaghadee. This John Montgomery is afterwards mentioned in the author's account of various families of this surname. He was an intimate friend of Mr. Hugh Nevin. See p. 135, *supra*.

[107] *Goodwife of Busby.*—The barony of Busby, in the parish of Kilmaurs, Ayrshire, was granted by Robert III. to David Mowat, in the year 1390, and remained in the Mowat family until 1630, although the greater part of it had been sold to the Eglinton family early in the seventeenth century. The estate enjoyed by the Mowats of Busbie contained 800 acres of choice land. In 1626, the *Guidman* of Busby died, and in the same year his son, James Mowat, was included in a grant of denization, so

walked to a communion in Comerer: and many more instances of longevity might be given, but forbear them.[108]

that he and the other members of the family were probably compelled by their circumstances to seek a new home on the Irish shore. The last Scottish representative of the family, from being a *laird* of Busbie, holding directly from the crown, had sunk to the position of only a *guidman*, or farmer, holding from the territorial lord. The "Good-wife" of Busby, mentioned in the text, was evidently the partner of Charles Mowat, who died in 1626.—See Paterton's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 217, 218. The surname of Mowat has almost entirely disappeared from Ayrshire; but the family of the last guidman settled in Castlereagh, and their descendants, invariably known as Busbys, though really *Mowats*, are still found in the district. In explanation of the two Scottish terms *Laird* and *Gudeman*, sir George Mackenzie has the following remark:—"And this remembers me of a custom in Scotland, which is but lately gone in dissuetude, and that is, that such as did hold their lands of the prince were called *Lairds;* but such as held their lands of a subject, though they were large, and their superiours very noble, were only all called *Good-Men*, from the old French word *bonne-homme*, which was the title of the master of the family; and, therefore, such feues as had a jurisdiction annext to them, a barrony, as we call it, do ennoble; for barronies are established only by the prince's erection or confirmation."—*Science of Heraldry*, pp. 13, 14. A *laird* might only be worth two or three hundred a-year, whilst a *good-man* (although his inferior in rank), might own as many thousands.

[108] *But I forbear them.*—The following instance of longevity was recorded by the author on a tombstone discovered, a few years ago, in the grave-yard, and since brought into the Abbey:—

Here lyes the Body of Amer Gaa who died January 1689 aged 104

* * * * of Rosemount who died Ao. Æt. 85
Dni 1689:
* * * * indulgent and kind,
and left few his like behind.
* * * curavit posuitq: W. M.

This stone appears to have been first intended for some retainer of W. M., and to have been transferred afterwards to one *Amer Gaa*. The inscription signed W. M. is evidently of the old gentleman's own cutting, and probably to a family servant, but no more remains legible than is given.—*MS. Notes of colonel F. O. Montgomery*. The name *Amer Gaa*, on this tombstone, was rather a puzzle, as it appeared to be both the christian and surname of the person. In the *Northern Whig* of the 6th of April, 1868, a police case is reported in which James Wallace was represented as having administered a poisonous drug to one William *Emergaw*. Harris mentions several remarkable cases of longevity well known throughout the county of Down in the early part of the 18th century. *Alice Sale* had died soon before 1754, in Lecale, aged 100 years. Two men, at Rose-Trevor, named respectively *Cumming* and *Erwine*, lived each to be upwards of a century old. A widow, named *Agnew*, was then (1744) living in the same district, aged 100 years. *Patrick Lowy* of Clogher, in the parish of Down, had recently died, at the same age. *Janet Tate* alias *Halliday*, was then living aged 101 years. *John Finlay*, a fisherman of Bangor, lived to be 103 years of age. *Jane Johnson* of Donaghmore, died on Easter Sunday, 1744, aged 103 years. *Mrs. Lasharway*, (Delacherois) a French lady, was 105 in 1744. She spent much of her time at Mount-Alexander, the residence of her niece, who was the wife of the fifth and last earl of Mount-Alexander. *Andrew Miscandle* of Donaghmore, was certified by the minister and church-wardens to be 107 years of age. The most remarkable case was that of *Mary Crawly*, of the parish of Ballynahinch, who died about the year 1740, at the age of 112 years.—Harris's *County of Down*, pp. 251–4. Since 1744, the year in which Harris published his book, very many cases of longevity in the county of Down have been recorded, from which we here select a few of the most remarkable, mentioning the years in which the persons died, their ages, and their places of abode:—

1749.—Alexander Bennett, 125, Dowr.patrick.
1749.—Jane M'Afee, 115, Rathfriland.
1752.—Isabel Laughlin, 118, Rathfriland.
1755.—Alexander Mackenzie, 120, Rathfriland.
1756.—Jane Mackenzie, 114, Rathfriland.
1763.—James Martin, 112, Ballynahinch.
1768.—Arthur M'Grilland, 101, Ballynahinch.
1774.—Henry Cromey, 106, Rathfriland.
1775.—John Smith, 101, Carlingford.
1777.—David Moorehead, 101, Killinchy.
1784.—Ann Pettigrew, 111, Waringstown.
1785.—Mary M'Donnell, 118, Ballynahinch.
1788.—John Bryson, 103, Holywood.
1791.—James Cree, 107, Donaghadee.
1794.—Charles Stanley, 104, Derryhale.
1794.—Jane Montgomery, 103, Donaghadee.
1794.—James M'Donagh, 109, Louhgbrickland.
1795.—Margaret M'Ilveen, 106, Purdysburn.
1796.—Robert M'Kee, 110, Saintfield.
1796.—Elizabeth Carson, 100, Waringstown.
1796.—Janet Thomson, 131, Ballynahinch.
1797.—John Reid, 103, Saintfield.
1798.—Alex. Brown, 105, Comber.
1798.—Hugh Stephenson, 100, Dromore.
1799.—Margaret Sloan, 104, Comber.
1800.—James Quart, 110, Saintfield.
1801.—Alice Kearney, 110, Portaferry.
1802.—John Craig, 112, Saintfield.
1802.—David Jamieson, 102, Saintfield.
1803.—William Wade, 102, Saintfield.
1804.—Jane Fitzgerald, 102, Donaghmore.
1807.—Martha Adams, 105, Dromara.
1810.—Samuel Malcolmson, 121, Rathfriland.
1810.—Mary Stralton, 105, Copeland Isle.
1810.—William Agnew, 104, Portaferry.
1812.—Ann M'Dowall, 112, Donaghadee.
1813.—Henry Edwards, 105, Donaghadee.
1814.—Roger M'Cormack, 101, Newry.
1815.—James Magee, 104, Saintfield.
1816.—Patrick Fitzgerald, 107, Donaghmore.
1816.—James Riddel, 102, Comber.
1816.—Charles Havoran, 113, Newry.
1817.—Dorothy Lemon, 107, Donaghadee.
1818.—John Manson, 105, Bangor.
1818.—Jane Cowan, 100, Donaghadee.
1819.—Isabella White, 107, Newry.
1822.—Agnes Beck, 104, Greyabbey.
1822.—Jane Gibson, 105, Monlough.
1823.—Jane Smith, 106, Drumbo.
1824.—Wm. Gibson, 104, Monlough.
1826.—Samuel Cumming, 112, Castlewellan.
1827.—William, Johnston, 100, Saintfield.

As to the sirname of Montgomery, the Scottish rithmers[109] designe them by calling them Poet Montgomerys, many of them having been excellent in that art.[110] This was their character in time of peace, which I read to be ascribed to some Roman Emperors, and to some Christian Kings, as a commendable quality or indowment, and a mark of the elevation of their spirits to high notions, fitting them for oratory, and lofty fluent speech, takeing them off from grovelling on vulgar appetites as worldings doe; by this sirname in the time of commotions and warrs were stiled the martiall Mont-

1828.—William Rainey, 107, Killyleagh.
1829.—Mary Ligget, 107, Gilford.
1830.—Ann M'Areavy, 106, Ballymacarrett.
1830.—Roda Steen, 105, Moville.
1831.—Bernard Doran, 100, Kirkcubbin.
1832.—Arthur Johnston, 105, Drumlough.
1832.—Harvey Murphy, 103, Rathmullan.
1833.—Joseph Carnaghan, 108, Waringstown.
1834.—Peter White, 106, Loughbrickland.
1835.—John Robinson, 104, Saintfield.

The above are taken from a vast number of cases collected by the late Samuel M'Skimin, author of *The History of Carrickfergus*. Mr. M'Skimin interleaved a copy of Harris's *County of Down*, thus adding a mass of most valuable materials, intended, no doubt, for a second edition of that rare and very excellent book. The Rev. Dr. MacIlwaine, incumbent of St. George's, Belfast, is now in possession of this precious Collection.

[109] *Scottish Rithmers.*—Buchanan states, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, p. 86, that in his time the order of minstrels was still revered among the Celtic inhabitants of these kingdoms. Colville, in his *Oratio Funebris Exequiis Elizabethæ nuper Angliæ Reginæ destinata*, p. 24, Paris, 1604, has the following contemptuous reference to these "rithmers:"—"When I was a boy, I had heard the beggarly *jockies* recite certain homely verses ascribed to Thomas the Rhymer, a reputed prophet." In George Martine's *State of the See of St. Andrews*, published in 1797, we have a more charitable and accurate notice of the latest members of this fraternity.—"To our fathers' time and ours, something remained, and still does remain of this ancient order. And they are called by others, and by themselves, *jockies*, who go about begging, and use still to recite the sluggornes . . . of most of the true ancient surnames of Scotland from old experience and observation. Some of them I have discoursed, and found to have reason and discretion. One of them told me there were not now twelve in the whole isle; but he remembered when they abounded, so as at one time he was one of five that usualie met at St. Andrews."—Irving's *History of Scottish Poetry*, edited by Carlyle, pp. 185, 186. The minstrels of the seventeenth century had thus evidently fallen from the high and distinguished position in which Percy and Pinkerton describe them in earlier times. See Percy's *Essay on the Ancient Minstrels in England*, p. xxi; and Pinkerton's *Essay on the Origin of Scottish Poetry*, p. lxxiii.

[110] *Excellent in that art.*—The old Scottish minstrels or rhymers were expected to recite poems in connexion with the surnames of the leading nobility, who were praised especially for martial exploits. The Montgomerys were further celebrated by the minstrels for the rare distinction of genius in song. The poetical vein appears to have come into the Montgomery family by the infusion of the Eglinton blood. Sir Hugh of Eglinton, who was born in 1320, is described by the old chronicler *Winton* as "cunning in literature, curious in his style, eloquent and subtle, and clothing his composition in appropriate metre, so as always to inspire pleasure and delight." This, however, is only a prosy translation of Winton's lines, which occur in vol. i., p. 122, of his *Cronykil*, and enumerate sir Hugh's principal poems thus:—

"That cunnand wes in literature;
He made the gret *gest of Arthure*,
And the *Awntyre of Gawane*,
The *Pystyl* also of *Swete Susane*.
He was curyws in hys style,
Fayre of facund, and subtile
And ay to plesans and delyte
Mad in metyre mete his dyte,
Lytle or nowcht nevyr-the-les
Waverand frae the suthfastness."

This poetical sir Hugh of Eglinton married Egidia, the half sister of Robert II., and by her left one daughter, Elizabeth, who inherited his large estates, and became the wife of John Montgomery of Eagleshame, ancestor of the Eglinton and other Montgomery families in Ayrshire. The poems specified in these lines of Winton are better known than any other of sir Hugh's productions. The acts and exploits of the renowned king Arthur and his nephew, sir Gawane, are the themes of the two romances above mentioned. The *Pystyl of Swete Susane* was written about the year 1362, and is founded on the apocryphal story of Susanna.—Irvine's *History of Scottish Poetry*, p. 83. A more celebrated poet belonging to this family was captain Alexander Montgomery, whose writings we shall have occasion to notice in a subsequent note. Ezekiel Montgomery, founder of the Montgomerys of Weitlands, inherited some portion of the poetical genius of the race, and wrote such spirited poems that one of them, at least, was ascribed to his celebrated kinsman, Alexander Montgomery. Jean Montgomery, daughter of the fifth laird of Hazlehead, married sir William Mure of Rowallan, and her son, sir William, born about the year 1594, was also a poet. His best known works are a poem entitled *The Joy of Tears*, and a *Poetical Translation of the Psalms*, the latter of which is still in manuscript. In the *Muse's Welcome*, a collection of poems and addresses presented to James I. of England, on his revisiting Scotland in 1617, there is a poetical address by sir William Mure. In 1628, he published a poetical translation of the *Hecatombe Christiana* of Boyd of Trochrig, together with an original poem entitled *Doomesday*. His poetical version of the Psalms was completed in 1639, after a labour of several years.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 291; vol. ii., p. 192.

gomerys,[111] as their due epithet; and that they deserve it, I can give many instances, but too much of one thing is good for nothing.

To these two characters his late Lordship and his brother Patrick gave proof (as their progenitors did to the first of them in France and Holland, and his Lordship, and his brother George (falling into peaceable times) shewed themselves suitable thereunto. I must here mention and discover a little of his Lordship's temper (which I guess was fitt both for peace and warr) and it is from his devise[112] which he assumed when he went to travell; it was this, viz., a lute with two hands out of clouds, the one stopping, the other moving the strings, and this motto (the French and Scotch call it a diton[113]), viz., "Such Touch, Such Sound," but this is not certain.

To the like purpose Sir Ja. Montgomery had for his devise as may be seen within the porch of Rosemount house, and on his monument in Grayabby church aforesaid), viz., a sword and a lance (still part of our familys arms) saltirewise, surmounted on an open book, on the leaves whereof is written the words *Arte, Marte,*[114] surrounded by a laurel and a bay branch, bearing fruit, interwoven wtihin each other: and under all for a motto appears those words, viz., ***In utrumque Paratus.***—

[111] ***Martiall Montgomerys.***—Very few, if, indeed, any, of the minstrels' chantings on this theme now remain. There was published in Glasgow, in 1770, a ballad of the seventeenth century, entitled *Memorables of the Montgomeries*, which appears to have been manufactured from some earlier productions, and may thus be regarded as a representation of what was sung by the minstrels respecting certain *martial* exploits performed by members of the family. This poem was printed "from the only copy known to remain, which has been preserved above sixty years by the care of Hugh Montgomerie, sen., at Eglisham, long one of the tactors of the family of Eglintoun." It was re-printed in 1822. The author represents the founder of the family to have been a "noble Roman," and the family name to have been derived from *Gomericus*, a mountain in Italy. From this original seat a descendant came to France, where another branch was founded, which flourished for the long space of six centuries. The representative of this branch came to England with William the Conqueror, and so mightily distinguished himself at the battle of Hastings, that—

"Earl Roger—then the greatest man,
Next to the King was thought;
And nothing that he could desire,
But it to him was brought.
Montgomery town, Montgomery shire,
And Earl of Shrewsburie,
Arundale do shew this man
Of grandeur full to be."

A son of Earl Roger, named Philip, settled in Scotland, and was the founder of the Scottish house:—

"Where many ages they did live,
By king and country loved;
As men of valour and renown,
Who were with honour moved;
To shun no hazard when they could
To either service do:
Thus did they live, thus did they spend
Their blood and money too."

The valour of sir Hugh Montgomerie and his son, sir John, at the battle of Otterburne, is duly noticed by the poet, who does not fail to record also the marriage of sir Hugh of Eglintoun with Egidia, a daughter of the royal house, from whom was descended lord Darnly, the father of James VI. The concluding stanza is addressed to the members of the family generally:—

"Since you are come of royal blood,
And kings are sprung from you,
See that with greatest zeal and love
Those virtues you pursue,—
Which to those honours raised your house,
And shall without all stain,
In herald's books your ensign flowr'd
And counter-flowr'd maintain."

[112] *From his devise.*—The device, from the French *devise*, is the emblem on a shield, or the ensign armorial of a family. We have illustrations of the use of this term in the following passages quoted in Johnson's *Dictionary*:—

"Then change we shields, and their *devices* bear—
Let fraud supply the want of force in war."—*Dryden.*

"Hibernia's harp, *device* of her command,
And parent of her mirth shall there be seen."—*Prior.*

"They intend to let the world see what party they are of, by figures and designs upon these fans; as the knights errant used to distinguish themselves by *devices* on their shields."—*Addison.*

[113] *Call it a diton.*—The diton, from the French *dicton*, is an inscription having reference to the armorial bearings, or to the bearer's name. The following passage containing an illustration of the use of this heraldic term, is quoted in Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*:—"As your arms are the ever-green holline leaves, with a blowing horn, and this diton *virescit vulnere virtus*, so shall this your munificence suitablye bee, ever-green and fresh to all ages in memory, and whyle this house standeth." Guild's *Old Roman Catholick*, dedication, p. 9. The *diton*, according to the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, is "un mot notable, ou de grand sens qu'on met en de tableaux; ou des inscriptions, qui tiennent lieu d' emblemes, ou de devises."

[114] *Arte, Marte.*—This stone, or a similar one, is still in the abbey, at Greyabbey, over the remains of the tablet erected to the memory of sir James Montgomery.—*MS. Notes of colonel F. O. Montgomery.*

Thus it may be said of him, *Proles sequitur suum patrem*, in these brave qualitys and accomplishments.

Another generall observation (and so I shall omitt the rest) is, that it cannot be said (with any seeming truth) either that his late Lordships progenitors or himself, or his descendants, ever imployd any coin to buy imployments, or preferrment, but by their services, and at expence or hazard of their blood and lives they obtained the like favors, which they had of their respective princes: so they may say as they have found, *tandem bona causa triumphat.* Furthermore they were always loyal to the crowne and never tainted or stained in their blood,[115] and for maintenance of this honour, I here lay aside my pen and throw down my gantlet to answer all opposers of this my averment.

And now I proceed to his late Lordships heire and successor:[116] and though my recitall is short of his merits, yet I shall be much briefer in what I shall write of his Lordship's descendants, not repeating but touching (as shall be requisite) the mentions I have interwoven before: because I have seen but few records of their Lordships actions, except what my own knowledge can afford, or is come by the credible reporte, which must needs be litle, for I was in my grandfather Stewarts house till I was sent for to the Ards, a heedless boy of ten years and six months age an. 1644;[117] kept at school till harvest 1649; that Oliver Cromwell's army chaced me into Scotland,[118] and then out of it into Holland, when I came an. 1652, into England, and so returned into Ireland an. 1653. I was kept soliciting for my birth right till King Charles the 2d's happy restoration May, 1660, and for eight years after it, imployd in my proper affaires; mostly abroad not at all resolving (but rather discouraged for want of papers) till anno 1697, that I should make these collections, concerning the Montgomerys in general, or of the family of Ardes, and others of that sirname in Ireland, or to write of them particularly.—But the gout (I thank God for it, and for my health, and ability which had furnished me with some preparations) hath since that year given me occasion and leizure to scribble these and divers other sheets.[119]

[115] *Stained in blood.*—The principal consequences of an attainder, *attinctus*, "stained," are forfeiture of real and personal estate, and what is technically called the corruption of the blood of the offender. Owing to this corruption of blood, which completely in law stopped up the course of descent, it was impossible to derive a title to lands, either from the offender directly, or from any more remote ancestor through him. In the reign of Charles II., which was the vaunted era of the theoretical perfection of our public law, Hale writes—"If the son of a person attaint purchase land, and die without issue, it shall not descend to his uncle; for the attainder of his father corrupted the blood, whereby *the bridge is broken down.*" Blackstone holds that corruption of blood involved an obstruction of *all descents* by or through a person attainted, even to the twentieth generation. See Amos on the *English Constitution*, pp. 212, 213. The practical injustice thus caused by the doctrine of the corruption of blood in punishing the offences of the guilty by the heaviest penalties on the innocent, has been abolished, but not very long ago. It is removed by the 3rd and 4th of William IV., cap. 106, sec. 10, which enacts that no attainder for the future should prevent descent from being traced through the attainted person, unless the lands escheated before the 1st of January, 1834.

[116] *Heire and successor,*—This heir was Hugh, second viscount, who died in 1642. Unfortunately, the author's memoir of him, extending to upwards of 92 pages, is lost. See p. 1, *supra.*

[117] *An.* 1644.—See p. 2, note 4, *supra.*

[118] *Chaced me into Scotland.*—After the defeat of the royalist troops in Ulster under the command of the third viscount, on the field of Lisnastrain, near Lisburn, in 1649, the author fled with his father, sir James Montgomery, into Scotland.

[119] *Divers other sheets.*—It thus appears that the *Montgomery Manuscripts* were written during the last ten years of the author's life, or between the years 1697 and 1707.

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CHAPTER X.

THIRD VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY.

I NOW return to write of the 3d Visct. as I promised, affectionately and without flattery,[1] Mr. Montgomery (for so he was then called) on the 1st notice of that horrid Irish rebellion,[2] being recalled from his travels beyond our narrow seas, came thro' England and kissed K. Ch. his hand at Oxford, who had the curiosity to look at the palpita[a] of his heart, w[h] was plainly

[1] *Without flattery.*—There is here evidently a large gap in the *Manuscripts*, and whatever the author wrote of the second viscount, of his son James, or of his daughter Elizabeth, has been lost. The present chapter commences abruptly with the memoirs of the second viscount's eldest son Hugh, who became third viscount, on the death of his father in 1642.

[2] *Horrid Irish rebellion.*—This was the great Irish rebellion which commenced in Ulster on the 23rd of October, 1641. On the evening of the 22nd, sir Felim O'Neill surprised and pillaged the castle of Charlemont, seizing lord Caulfeild and his family, together with the whole garrison. Immediately afterwards, on the same day, he took possession of the town and fort of Dungannon, whilst a leader under him, named O'Quin, surprised the castle of Mountjoy. These events took place on the evening of the day preceding that on which the general rising in Ulster began, and were known the next day pretty generally throughout Down and Antrim. As soon as the alarming news reached Lisburn, bishop Leslie addressed the following hasty note to the second viscount Montgomery of the Ards, which was written about six o'clock, P.M., on the 23rd of October :—

"To the Right Honourable my very good Lord, Thomas, (Hugh), Lord Viscount Montgomery.

"RT. HONOURABLE—There is newly come into Lisnegarvy a trooper post, who assures us that this last night Charlemont, was taken and Dungannon, by Sir Phelim O'Neill, with a huge multitude of Irish soldiers, and that this day they are advanced as far as Tonderghee. Captain St. John fled, his trumpeter slain, and all the country flocking before them. I pray your Lordship to think of some course to be taken for making head against them, and let my Lord Clandeboys know soe much. I am now likewise sending post to my Lord Chichester, soe in great haste, I commend your Lordship to God's grace, and rest your Lordship's affectionate servant,

"HEN. DUNENSIS.

"Lisnegarvy, 23rd Oct., 1641."

This note was soon succeeded by the following, enclosing letters from other parties :—

"To the Right Honourable my very good Lord, the Lord Viscount Montgomery of Ardes.

"Your Lordship now perceives by these enclosed letters from one Garty to Mr. Hill, and Mr. Hill unto me, that the news which I sent unto your Lordship, about four hours ago are too true, and a great deal worse than I then understood, for the Newry is taken, and we expect them (the insurgents) here this night or to-morrow, and cannot hold out long without help from those parts which your Lordship commands, soe in great haste, I beseech Almighty God to bless your Lordship, and to be our deliverer.

"Your Lordship's most affectionate servant,

"HEN. DUNENSIS.

"Saturday, at ten o'clock at night"

This note is endorsed—"Recd. from the busype, this Sunday morning, 7 hours, 24th Oct., 1641." For copies of the foregoing notes, now printed for the first time, the editor is indebted to the Rev. Dr. MacIlwaine, Incumbent of St. George's, Belfast. In less than a week after the commencement of the rebellion, the insurgents had possession of the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal, Derry, and nearly all Armagh and Down. The district of Ards was the only portion of Down which was happily free from pillage and massacre, although the inhabitants there, on the first breaking forth of the rebellion, hardly hoped to escape the doom of other places Refugees from other districts of Down and also from the adjoining counties crowded thither, from among whom, the second viscount, and his brother, sir James Montgomery of Rosemount, collected a considerable force. The following extract, containing the names of some of the principal insurgent leaders in Ulster together with an account of their first movements on the breaking out of the rebellion, is taken from O'Mellan's *MS. Journal of the Wars of* 1641, in the possession of the late viscount O'Neile of Shane's Castle:—"The chiefs formed a plan to seize upon all the fortified towns and strong places of the English and Scotch throughout Ireland in one night. The day fixed was Friday, being the last day of the moon. . . . Sir Felim O'Neill was chosen general in the province of Ulster, that is Mic Turlough, Mic Henry Mic Henry, Mic Shane, Mic Cuinn, Mic Henry, Mic Owne, &c. He took Charlemont and the governor of the town, Lord Caulfeild, and all who were there from him downwards. Dungannon was taken, and its captain, namely Parsons, and all the inhabitants from him down, by Randal MicDonnell, that is, the son of Ferdoragh, son of Owen, &c., and by Patrick Modar O'Donnelly. The great garrison of Mountjoy was seized, with all the soldiers, by captain Turlough Gruama O'Quin; and Lord Caulfeild's castle in Ballyodonnelly was taken by Patrick Moder O'Donnelly. The manor-house of Moneymore, that is Sir John Clotworthy's town, was seized on by the

discernable at the incision which was made in his side ;[3] Sir, said the K., I wish I could perceive the thoughts of some of my nobilities hearts as I have seen your heart; to which this Mr. Montgomery readily replied, I assure your majesty, before God here present and this company, it shall never entertain any thought against your concerns; but be always full of dutiful affection and steadfast re-

governor Cormac O'Hagan; and Mr. Fuisler's town, in Killeter, that is Ballyscullion, was taken by Felim Gruama O'Neill son of Felim Balbh. The garrison of Liscallaghan was taken by . . . son of Donnell son of Shane na Mallacht, and by . . . and the English soldiers who were in it were captured. The strong garrison town of Trandragee was taken by Patrick Og O'Hanlon, and he was killed himself the same day. The Newry was seized by Con Magennis, that is, the son of Lord Iveagh, and also the great castle. Dundalk was taken by the lieutenant-general Brian, son of Hugh Boy O'Neil, son of Turlough, son of Henry na Gartan, and by the Clan of Hugh (Clannaboy). 24th.—On Sunday was taken Desert-Martin, and the manor-house of Magherafelt by the governor, Cormac O'Hagan. 26th.—Armagh was seized by the general, *i.e.*, sir Felim. There were a great many English in the Great Church, and plenty of provisions with them. They could have defended themselves, but they surrendered." The Journal from which the foregoing is an extract, was written by O'Mellan of Brantry Friary, a religious house situated in the townland of *Gort-tamdaghta-na-muck*, now *Gort*, lying on the south-east of the barony of Dungannon, county of Tyrone. The copy of this curious work to which the editor had access belongs to J. W. Hanna, esq., who transcribed it from one lent to him by the late Dr. Petrie of Dublin, and which had been translated from the Irish original in the late viscount O'Neill's possession, by Robert MacAdam, esq., of Belfast. The leaders of the insurrection issued a declaration detailing the *causes* which had compelled them to revolt. Of these causes eighteen in number, the following may be particularly mentioned—"1. It was plotted and resolved by the Puritans of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to extinguish quite the Catholick religion, and the professors and maintainers thereof, out of all those kingdoms, and to put all Catholicks of this realm to the sword, that would not conform themselves to the Protestant religion. 4. The subjects of Ireland, especially the Irish, were thrust out forceably from their ancient possessions, against law, without colour or right; and could not have proprietary or security in their estates, goods, or other rights, but were wholly subject to an arbitrary power and tyrannical government, these forty years past, without hope of relief or redress. 10. All their heavy and insufferable pressures prosecuted and laboured by the natives of this kingdom, with much suit, expence, and importunity, both in parliament here, and in England before his majesty, to be redressed, yet could never be brought to any happy conclusion, or as much as hope of contentment, but always eluded with delays. 17. All the natives in the English plantations of this realm were disarmed by proclamation, and the Protestant planters armed, and tied by the conditions of their plantations, to have arms, and to keep certain numbers of horse and foot continually upon their lands, by which advantage many thousands of the natives were expulsed out of their possessions, and as many hanged by martial law, without cause, and against the laws of this realm; and many of them otherwise destroyed, and made away, by sinister means and practices."—*Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii., pp. 78, 80, 81.

[3] *Made in his side.*—This curious case was, no doubt, mentioned more particularly in the Memoir of the second viscount, which has been lost. It fortunately came under the celebrated Dr. William Harvey's notice, who describes it as follows:—"A young nobleman, eldest son of the Viscount Montgomery, when a child, had a severe fall, attended with fracture of the left side. The consequence of this was a suppurating abscess, which went on discharging abundantly for a long time from an immense gap in his side; this I had from himself and other credible persons who were witnesses. Between the 18th and 19th years of his age, this young nobleman, having travelled through France and Italy, came to London, having at this time a very large open cavity in his side, through which the lungs, as it was believed, could both be seen and touched. When this circumstance was told as something miraculous to his serene majesty, King Charles, he straightway sent me to wait on the young man, that I might ascertain the true state of the case. And what did I find? A young man, well grown, of good complexion, and apparently possessed of an excellent constitution, so that I thought the whole story must be a fable. Having saluted him according to custom, however, and informed him of the king's express desire that I should wait upon him, he immediately showed me everything, and laid open his left side for my inspection, by removing a plate which he wore there by way of defence against accidental blows and other injuries. I found a large open space in the chest, into which I could readily introduce three of my fingers and my thumb; which done I straightway perceived a certain protuberant fleshy part, affected with an alternating extrusive and intrusive movement; this part I touched gently. Amazed with the novelty of such a state, I examined everything again and again, and when I had satisfied myself, I saw that it was a case of old and extensive ulcer, beyond the reach of art, but brought by a miracle to a kind of cure, the interior being invested by a membrane, and the edges protected by a tough skin. But the fleshy part (which I, at first sight, took for a mass of granulations, and others had always regarded as a portion of the lung,) from its pulsating motions, and the rhythm they observed with the pulse—when the fingers of one of my hands were applied to it, those of the other to the artery at the wrist—as well as from their discordance with the respiratory movements, I saw was no portion of the lung I was handling, but the apex of the heart! covered over with a layer of fungous flesh by way of external defence, as commonly happens in old foul ulcers. The servant of this young man was in the habit daily of cleansing the cavity from its accumulated sordes by means of injections of tepid water; after which the plate was applied, and with this in its place, the young man felt adequate to any exercise or expedition, and, in short, he led a pleasant life in perfect safety. Instead of a verbal answer, therefore, I carried the young man himself to the

solution to serve your Majesty. He stayd a few days at Court, and the King had him in particular favour, and here (I believe) was laid that unshaken foundation of loyalty whereon all his succeeding actions were built. He had leave to return to his father, who had wrote to hasten him home, because he feared his drowsy distemper would grow too fast upon him,[4] w^h^ perhaps was told to the King. Now, whether it was at this time, that the King gave our Master Montgomery his promise he should succeed in his father's commands I know not, but it is likely it was so; because Dr Maxwell (who had made the orifice in his side when a boy at school, and prescribed the lotion for it) was then and there attending the K. as his phisician, and might inform his Majesty of the s^d^ L^d's^ constitution and habit of body, likely to remove him, for this Dr. had been divers years a pensionary phisician to that and the first Lord, and I have named him, joined with another in that quality, at the funeral hereinbefore described;[5] he was glad to meet with Mr Montgomery, of the Ardes, his quondam patient (as is lately said) now in good plight of strength and health. The same Mr. Montgomery came home before Ao. 1642 (as I think,) and, no doubt, was welcomed by all, and soon afterw^ds^ was more endeared to this country by the signal proofs of his valor (in the quality of a volunteer against the rebels) to his parents' great joy and fear of his person. This Mr. Montgomery came accomplished in the French tongue, dancing, fencing, touching the lute, riding the great horse, and other academy improvements; yet he laid aside all courtly recreations, and betook himself to fortification and other martial arts, w^h^ (with other parts of the mathematicks) he had learned abroad; he now using no musick (except in the church and in house devotions) but only the drum and trumpet and bagpipe among the soldiers, in which he delighted, for he was comformist to the adage, *Dulce bellum inexpertis.*[6] It cou'd not be long after his father's death, that his Lo^p^ assumed the command of the regm^t^ and troop (those dangerous times not admitting any interim from action); but whether the

king, that his majesty might, with his own eyes, behold this wonderful case; that, in a man alive and well, he might, without detriment to the individual, observe the movement of the heart, and with his proper hand even touch the ventricles, as they contracted. And his most excellent majesty, as well as myself, acknowledged that the heart was without the sense of touch; for the youth never knew when we touched his heart, except by the sight or the sensation he had through the external integument. We also particularly observed the movements of the heart, viz., that in the diastole it was retracted and withdrawn; whilst in the systole it emerged protruded; and the systole of the heart took place at the moment the diastole or pulse in the wrist was perceived; to conclude, the heart struck the walls of the chest, and became prominent at the time it bounded upwards and underwent contraction on itself."—Harvey's *Works, Sydenham Society*, pp. 582–4.

[4] *Grew too fast upon him.*—The second viscount died suddenly on the 15th of November, 1642—in the forty-fifth year of his age. In 1637, the year after his father's death, he was appointed a member of the privy council. On the breaking out of the rebellion in the following year, he received a commission from the Irish government, and soon afterwards from the king, to be colonel of 1000 foot and five troops of horse, the greater part of which he raised, equipped, and for one year supported at an expense of £1000. With these forces he joined col. Chichester at Lisburn, and continued to take an active and successful part in suppressing the rebellion, until the time of his death. His eldest son, Hugh, succeeded him. His second son Henry died young; his third son James, was born at Dunskey, in 1639, and died at Rosemount in 1689. The second viscount's only daughter, Elizabeth, married her cousin, William Montgomery, author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*.

[5] *Hereinbefore described.*—See p. 140, *supra*.

[6] *Dulce bellum inexpertis.*—The following letter, written by the third viscount, about three weeks after his father's death, reveals probably the first of the many difficulties in which the writer was from time to time, involved. It is addressed to the sixth earl of Eglinton, who always continued to be the kind counsellor and efficient friend of the Ards family:—

"RIGHT HONORABLE AND MY VERIE GOOD LORD—I am extreme sorrie of the occasioune I have to trouble your lordship, yet the assurance I have of your lordships nobill favowris makes me bolde to acquent you with everie thing concearnis mee; becaus from your lordship onlie I expecte soverane remeidies. I doubt not but the generall, (to whom I am infinitly obliged) according to the ungrate informacion of my cousin, Bally Craboy, of whome I wold not have expected any such thing, hath informed your lordship of the bussyness which may be hath induced you to conceive some harsh opinion of me. Wherefore, I intreat your lordship not onlie to perswade your selfe of the contrarie, but also the Generall; and intreate him not to proceide in that bussynes concerning the troupes of horse, according to my cousins relatioun; for I shall either make it appeare (to my grief for my cousines miscarage) that he hath extreamlie wronged me, and neglected his owne duety, else let not my name be

same was resigned to him and confirmation gotten f^m his Majesty (as I think is most probable) or whether the Ld Leicester[7] (I think his name was so) whom both K. and Parliament appointed to be General of the British army, renewed the commission to his Lo^p, I cannot tell, but I may avow that it was his Lo^p's due to have the command, because his father raised and many months maintained his own troop of horse and regm^t of foot in Newtown and Donaghadee parishes, and in and about Comer town, by laying out his own money and engaging his credit, and by help of his tenants, whom he gave allowance in rent for it, and by the preys of cows w^h he took from the enemy.[8] I presume his late Lo^p had a certificate (f^m the L^d Chichester[9] and J. Conway,[10] &c., to whom the L^ds Justices referred

inscrybed amongs these of Cavileiris. So earnestlie desyreing the continuance of your lordshipis favouris, I rest, my lord, your lordshipis most humble servant and cousine,

"Newtowne, the 6th December, 1642. "MONTGOMERIE.

"I intreate your lordship that this letter to my vncle may be gotten sent to him with all possible diligence, and the best saftie can be.

"For the right honorable and his verie good lord, my lord the Earle of Eglintowne.—These present."

Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 259. The "Bally Craboy" of this letter was lieu.-col. John Montgomery of Blackhouse in Largs, and of Creboy or Craigbuy, in the parish of Donaghadee. The third viscount Montgomery here calls him cousin, because their grandmothers, Elizabeth and Christian Shaw, were sisters. Their grandfathers, the first viscount, and Patrick Montgomery of Creboy, were not cousins, but brothers-in-law. Fraser (*Memorials*, vol. i., p. 259,) errs in supposing this letter to to have been written by the *second viscount*. It must have been written by the third viscount at least three weeks after his father's death.

[7] *Lord Leicester.*—This was Robert Sidney, earl of Leicester, nephew of sir Philip and grandson of sir Henry Sidney. He was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and general of the British forces in this country, by patent dated 14th June, 1642, but his commission was withdrawn, when he had reached Chester, on his way to Ireland, the king declaring that Sidney enjoyed his royal confidence, but that the condition of Ireland then required the appointment of an Irish peer. Leicester having gone from Chester to Oxford, where he remained for a time with the king, was reported to the Parliament as a delinquent and papist, and his estates, in consequence, were about to be sequestered. His countess, Elizabeth Egerton, a daughter of the earl of Bridgewater, having explained the circumstances of his going to Oxford, in a memorial presented to the parliament, through her brother, the duke of Northumberland, his estates were allowed to remain in the possession of the family. See *Letters and Memorials of State*, edited by Collins, vol. i., pp. 130, 176.

[8] *Took from the enemy.*—This "prey of cows" was obtained in a raid against the Irish, commenced on the 28th of April, 1642, and conducted principally by a party of 1600 Scottish soldiers under the command of general Robert Monro, assisted by Ulster forces commanded by lords Conway, Ards, Claneboy, Grandison, and Chichester, "in all," says Monro, in a despatch to general Leslie, "about 3400 in two divisions." This force marched as far as Newry, sweeping all opposing insurgents before it, and returning to Carrickfergus through Lecale and Kinelearty, with a large amount of spoil, among which was a multitude of cattle. As many as four thousand cows were taken from the territories of Magenis and Macartan, but when the soldiers came to divide the booty, on their return, on the 12th of May, the English charged the Scots with having stolen and appropriated the greater portion of the cattle, during the march. In a curious and valuable account of this expedition, written by one *Roger Pike*, an Englishman, the writer has the following bitter reflection on this affair:—"The next day, when the cows were to be divided, many of them were stolen away into the Ards and Clandeboys the last night, and the goods so sneakt away by the Scots that the *English* troopes got just nothing, and the English foote very little, which gave them too just a cause to mutany, in so much as I think it will be hard to get them out to march with the Scots againe, who will have both the credit and profit of whatsoever is done or had." The reader may see Pike's Letter reprinted entire, with illustrative passages from Monro's *Despatches* and major Turner's *Memoirs*, in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii., pp. 77–87. The "preys of cows" mentioned in the text had been evidently detached from the vast herd above mentioned. Pike was under the impression that whilst the Scots "sneakt away" with the *goods*, the most of the cows found their way into the Ards and Clandeboye.

[9] *Lord Chichester.*—This was Edward Chichester, who inherited the estates of his brother, sir Arthur. The title, which became extinct on the death of the latter, was revived in favour of sir Edward, who was granted the additional title of viscount Chichester of Carrickfergus. He succeeded his brother also as governor of Carrickfergus, governor of Culmore, admiral of Lough Neagh, and member of the Privy Council. Lord Chichester died in 1648, and was buried in Eggesford Church, Devon, beside his first wife, who was a daughter of sir John Coplestone of Eggesford. On his monument, prepared by himself, but completed by his son, is this inscription:—

In Memory
of Edward, Lord Viscount Chichester,
and dame Anne, his wife; and in humble acknowledgment of the good providence of God in advancing their House.
Famed Arthur, Ireland's dread in arms; in peace
Her tut'lar genius; Belfast's honour wan:
Edward and Anne, blest pair, begot increase
Of lands and heirs,—viscount was grafted on,
Next Arthur, in God's cause and king's, staked all,
And had to's honour, added Donegal.

The last-named Arthur was Edward's eldest son, and became first earl of Donegal in 1647. He is frequently mentioned in connexion with the civil and military affairs of Ulster, from 1661 to 1674, the year of his death.—Lodge, *Peerage*, ed. by Archdall, vol. i., pp. 329, 330, 333.

[10] *J. Conway.*—We can find no *J. Conway* in Ulster at the time referred to in the text. Sir Fulk Conway, the

the examination and report of his Lo^p^s petition, concerning his expenses for the publick, that for the levying, arming, and subsisting his regm^t^ and troop the first year, it cost his Lo^p^ above £1000 (for Sir J. Montgomery had the like certificate for himself,) and that those sums were due unto them from the K. and kingdom, the preservation of this part of the country depending on such supplies and actions;[11] and likewise his Lo^p^ deserved that honor and command because he had run many hazards of his life, to be an example and encouragement to his followers and others of the nobility

founder of the family in Ulster bearing this surname, died in 1624, and was succeeded by his brother Edward, who was then 50 years of age. The latter had been knighted by the earl of Essex, in the year 1596, at Cadiz, where he was in command of an infantry regiment. The same year in which he succeeded to his brother's vast estates he was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state, and created baron Conway of Ragly, in Warwickshire. In the following year he was created, by Charles I., viscount Conway of Conway Castle, in Wales. Although twice appointed to the office of secretary, James I. used to say of him that he could "neither read nor write," and Clarendon wrote of him that he had performed the duties of that high trust "with notable insufficiency." He died in 1630, and was succeeded by his son, also named Edward, the second viscount, who died in 1655. The son of the latter, also Edward, was created earl of Conway in 1679, and died in 1683. See *Inquisitions, Antrim*, no. 7 Jac. I.; nos. 1 and 2 Car I.; no. 2 Car. II.; *Carte Papers*, pp. 181, 185, *notes*. Probably J. Conway mentioned in the text is a misprint for *H.* Conway, a well-known gentleman in Ulster at the time referred to by the author. He is mentioned in the following passage of O'Mellan's *Journal of the Irish Wars* of 1641:—"Sir Felim made an expedition to Bellaghy. He sent a messenger to demand the town from Mr. Conway, but he refused to capitulate. The town was then entirely burnt, together with the hagyards. The master at length surrendered, on condition of being sent safe across the Bann to Massareene. Then were burnt the manor house of Bellaghy, and the town of sir William Nugent, and on the same day the manor house of Magherafelt." Mr. Conway, mentioned in the above passage of O'Mellan's *Journal*, was Henry Conway. The following account of this transaction is given by the late Charles H. O'Neill, esq., in his Papers on the O'Neills of Clannaboy, from the *MS. Deposition* of the Rev. Charles Anthony of Bellaghy, dated 12th June, 1642, preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. Mr. Anthony stated that, "on the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, the inhabitants of Bellaghy rose in arms for their own defence, by the persuasion of Henry Conway, esq., who lived in the castle. The inhabitants repaired to the castle, and several of Magherafelt likewise. Henry Conway obliged all these to take the oath of allegiance. That Conway was playing a double game, for, while he appeared resolved in these preparations, he carried on secretly a correspondence with Anthony O'Mullan and the O'Hagans, all of whom were rebels. The object was that he, Conway, might be permitted to carry off certain valuables without molestation, if he would deliver up the castle. A parley was held, Mr. Thomas Dawson acting for the besieged, and O'Hagan and sir Felim O'Neill for the rebels, in which it was agreed to deliver up the castle, on condition of marching out with liberty and goods, but that, as soon as Conway had got off with his trunks, the rest were plundered, and the town and castle burned."

[11] *Supplies and actions.*—The following letters, written by the third viscount Montgomery, soon after the commencement of the rebellion, when he was only twenty years of age, have never been printed, and are very curious and interesting illustrations of the text. The originals are preserved among the *Carte MSS.*, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford:—

"RIGHT HONBLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD—Upon the breaking up of this Rebellion and receaving of advertissement from the Bishop of Downe, Captain Chichester, Mr. Arthur Hill, and others, that the Town of Lisnegarvy was threatened to be pillaged and burnt by the Rebells, whoe had resolved, that being done, to have marched forward to Belfast and Carrigfergus, I drew the country together and marched up towards Lisnegarvy for securing of that place, which is a mayne passage both to the County of Antrym and to the County of Downe, where after meetting with Captain Chichester, Sir Arthur Tyringhame and Sir Thomas Lucas, and having receaved the Lords Justices' Commissioner, it was thought fitt that a garrisone should be established there and the like at some other place. Soon after both my Brother Sir James and myself returned home to take order for securing the best we could the rest of the countrey, since which tyme we have been in perpetuall actione sometymes in one parte of the county and sometymes in another, and have kept a forte at our owne charges, three or four hundred foote and two or three troupes of Horse, besides the drawing together oftymes of our whole tenantry. My Lord, if we had not been thus Imployed I would not have soe far overseen myself as not to have acquented the Lords Justices or your Lordship with the estate of those parts and our wants, which were well seen to Sir Thomas Lucas whoe I do assure myself has made a true relatione to the Lords Justices in what state we are in, which made me confident that their Lordships would have long before this supplied us with Armes and ammunitions. But perceaving that no armes is comeing here to us, and having receaved His Majestie's Commissione both for myself and my Brother we have thought fitt to acquent my Lords the Justices, and state in what case we stand here, which is for the present more dangerous nor ever it was by the accessione of Sir Phelemy O'Neall, who has now joined with Sir Con Magenis and the rest of the Natives in this County, and likewise have sent by this gentleman the copy, etc., of our Commissione, both to the Lords Justices and to your Lordship from whom we expect present supplyes to be sent to us by this bearer Mr. Johne Galbraith, Both of moneys, armes and ammunition, In some reasonable proportione according to the charges we have. My Lord, this Gentleman is able to give your Lordship a full relation of the state of this countrey and in what case we are ourselves. I dare bouldly say it unto your Lordship that the charges we have hitherto borne, being upon such a suddent, has soe exhausted us that we are no longer able to indure it. Besides that there is no rent to be had now from our people at this tyme. Your Lordship has alwise been my most Noble friend, and now my Brother and I both must rely upon your favour to us, Being hopefull that your Lordship will earnestly move that this bearer may be despatched with supply unto us as is desired. What further concerns me or my Brother I shall intreat your Lordship to receive it from this gentleman In whome I do repose absolute trust. And soe, assuring myself of the the Continuance of your Lordships favour to him whoe shall ever be knowen for—Your Lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

"MONTGOMERIE.

"Newtone the 5th of decr. 1641."

"For the Right honble and very good Lord my Lord, the Erle of Ormond—These presents.

—Vol. ii., *formerly marked* "*B*" *folio*, p. 84.

in Ulster; but however that was, his young Lop the 3d Visct. became thereby to be youngest, and his uncle, Sr. Jas. M. to be the eldest Colonel, who was now entitled (as I was confidently told) to have the chair as president in all councils of war, before the Ld. Claneboy, Chichester, Conway, and Lop, Sr. Jo. Clotworthys,[12] and Sr. Robert Stewart, Audley Mervins,[13] and all other Colonels in

"My most honored Lord—Within two days after Mr. Galbraithes returne to me I had sent me from Scotland soe many picked muskatts and Bandilows as compleatlie armed my Regiment, But to my extraordinary charge, I have likewise to this tyme maintained my Regiment of foote and three troupes of horse at my owne proper cost and charge, without burthene to any man's landes whatsoever, except my owne, of which I have at least a thousand pound a yeare waisted by the Rebelles, who I have all this tyme opposed to the uttermost of my power, and I thanke god with good successe, and have under god been the preserver hitherto of the Baronie of the Ardes, and so muche of the Baronie of Comber as lyes on the north syde of the River of Comber, between Belfast and Comber. My brother Sir James has lykwise to his great charge provided his Regiment with armes. And now my Lord if we have some supplies of moneyes I wold most willinglie goe to the fieldes; and indeavour to do the best service I could against the enemye who have kept me reasonable busie all this Wynter, and yet durst never attempt my garrisone though in the nighttyme they gave me many allarumes by burning and waisting of the countrey and killing of some poore people between a myle and a myle and a half to my garrisone, for whose relieff we often sallied out upon the enemye, But could not doe much good upon them at so unseasonable tymes, as they made choyce of so acting their villanie, for our fright. I must humbly intreat your Lop. to moderate with my lordes the Justices on my behalf and my brothers, that their lps. may be pleased to wryte earnestlie into England both to His Majtie and the parliament that we may be supplied, and the charges we have been at for armes and amunition refunded unto us, and our paie ascertained unto us in that measure as others who are to serve in this warre which I am verie hopefull their lops will pleased condiscend unto. My lord I must next intreate you that if any informacions have been made unto my Lordes the Justices, which shall come to your Lop's knowledge, or to your lop. against my Brother Sir James Montgomerie that you will be pleased not to give beleiff unto them, until he be heard, for I dare upon my honor assure you Lop. that they will be found groundless, proceeding from malice rather than any thing ellis, and that he will be able to give a good accountt of himself. As for myself I defy the greatest unfriend I have to inform any thing against me; The last is to give your Lop. humble thankes for yor noble favour in suppleing me with that hundreth pound which Mr. Galbraith receaved at your command, for which I send your lop. here incloased my bill, till such tyme as moneyes be somewhat more plentifull with mee, Intreating your lop. to beleive that to the uttermost of my power and fortune I shall never be wanting to express my self—Your Lopps most affectionate Servant, "Montgomerie.

"Newton, the 24th of Marche 1641.

"Post.—My lord I may not forgett to give your lop. humble thankes for one George Montgomerie, a kinsman of myne, whom yor lop. has been pleased to profarre as Ensyne to Lieutenent Colonell Stirling, I shall intreate that as your lop. fyndes the young gentleman to deserve that your lop. will be pleased to take him in your care for further preferrment.

"For the Right honorable and verie good Lord my Lord the Earle of Ormonde—These present with my humble service."

—Vol. iii., *formerly marked* "C" *folio*, p. 280.

[12] *Sir John Clotworthys.*—Among the fortune-seekers who came to Ulster with the earl of Essex in 1573, were two brothers, Hugh and Lewis Clotworthy, from Somersetshire. The name of the latter is only mentioned in connexion with a grant obtained by him from the crown, on the 11th May, 1605, constituting him licenser and receiver of customs from all vessels coming to fish off the Irish coasts. His elder brother, Hugh, in the year 1603, was doing garrison duty in Carrickfergus, under the command of sir Arthur Chichester, who had previously been appointed governor of that place, and who, although a host in himself, had the assistance and counsel, also, of such men as Fulk Conway, Moyses Hill, Roger Langford, Henry Upton, and Edward Rowley. These men founded the families of Massereene, Donegal, Templemore, Hertford, Downshire, Langford, and Templetown. In 1605, captain Hugh Clotworthy obtained a grant of the lands of *Masserine*, which had previously belonged in part to the church, and partly to the great family of O'Neill of Killultagh. In the following year he settled on this estate, built a moated house on the site occupied by the present castle, and took to wife, Mary, the daughter of his neighbour, Roger Langford, of Muckamore. By her he had a family of three sons, viz., sir *John* Clotworthy, mentioned in the text; *James*, of Moneymore, in the county of Londonderry; and *Francis*, who married the widow of Thomas Clotworthy, of Ballysaggart, in the county of Tyrone, and by her left two sons, named Hugh and John. James, the second son of sir Hugh Clotworthy, left one child, a daughter named Mary, who married lord Robert Fitzgerald, and from whom, through her son, who became nineteenth earl of Kildare, is descended the present duke of Leinster. Sir Hugh Clotworthy's only daughter, Mary, became the wife of captain Upton of Templepatrick, and from her is lineally descended the present lord Templeton. Sir John, the eldest son of sir Hugh, was created, by patent dated 21st Nov., 1660, baron of Loughneagh and viscount Massereene. He had previously received several lucrative preferments at the hands of James I., Charles I., and the Protector (Oliver Cromwell). Among these may be mentioned a licence to him and his brother James, granted by the crown on the 5th of July, 1616, to keep taverns and sell wine and spirituous liquors in Newry and all places throughout the county of Down, excepting Downpatrick and a mile around it, and the lands of the archbishop of Armagh, in Down County; also in all places throughout the county of Antrim, excepting the towns of Dunluce and two miles round, Belfast, and Masserey; and also in Ardee and its liberties in Louth county.—*Pat. Rolls, James I.*, pp. 302, 303.

[13] *Audley Mervins.*—Audley Mervyn or Mervin was son of captain James Mervyn, who obtained four proportions of escheated land in the county of Tyrone, known as the Braid, Fentonagh, Edergoule, and Carranvrackan, containing, in all, upwards of 6,000 acres.—Morrin's *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Charles I.*, p. 577. For an account of captain Mervyn's litigation with the bishop of Clogher, see *The Scottiscoode Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 143, 144. His son Audley, mentioned in the text, was distinguished both as a soldier and a lawyer. In 1640, whilst a captain and a member of the Irish Parliament, he was employed to bring up an impeachment from the Commons to the House of Lords against sir Richard Bolton, lord chancellor; Dr. John Bramhall, bishop of Derry; sir Gerrard Lowther, chief-justice of the common pleas, and sir Geo. Radcliffe. Mervyn was a very active officer against the Irish during the war that succeeded the rebellion of 1641. He was soon promoted to the rank of colonel, and was one of the four officers sent to the king at Oxford to solicit succours for Ireland. At the Restoration he was knighted, and appointed first serjeant-at-law, and

Ulster, except Col. Monk, who afterwards (by ordin[ce] of Parliament) was made governor of this province (there being no governors of countys during the rebellion and usurping times). What benefit (senority or eldership) in commission brings, is seen in the late reductions of affairs, wh[n] the young[er] Captains are thrown out (who perhaps were the stoutest, because never in danger) and the weary, old beaten commanders continued in pay.

I now presume to give the reader an account of the occurrences concerning our British forces (before I rehearse our worthy 3d Visct.'s actions;) in prosecution hereof, I will, for brevitie's sake, only name papers as followeth, viz. Imprimis, a copy of commissions granted under the signet at Edinburgh, the 16th of Nov. 17 Car. A.D. 1641 silicet.

	Foot	
To the Ld. Visct. of Ardes,	1000 and	5 troops horse.
Sr. Willim. Stewart,	1000 and	1 do.
Sr. Robt. Stewart,	1000 and	1 do.
Sr. J. M.[14]	1000 and	1 do.
Sr. Willm. Cole,[15]	500	

speaker of the Irish House of Commons. Besides the Impeachment Speech on the 4th of March, 1640, published at Dublin, 4to, 1641, he published the following:—1. *A Speech in the House of Lords*, May 24, 1641, on a dispute whether the House of Lords in Ireland had power of judicature in capital cases; 4to, Dublin, 1641. 2. An *Exact Relation* of all such occurrences as have happened in the several counties of Donegall, Londonderry, Tyrone, and Fermanagh, presented to the House of Commons of England; 4to, London, 1642. 3. *A Speech* on the 11th of May, 1661, in the House of Lords, when he was presented Speaker by the Commons, before sir Maurice Eustace, knight, lord chancellor of Ireland, Roger, earl of Orrery, and Charles, earl of Mountrath, lords justices of Ireland; 4to, Dublin, 1661. 4. *A Speech to the Duke of Ormond* in the Presence Chamber of the Castle of Dublin, 29th July, 1662; 4to, Dublin, 1662. 5. *A Speech to the Duke of Ormond* on the 13th of February, 1662, in the Presence Chamber of the Castle of Dublin; 4to, Dublin, 1662; 4to, London, 1663. This last-named speech, which is of great length, is principally in reference to the Act of Settlement. See Ware's *Works*, edited by Harris, vol. ii., pp. 162, 163. Sir Richard Cox eulogises Mervyn's speeches, but Carte (*Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., pp. 231, 237), describes him as "a confident, verbose, pompous pretender to oratory," and as having a "quaint, tropical, unintelligible manner of haranguing." Carte is also very severe in his remarks on Mervyn's personal character. See *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., p. 230.

[14] *Sir J. M.*—Sir James Montgomery of Rosemount.

[15] *Sir Willm. Cole.*—Captain, afterwards sir William Cole, settled in Fermanagh about the year 1607. Respecting his settlement at Enniskillen, see *Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I.*, pp. 215 *b*, 232 *b*; Pynnar's *Survey of Ulster*, in Harris's *Hibernica*, pp. 167—169; Morrin's *Calendar, reign of Charles I.*, p. 452; Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., pp. 43, 44. In 1641, sir William Cole, by almost superhuman exertions, saved the county of Fermanagh from the massacre and desolation which overspread neighbouring counties, and which, at one crisis, appeared to be the inevitable doom of his own. Throughout the lengthened struggle that followed, he was one of the bravest and most efficient of the military leaders on the side of the Government. A very interesting letter, written by sir William Cole, at an eventful crisis of the war, was printed in a small quarto pamphlet of 24 pages, which is now very rare. This tract, entitled *The Irish Cabinet*, was issued by order of the English Commons, 20th January, 1645, and contained copies of papers found in the carriage of the Roman Catholic or titular archbishop of Tuam, who was slain near Sligo in that year. The following is the letter to which we refer, and for a copy of which we are indebted to J. W. Hanna, Esq.:—

"Sir William Cole, upon Sunday morning, Novemb. 23, received a letter from Sir Charles Coot, Lord President of Connaught, who, to satisfie his Lordship's desires, commanded his troop to march unto him, to be at Sligo on Thursday night, Novemb. 27, to join in some expedition by his Lordship's orders, against the rebels in that Province.

"The greatest part of his Troop with their horses were then in the Island of Baawe (now Boa Island), sixteen miles northward from Iniskilline, who, upon his notice, did march away upon Monday, Nov. 24, together with almost all the foot-soldiers of two companies of his regiment that quartered with their cattle, and many of the cows of Iniskilline in that Island, unto Bellashanone, which was their place of rendezvouz.

"The Cornet of that Troop, upon Tuesday, Novemb. 25, with about seventy Horsemen, marched from Iniskilline to the westward of Loughern, with resolution to lodge that night by the way, within fifteen miles of Sligo; but a little snow falling, altered their determination, and so took their course to Ballashannone without appointment. God, in his high Providence, for the advancement of his own glory, and our good, directing them thither, where, as soon as they got their horses shod, they were still hastening towards Sligo, whither sundry of their foot-companies aforesaid on horseback rid before them. And a great part of the Troop were advanced as far as Bundrowes, where the alarm overtook them, with orders to return to resist the enemy, to the number of four or five hundred men of Owin Mac Artes army, under the conduct of several Captains, led by Roury Mac Guire in chief, who, upon Wednesday morning, Novemb. 26, being provided with two of our own boats by the treachery of one Bryan O'Harran and others of our bosome snakes, protected *Synons*, and entered the said Island of Baawe at the south end of it and was burning, spoiling, preying their goods, wherein they prevailed, even to the stripping naked of all our women, plundering and taking theirs and our then-absent soldiers clothes, victuals, and arms away.

"That party of our Horsemen speedily returning to Bellashanone,

Sr. Ralp Gore,[16] 500 foot.

And these were obtained at the Ld. Visct.'s and Sr. J. Montgomery's instances and recommendations (wherein Sr. Jas. appears mindful of his 2 fathers-in-law[17] and friends) as is evident by the Secretary's letter to him, dated 26th of said month, and sent with the commissioners, by Mr. Galbraith afores[d],[18] the original commission, 2do. f[m] (the Lds. Justices of Ireland) Sr. Wm.

whence, with the Cornet, the rest of the said Troop, some of the foot-soldiers on horseback, and Captain John Folliot, accompanied with as many Horsemen as he could make, hastned towards the north end of that Island, which is distant from the south end thereof three English miles. But the enemy having driven the prey of cows, horses, and mares forth at the south end, our horsemen with Captain Folliot followed by Termon-Castle, whence they marched thorow very inaccessible woods and boggs in the night, to the Cash (distant sixteen miles from Bellashanny), being the first place that they could guide themselves by the track of the enemy and prey, which they still pursued with cheerfulnesse to Lowtherstowne, where, overtaking them about one of the clock in the morning of Nov. 27, 1645, their Trumpet sounding a charge, they followed it home so resolutely that after a fierce confliction, in a short time they routed the enemy, and had the execution of them for a mile-and-a-half, slew many of them in the place, took some prisoners, rescued most part of their prey, recovered their own souldiers who were then the enemy's prisoners, with some of the Rebels' knapsacks to boot: which sudden and unexpected flight did so amaze Owin Mac Arte and his army, consisting of about two thousand foot and two hundred horse (as prisoners do inform), who, after they had made their bravado on the top of an hill within a mile of Iniskilline, in the evening of Nov. 26, to keep the town from issuing forth to resist or stay the prey encamped that night at Ballenamallaght, within four miles of this town, that they all in a most fearful and confused manner ran away to the mountains so vehemently scared and affrighted that their van thought their own rere were my Troops, and their rere likewise imagined (those that escaped the fight by flight from Lowtherstown) to have been also my party that pursued them; whereby their mantles, clothes, and all that could be an impediment to their more speedie flight, were cast upon the ground, and left behind them; and so continued until they passed the mountain of Slewbagha into the county of Monaghan, where they are quartered upon the county creaghts, which lies from Arthur Blayney's house, and from Monaghan Duffe, near the town of Monaghan, all along to Droghedah, consisting of the banished inhabitants of Tyrone, Armagh, Monaghan, and Louth.

"My Troop returned with Captain Foliot in safety (praised be God) without hurt of man or beast, save one horse of Lieutenant Edw. Grahame's that was shot and killed under him. And having put the said prey again into the said Island, upon Nov. 28, they marched to Bellashanny, whence again they came home to Iniskilline on the north side of Logherne, the 30th of Nov., 1645.

"Among those that were slain, the grand son of Sir Tirlagh Mac Henry ô Neal was one.

"One Captain killed, two Lieutenants killed. And I find there is some man of more eminent note than any of these killed, but as yet cannot learn certainly who it is. Lieutenant Tirlagh ô Moylan, of Captain Awney ô Caghan's company, taken prisoner, who, upon examination, saith that Inchiquin hath given a great blowe of late unto Castlehaven and Preston in their quarters near Yoghel, and also saith that the intent of this army was that if they could come off with our said prey without check, they purposed then to have besieged this town, and according as fortune favoured them, to have proceeded against the Lagan and other places in Ulster.

"And yet I find by the answers of some others of the prisoners, that by direction from the supreme Council of Ireland, this army of Owin Mac Artes are to serve in nature of a running party to weaken our forces of Iniskilline, Laggan, and Clanebyes, by sudden incursions to kill, spoil, and prey us upon all occasions of advantage, according as by their successes therein they shall assume encouragement to themselves to go forwards against us, but especially against Iniskilling, which they conceive is worst able to resist their attempts. Captain Folliot had sixteen horsemen, with four of Manour Hamilton's men, and four of Castle Termon horsemen, that joined very fortunately in the service with my Troop; for which God Almighty be ever glorified and praised by "WILLIAM COLE."

[16] *Sir Ralp Gore.*—This officer was eldest son of captain Paul Gore, an undertaker of escheated lands in Fermanagh and Donegal. In Fermanagh he held the proportion called *Carrick*, containing 1000 acres, and in Donegal, the proportion of *Dromnenagh*, also containing 1000 acres.—*Pynnar's Survey*, in Harris's *Hibernica* pp. 168, 190. Captain Gore claimed arrears from the crown for certain expenses incurred by him for the public service, and obtained remuneration by the novel expedient specified in the following passage:—"There was an act of Council made in the year 1606, restraining the use of that barbarous custom of drawing ploughs and carriages by horses' tails, upon pain of forfeiting, for the first year's offence, one garron, for the second two, and for the third the whole team. Notwithstanding, this was not put in execution for almost five years after; and yet the fault not amended, until that in the year 1611, Captain Paul Gore, demanding seven or eight score pounds, due unto him from his majesty, for pay of certain soldiers entertained by him upon the lord deputy's warrant, did for that and other extraordinary services, in the time of O'Dogherty's rebellion, desire the benefit of this penalty for one year, in one or two counties and no more; which the lord deputy was contented to grant, limiting him to ten shillings Irish for each plough so offending. In the year 1612, the lord deputy ordered to have the said penalty levied within the whole province of Ulster, at the rate of 10s. English, upon every plough drawn as aforesaid, and the money so raised, amounting to £870, was employed to public uses. In the year 1613, the penalty of 10s. English hath been taken up to the use of Sir William Uvedall, by letters patent, reserving a rent of £100 yearly, the profits whereof this year, within the province of Ulster, amount to £800 sterling, although we are informed the charge on the people is much more. Although divers of the natives pretend a necessity to continue the said manner of ploughing, as more fit for stony and mountainous grounds; yet we are of opinion that it is not fit to be continued, being condemned by the English inhabiting those parts, as an uncivil and unprofitable custom."—*Roll of Patents*, 16 James I., part iii. *f.*, printed in *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Jac. I., p. 399 *b*. In 1620, captain Gore's son, sir Ralph, obtained a royal grant of the lands of Dromnenagh, together with six quarters and a half in the same county, containing 960 acres.—Morrin's *Calendar of Patent Rolls of Charles I.*, p. 481. This family is at present represented by the owner of Manor Gore, county of Donegal.

[17] *Fathers-in-law.*—Sir James Montgomery's two fathers-in-law here alluded to were sir William Stewart and sir William Cole.

[18] *Mr. Galbraith afores[d].*—This officer's name was John Galbraith, and to him frequent reference is made in the letters of sir James Montgomery, and of his nephew, the third viscount. Although Galbraith's name must have been previously introduced by the author, the passage in which it was mentioned has been lost. Several persons of this surname settled in the county of Tyrone during the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Buchanan of

Parsons[19] and Sr. Jno. Burlace,[20] signed by them and the Lds. Moore[21] and Dillon,[22] and many

Auchmar concludes his notice of the Galbraiths of Scotland with the following remark:—"The only remaining family of that name being Culcruich, Galbraith, laird thereof, fell into such bad circumstances, in King Charles I. his time, as obliged him to pass his estate and go to Ireland, where his posterity are in very good circumstances. Galbraith of Balgair is now representative of the family, Balgair's ancestor being a son of that family."—*Ancient Scottish Surnames*, p. 174. The editor of the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 114, *note*, says—"A younger branch of the Galbraiths of Balgair, in Stirlingshire, settled in Ireland, and acquired considerable landed property. About the beginning of the present century, the elder branch (in Scotland) failed, and the estate, which was under the entail, was successfully claimed by the heir male of a Major Galbraith, who lived in the reign of William III." Perhaps the individual, Major John Galbraith, referred to in the text was the original settler (in Ireland). On their coming first to Tyrone, William and Humphrey Galbraith were engaged, for a time, in the service of Spottiswoode, bishop of Clogher, whilst James appears to have followed the military profession, and Robert was probably an undertaker of land. The two former, in espousing the bishop's numerous quarrels with his neighbours, were involved in serious difficulties and dangers. In the discharge of their duties as his agents, they were required to seize and sell four horses belonging to sir John Wimbes (or Weymss), the sheriff of Fermanagh. Soon afterwards, sir John overtook them whilst making a similar seizure from his father-in-law, lord Balfour, and, "incensed with the indignity he thought done him so lately, he, without any worde, att the very first, thrust William Galbreith through the shoulder with a pyke, then two or three of his company gave him divers other wounds. Humphrey Galbraith, seeing his brother in this case, he called so Sir John to forbear, and he should have all content, to whome Sir John answered, as the bishop's servants affirmed—'Devill have my soul if we part so'—whereupon Humphrey grappled with Sir John, and while they were wrestling in a dirty bog one David Balfour wounded Humphrey in divers places. Humphrey laying his accompt his brother was killed, and himself could not escape, he tooke hold of a long skeen that was about Sir John Wimbes, and therewith did give him a deadly wound." This encounter, resulting in the death of sir John Wimbes, involved the Galbraiths in great and protracted dangers, from which, however, they eventually escaped.—*Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 114. Humphrey and Robert Galbraith held the following lands in the barony of Raphoe, county of Donegal, viz., the quarter lands of Corkagh, Lebindish, Lisglamerty, Ruskey, and Gartmore, together with the town and lands of Carrickballyduffe, containing 10 ballyboes, in all 700 acres, which they sold on the 1st of May, 1654, to sir John Calhowne, knt. and baronet.—*Inquisitions, Donegal*, no. 3, Car. II.

[19] *Sir Wm. Parsons.*—Parsons first held the office of surveyor-general in Ireland, and while so employed, obtained large grants of land in the counties of Wicklow and Kildare. In 1625, he was appointed master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, with an annual fee of £300. In 1628, he received additional grants in the counties of Meath, Cavan, Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, and Fermanagh. Sir William's great grandson, sir Richard Parsons, was created baron Oxmantown and viscount Rosse, in 1681. The son of the latter was advanced to the earldom of Rosse in 1718. "*The humble Remonstrance of the Northern Catholics of Ireland now* (1641) *in arms* contains the following heavy accusations against Parsons:—"The said Sir Wm. Parsons hath been a mean to supplant out of their ancient possessions and inheritances many of the inhabitants of this realm, though of your best subjects, and servitors to the crown, upon old feigned titles of three hundred years past, and he thereupon procured the disposing of their lands by way of plantation; but he having the survey and measuring thereof, did most partially and corruptly survey the same, making the best land waste and unprofitable in his survey, and in the admeasurement did reduce more than the half of these plantations to fractions under an hundred acres, being of far greater measure; of which fractions the natives, antient possessors thereof, were wholly defeated, and your majesty not answered thereout any rent or other consideration, but the same wholly disposed of by the said Parsons at his pleasure, for his private lucre and advantage, &c., &c."—*Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii., p. 97.

[20] *Sir Jno. Burlace.*—Borlace, who was master of the ordnance, was associated with sir Wm. Parsons in discharging the duties of deputy, on the withdrawal of lord Dillon. Parsons being removed also, by revocation, dated at Oxford, 30th March, 1643, sir Hen. Tichborne was associated with Borlace, by patent, dated on the following day.—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. i., part ii., p. 7.—"Sir William Parsons and sir John Borlase were both bitter haters of everything belonging to Catholics except their property, and it was the opinion of no less a person than king Charles himself, that but for these men's disobedience to his commands, the terrible Irish rebellion of 1641 would not at all have happened, or would have been quickly suppressed. These commands of the King were to pass the bills for the securing of the estates of the natives, and for confirming the other 'graces,' which Strafford's own biographer, Macdiarmid, admits were certainly moderate, relating as they did to abuses arising from a defective police, to exactions in the court of justice, depredations committed by the soldiery, monopolies which tended to the ruin of trade, retrospective enquiries into defective titles, penal statutes on account of religion, and other evils, for which, to borrow Moore's expression, these wretched people were obliged to bribe their monarch."—Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, pp. 148, 149.

[21] *Lord Moore.*—This was Garret Moore, son of that sir Edward Moore who obtained a grant from Queen Elizabeth of the lands that had belonged to the abbey of Mellifont in the county of Louth. The grant is dated 8th of February, 1583, and was only given for 41 years. In 1605, sir Garret, the son, obtained from James I. a regrant of his estates of Mellifont, for ever. The latter was created baron Moore of Mellifont in 1616, and viscount Moore of Drogheda in 1621. His grandson, Henry, the third viscount, was created earl of Drogheda in 1668.—Erck's *Repertory of Patent Rolls of James I.*, p. 171; Burke's *Peerage*, p. 326.

[22] *Lord Dillon.*—This was Robert, lord Dillon, son of that sir James Dillon who was advanced to the earldom

others of the Privy Council, sealed with the Council seal, and directed to the Ld. Visct. of Ardes, the Ld. Visct. Claneboy, the Ld. Visct. Chichester,[23] Capt. Ar. Chichester,[24] Sr. Edwd. Trevor,[25] Sr. James Vaughan,[26] Sr. Ar. Teryngham, Knt.[27] and Sr. James Montgomery, Knt. (and every of them) for suppressing the Irish rebells. By which three foregoing papers you may observe, that the Kings Secr[ty] and the Lds. Justices and Council afores[d] were no good heraulds, or at least, minded not the rules of that science (as to marshaling the persons' names) in the direction of that general commission;[28] 3mo, the Lds. Justices and Council's letter, directed (only) to their very loving friend, Sr. J. M. Kn[t]. signed by them and Ormond Ossory,[29] with the rest of the

of Roscommon in 1622. This lord Dillon, who became second earl of Roscommon, was twice included in the commission of lords justices of Ireland. His grandson, Wentworth Dillon, the fourth earl, was a distinguished poet. To him Pope has made the following very complimentary reference:—

> "Roscommon, not more learned than good,
> With manners generous as his noble blood;
> To him the wit of Greece and Rome was known,
> And every author's merit but his own."

[23] *Ld. Visct. Chichester.*—Edward, younger brother and successor of sir Arthur. See p. 154, *supra*.

[24] *Capt. Ar. Chichester.*—This Arthur Chichester, eldest son of Edward, was born in 1606, and appointed captain of a troop of fifty horsemen in 1626. He succeeded his father as governor of Carrickfergus, where he was residing in 1641, when the rebellion began. In 1643, he was appointed governor of Belfast, with a grant of £1,000 to repair the fortifications thereof. When the army in Ulster, principally composed of Scots, renounced its allegiance to the king, Arthur Chichester went to Dublin, where he joined the marquis of Ormond, and was admitted a member of the privy council. Ormond, in a letter to the king, dated 19th Jan., 1645, strongly recommends that Chichester should receive some mark of the royal approval as a reward for his loyalty:—"He hath served your Majesty against the Irish rebellion since the beginning of it; and when through an almost general defection of the northern army, he was no longer able to serve your Majesty there, he came with much hazard to take his share in the sufferings of your servants here, and with them to attend for that happy time, that (we trust) will put us in a condition to contribute more to your service than our prayers. If your Majesty shall think fit to advance this gentleman to an Earldom, I conceive that of Dunnegall, a county in the province of Ulster, wherein he should have a good inheritance, is fittest, which I humby offer to your Majesty's consideration." The king, by privy seal in 1646, and by patent in 1647, created him earl of Donegall.—Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., pp. 332—334.

[25] *Edw. Trevor.*—See p. 132, *supra*.

[26] *Sir James Vaughan.*—Sir James Vaughan was son of captain sir John Vaughan, an undertaker of escheated lands called *Carnegille*, in the county of Donegal.—Pynnar's *Survey*, in Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 188. In 1607, captain John Vaughan was one of a commission appointed for the government of the counties of Tyrone, Tirconnell, and Armagh.—Erck's *Repertory of Patent Rolls of James I.*, p. 415.

[27] *Ar. Teryngham.*—In 1626, sir Arthur Terringham was appointed governor of the forces in the towns of Dundalk, Carlingford, and the Newry, the Fort of Mount Norris, and the Fort of Moyrie, with the disposing of all the shipping, boats, and vessels for his Majesty's service. He was also appointed a chief leader of the army in the absence of the lord deputy, with power to execute martial law within the places above mentioned, provided he put to death no captain or officer of the army, or other person having £10 in goods, or 40s. a year.—Morrin's *Calendar, Charles I.*, p. 167.

[28] *General commission.*—Only two documents have been yet mentioned, and in these the writers ought to have introduced the name of sir James Montgomery first as being the oldest colonel in that service. In neglecting to do so, they violated, in the author's estimation, not only the rules of heraldry, but of courtesy also.

[29] *Ormond Ossory.*—This nobleman's signature in public documents was *Ormond Ossory*, the dignity of the earldom of Ormond being conferred on the family in 1328, and the earldom of Ossory in 1527. The nobleman, mentioned in the text, was the twelfth earl of Ormond. In 1642, he was created *Marquis* of Ormond; in 1666, he was advanced to the dukedom of Ormond in Ireland, and in 1682 was created duke of Ormond in England. The marriage of Ormond, whilst viscount Thurles, with his cousin, the lady Elizabeth Preston, restored to the Ormond family the greater part of their estates, alienated from them by James I., who had assigned them to Preston, one of his Scottish favourites, in right of his marriage with the daughter of Thomas, tenth earl of Ormond. Lady Elizabeth Preston had been destined by James I. and the duke of Buckingham to be wife of Ormond's rival, the earl of Desmond, but Ormond's romantic wooing, commencing secretly at church, and carried forward on one important occasion under the guise of a pedlar, was at length successful. By order of the Court of Wards, Ormond had been educated in the Protestant faith, and was ever afterwards its devoted adherent. Writing to sir Robert Southwell, in the year 1679, he says—"My father and mother lived and died Papists, and only I, by God's merciful Providence, was educated in the Protestant religion. * * * My brothers and sisters, though they were not very many, were very fruitful and very obstinate (they will call it constant) in their way. Their fruitfulness hath spread into a large alliance, and their obstinacy hath made it altogether popish. It w[d] be no small comfort to me if it had pleased God it had been otherwise."—*Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. iii., p. 214; vol. iv., new series, p. 286.

Privy Counsellors, sealed with the Council seal, and dated the 28th Febr. 1641, (wherein the Visct. Montgr. is mentioned to be also written to) for taking out subn fm the country, etc. proout the same; 4thly, the resolves of the House of Commons in England, dated 2d Augst, 1642, to give 3 mo. pay to the 10 troops joined with the Scotish army; 5thly, the order of the Comn of Parliamt for one month's pay to the British forces, dated the 16th of Sept. 1642; 6thly, authentick copy of the Lds and Commons' order, to pay Sr. Jas. Montgr. Coll. Hill,[30] and Coll. Mervin's[31] regmt. a certain share of the £14,141, 8s. 4d. out of the adventurer's money[32] for Ireland, dated die Veneris, 5th Octbr, 1642, and, no doubt, there was the like of the Ld. of Ardes' regmt, and I find no more publick papers: 7th, Sr. Dan Coningham,[33] of London, Kt. and Bart. his signed and sealed declaration, dated the 14th Augst. 1643, expressing, that pursuant to Sr. J. M.'s letter of attr to receive for the Ld. of Ardes and himself their several shares of the £14,141, 8s. 4d. of credit was only a trust; 8th, a letter fm a Committee of the Lds. and Commons to Sr. J. M. (himself alone) expressing, and taking notice of, and thanking him for his special services agt the Irish, &c. dated 27th of 7ber, 1645. There may be many other authentick original papers (as the aforementioned are) extant to be seen.[34]

[30] *Coll. Hill.*—This was Arthur Hill, a younger son of sir Moses, who succeeded to the family estates on the death of his nephew Francis Hill, in 1637. See pp. 78, 79, *supra*. He, also, refused to act in concert with general Monro, in the matter of the covenant, but continued to give his services to the commonwealth after the cause of royalty had expired in Ulster. At the time of his death in 1663, he was the owner of large estates in the counties of Down, Antrim, and Louth, and in the towns of Drogheda and Carrickfergus.

[31] *Coll. Mervin.*—See note 13, *supra*.

[32] *Adventurer's money.*—By an Act of Parliament (17 Car. I.) for the encouragement of adventurers, the rights, titles and interests of all lands and hereditaments belonging to rebels in Ireland on the 23rd of October, 1641, the day on which the rebellion commenced, were forfeited to the king, and were adjudged, vested, and taken to be in the actual and real possession of his majesty, without any office or inquisition thereof to be found. For reducing the rebels, and distributing their lands among such persons as should advance money, and become adventurers in the reduction, two millions and a half of acres were assigned and allotted in the following proportions, viz., each adventurer of £200 was to have 1000 acres in Ulster; of £300, 1000 acres in Connaught; of £450, 1000 acres in Munster; and of £600, 1000 acres in Leinster, according to English measure. The bogs, woods, loughs, and barren mountains were cast into such lands, and so added to each adventurer's division. Out of such lands there was reserved a yearly quit-rent to the crown, of one penny per acre in Ulster, three pence in Connaught, two pence farthing in Munster, and three pence in Leinster. A commission was issued for the survey of all forfeited lands, 625,000 acres of which were measured in each province, and these lands were divided among adventurers by equal lot. Each of these allotments was returned into the court of chancery, and every adventurer of such allotment was in actual seizin or possession of his share. Every adventurer, of 1000 acres in Leinster, 1500 acres in Munster, 2000 acres in Connaught, or 3000 acres in Ulster, had power by the Act to erect his lands into a manor, with court baron and court leet and all the other privileges of a manor, such as fairs, markets, deodands, and fugitives' goods. The sum mentioned in the text, £14,141 8s. 4d., probably represented the lands adventured for in Ulster. "A more impolitic not to say unjust measure (17 Car. I.) was never resorted to by any nation, as the purchase money once paid into the Exchequer, and unhappily it was extensively so paid, deprived the English rulers of the opportunity or power of proposing, should the occasion for so doing arise, acceptable conditions of accommodation to their confederate and implacable foe. The result was a ten years' struggle—first between Ormond, the lord lieut. and commander-in-chief of the royal army, and the confederate Irish party, from the 23rd Oct., 1641, to the surrender of Dublin, and resignation of his government and insignia of office into the hands of commissioners deputed by the English Parliament to receive them, on the 18th of June, 1647; and next, between the representatives and forces of that Parliament and the same Confederate party, to the surrender of the provincial armies of the Irish made to Gen. Ludlow by Lord Muskerry and other leaders, on 12th May, 1652."—*W. H. Hardinge, Esq.*, in *Transactions of Roy. Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv., pp. 382, 383.

[33] *Sr. Dan Coningham.*—The christian name *Dan.*, here given, is probably a mistake or misprint for *Dav.* In 1634, the sixth earl of Eglinton's two sons, Hugh and Henry, spent some time in London, on their return from travel. They were introduced to sir David Cunningham, who resided in London, and who wrote to the earl, on the 22nd of November in that year, referring to his "right noble sonnes" as follows:—"Dureing the short time they have been heer, their discreet and well-fashioned carriage and behaviour hathe beene such as hath gained favour and respect from all."—Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 84.

[34] *Extant to be seen.*—These documents are probably still preserved among the descendants of the author in Australia.

I shall now write of some of them, w^h^ relate to the general procedures of the British officers (reserving the residue to a proper place:) and 1st, an authentick copy of the council of war's conclusions at Antrim, begun the 14th of May, 1645,[35] wherein it was 1st agreed by the respective Cols. undernamed, that a president should be chosen by lot (so it is phrased) this present council of war, and the same to be without prejudice to any of the Col^s^. rights of eldership, and the lot fell unto the L^d^. Visc^t^. of the Ardes, to be President of the s^d^ Council; and so to continue unto the next general council; the names of the s^d^ council were as followeth, viz.

Hugh Lord Viscount Montgomery, President.
James Lord Viscount Claneboy.
Sir James Montgomery, Kn^t^.
Sir Robert Stewart, Kn^t^.
Audley Mervin, Esq.

The Lieutenant-Colonels were

Sir Joseph Cunningham,[36] under Sir William Stewart.

[35] *14th May*, 1645.—"About this time," says Adair, (*Narrative*, p. 127,) both British and Scotch in the country were in great straits for want of pay from the parliament in England. Upon which the British officers had a meeting in Antrim, in May, 1645, and did draw up a *bond of union*, as they called it, and a protestation to be sworn and signed by all the officers of the army, and the oath to be ministered to the soldiers also, who were bound thereby to go wherever they should be led. This some of the officers did scruple at, as captain Alexander Stewart, captain Kennedy, and others, and desired the mind of the Presbytery in it." The *British* officers were so designated to distinguish them from those of the Scottish forces who came to Ulster in the summer of 1642, and with whom they generally co-operated until after the defeat at Benburb in 1646. They were, with few exceptions, natives of Ulster, being generally the sons of Scottish and English settlers who had obtained lands, either by grant or as undertakers, at the commencement of the century. According to articles of agreement between the English and Scottish parliaments, the forces sent from Scotland in 1642 were placed under the command of a Scotchman; in the first instance, of the earl of Leven, and afterwards of general Robert Monro. The British forces were placed under the command of Ormond, the lord lieutenant, but as a general rule Monro directed, for a time, all military movements in Ulster. When the original articles were drawn out no mention had been made of the covenant, and when, afterwards, the parliament of England, to strengthen itself against the king, agreed with the Scottish parliament in imposing the covenant on the army in Ulster, the British officers felt as if they had been betrayed, being almost to a man staunch assertors of royalist sentiments. With the covenant, therefore, came irreconcilable divisions, which, although kept in check by circumstances for a time, eventually caused an open rupture between the parties. The British officers remonstrated against the imposition of the covenant, and other arbitrary acts which the English parliament had been induced to sanction, and the parliament on its part appointed a committee to come to Ulster for the purpose of inspecting the British forces, with a view of ascertaining whether they were in a sufficient state of organization for going on with the war, and if so, to conciliate their support. As soon as this committee announced its intention of visiting Ulster, the British officers met at Antrim, on the 14th of May, 1645, and entered into a bond of union with each other, and then constituted themselves a court of war "for receiving the said committee and propositions from the parliament, for answering the same, and for offering to them other propositions and demands for redress of the past grievances of the British regiments, as well as providing for their future subsistence. To prevent all misconstruction of their proceedings, they declared, that they intended to do nothing destructive of the covenant; that they would prosecute the war against the Irish till an honourable and safe peace should be concluded by the consent of the king and parliament; and if they were not enabled to do so, they called heaven and earth to witness that, it was not their fault, if they were forced to take any other way whatever for their preservation and subsistence." The officers declared farther that "as there was in the province an army of the Scots nation sent over by capitulation with the parliament to suppress the rebellion of the Irish, they professed themselves ready to join with them for that purpose, and even to receive, upon occasion, orders from their general.—Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. i., pp. 533, 534. No union, however, was re-established between them, farther than to fight once more side by side against the Irish, on the same field, in the following year, and to sustain together a signal defeat at the hands of Owen Roe O'Neill. The parliamentary committee did not desire to see the royalists and covenanters united, even had there been any genuine ties of sympathy between them. The object of the committee was rather to see them disunited, so that both might thus be the more easily made to yield to the authority of parliament.

[36] *Sir Joseph Cunningham.*—See p. 132, *supra*.

Hu. Coghran,[37] under Sir Jas. Montgomery.
Robert Saunderson,[38] under Sir Robt. Stewart.
Jo. Clotworthy,[39] under Sir Jas. Clotworthy.

The Majors were

Finlay Fevhardson[40] in the Ld. Montgomery's regt. of foot.
Geo. Rauden, in Col. Hill's regiment of horse.[41]
Geo. Keith,[42] under Sr. Jas. Montgomery.

[37] *Hu. Coghran.*—This was colonel Hugh Cochrane of Fergushe, near Paisley, who had served under Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and also through the period of the civil war in Ireland from 1641 to 1652. He was the fourth son of Alexander Blair, who had taken the name of Cochrane in compliance with the settlement made by his wife's father, William Cochrane of Castle-Cochran, on the borders of Paisley and Lochwinnock parishes. Hugh Cochrane's grandmother was a daughter of sir Robert Montgomerie of Skelmorlie. He had six brothers, viz., *John*, who also served in Ireland; *William*, who became earl of Dundonald; *Alexander*, of Auchinreuch, also a colonel in the army; *sir Bryce*, also a colonel who served in Ireland, killed in 1650; *Arthur* of *Ochter*, a captain; and *Gavin*, a captain, who resided at Craigmuir, parish of Lochwinnock, and died in 1701. Hugh Cochrane mentioned in the text married a daughter of Hugh Savage, county of Down, and by her had the following family, viz., 1. *John*, of Fergushe, who married Barbara, daughter of James Hamilton, a merchant in Glasgow, and died without issue, prior to 1697; 2. *William*, who succeeded to Fergushe at the death of his brother, and married Bethia, daughter of William Blair of Auchinvale; 3. *Grizzel*, married to Mr. Robert Millar, minister of Ochiltree, who was 'outed' in 1662, and died in 1685; 4. *Margaret*, married to John Hamilton of Barr, parish of Lochwinnock; and 5. *Eupham*, married to Archibald Stewart of Newtown, in 1688. At the funeral of the third viscount (first earl), Hugh Cochrane is mentioned among the kinsmen of the deceased, but by what family connexion or in what degree he was so, the editor is unable to discover. By the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, Hugh Coghran as a 1649 officer obtained his arrears of pay which amounted to the sum of £2,754 7s 11d.—*Fifteenth Irish Record Commission Report*, vol. iii., p. 289; Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 507, 508.

[38] *Robert Saunderson.*—Under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation colonel Robt. Saunderson, as satisfaction for debentures, obtained 10,214 acres, 2 roods, and 30 perches of land, statute measure, in the county of Cavan; and 901 acres, 0 roods, 18 perches in the county of Monaghan. *Inrolled 28th June*, 1666.—*Fifteenth Irish Record Commission Report*, vol. iii., p. 61.

[39] *Jo. Clotworthy.*—This John Clotworthy, who served in sir James Clotworthy's regiment, was nephew to the latter, being the younger son of his brother Francis. John, although born at Ballysaggart, county of Tyrone, settled at Tirgracey, a townland in the parish of Muckamore, near the town of Antrim. His representatives in the male line ended at the death of Arthur Clotworthy in 1722, when the mansion house with other family property was sold to Thomas Thomson of Muckamore. The lands are now included in the beautiful demesne of Greenmount. —*Family MS.*

[40] *Finlay Fevhardson.*—This is, no doubt, the sergeant-major called *Finlay Ferguson*, who, in 1649, was charged by Waterhouse Crymble with mal-appropriation of the customs at Donaghadee. See p. 136, *supra*.

[41] *George Rauden.*—This surname is variously spelled Royden, Rauden, Rowden, Rawden, and Rawdon. George Rawdon, mentioned in the text, was the only son of Francis Rawdon of Rawdon, near Leeds, and was born in the year 1604. He was secretary to the first lord Conway, who died in 1630. By the latter he was, probably, induced to settle in Ulster, where he obtained extensive landed property at Moira. On the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, he gallantly held Lisburn against a large force of the Irish, under sir Phelim O'Neill. The insurgents, in their retreat, burned down his then recently erected mansion at Brookhill, carrying away £3,000 worth of chattels and plate. In 1665, he was created a baronet of England; and for his many and valiant services to the crown, obtained large grants of lands in the counties of Down, Dublin, Louth, and Meath. His first wife was Ursula Stafford, a daughter of sir Francis Stafford of Portglenone, who had been previously married to Francis Hill of Hill-Hall. This lady died at Brookhill in 1640, when only thirty years of age. Sir Geo. Rawdon married, secondly, in 1654, Dorothy, eldest daughter of Edward, second viscount Conway, and sister of Edward, earl Conway. Sir George received large dowries by both his ladies. He died in 1684, in the 80th year of his age, and was buried in Lisburn.—Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., pp. 104-8.

[42] *Geo. Keith.*—George Keith was probably from the parish of Galston, in Ayrshire, and a descendant of the gallant sir William Keith of that place, who was third son of the great maréschal of Scotland. Sir William Keith of Galston, distinguished himself as a gallant opponent of the English in the time of Robert I.—See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 64, 65. The Keiths are traditionally said to have come to the Ards with the Rosses, who are known to have belonged to Galston. In a rental, circa 1650, capt. Keeth, Henry Keeth, and Mary Keeth, are named as tenants on the Montgomery estate, in the parish of Comber. A captain John Keeth was a 1649 officer, and his arrears of pay, amounting to £1,370 16s. 3d., were secured to him by a grant taken out for him and other officers in the name of Hugh Montgomery, probably of Ballymagown.—*Fifteenth Report on Public Records of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 303. Early in the eighteenth century, Elizabeth Keith, daughter of Hugh Keith, of the county of Down, married Thomas Knox, of Ballycreely, near Comber.—Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vii., p. 199.

James Galbraith,[43] under Sr. Robt. Stewart.
Theophilus Jones,[44] under the Ld. Conway.

The Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns' names, and the subaltern officers of troops and compⁿʸ there present, I omit as too many to be here inserted. In this paper are the councill's resolves, with the articles of war and other matters therein concluded, wᵇ are not to the purpose of this narrative, but are worth perusal; with it are wrapt up two loose papers (signed by the chief officers) the draughts of Sʳ James Montgʸ concerning the same councill; 9th, the other authentic papers, wᵇ I have relating (more particularly) to Sʳ Jas. Montgʸᵉ transactions as a Col. I reserve them for their proper place, and resume my discourse of our sᵈ third Visct. I confess my ignorance of all his Loᵖˢ particular proceedings before the sᵈ council of war, and till the next summer, in which he headed the British party, in conjunction with a party of the Scottish army, both commanded in chief by Major Genˡ Munroe (thereunto authorised by the K. and parliament) so commonly called, at the fight near Benburb[45] river, (a place where in Q. Eliz. reign, Shane O'Neil had defeated the

[43] *James Galbraith.*—See p. 159, *supra*. Major Galbraith, probably brother to John referred to at p. 158, *supra*, was also, it thus appears, employed by the British officers in their negotiations with Ormond, and seems to have been a popular and much-trusted person with the royalists. Among the provisions in the will of James Spottiswoode, bishop of Clogher, is the following:—"And I doe, in the last place, appoint, constitute, and nominate my trustie friends, *major James Galbraith*, captain Henry Spottswood, and James Spottswood, my servant, the executors in trust, onlie to see this my last will dewlie and truelie extended, so far as shall lay in their power; and I doe give to each of these my executors ten pounds a-piece, as a legacy, for their care and paines herein to be taken."—*Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 163. Adair states, *Narrative*, p. 113, that major Galbraith, sir Robert Stewart, and col. Mervyn came on one occasion to hear the ministers preach and explain the covenant, but these officers proved themselves to be a party of "old malignants." James Galbraith was a 1649 officer, his arrears of pay amounting to £8,041 6s. 2d., which was secured to him under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.—*Fifteenth Report on Public Records of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 299.

[44] *Theophilus Jones.*—Theophilus Jones was son of Dr. Lewis Jones, a native of Monmouthshire, who was appointed to the bishoprick of Killaloe in 1633. The bishop died in 1646, when he had reached the great age of 104 years. He left four sons, viz., 1. *Henry*, who became bishop of Meath, and died in 1681. 2. *Theophilus*, mentioned in the text, who resided at Osbertstown, county of Meath, and after the Restoration in 1660, became a knight and privy counsellor. 3. *Michael*, who was appointed governor of the city of Dublin in 1647, when surrendered to the Parliament by the marquis of Ormond. Michael Jones was also general of the army in Leinster at the time of his death in 1649; and 4. *Oliver*, a colonel in the army, who was appointed governor of [illegible]eighlin in 1651, and died in 1664.—Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 395, *note*. Theophilus Jones was among the boldest opponents of the parliamentary commissioners, and, with the other officers of lord Conway's regiment, dared openly to resist its decisions. The committee had dismissed lord Conway from his position of colonel to an English regiment, and put lord Blaney in his stead. Jones and the other officers of the regiment refused to receive lord Blaney, but accepted Mr. Edward Conway, appointed by Ormond to the command, whilst Jones was made lieut.-colonel on this promotion of the latter. Jones further assured the lord lieutenant (Ormond), that the royalists, having the *island of Lecale* on their side, would require but very little assistance from his excellency to enable them to hold the North in despite of the Scottish army, and even to force the Scots to leave Ulster or submit to his (Ormond's) authority.—Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. i., pp. 533, 538. Sir Theoph. Jones, as a trustee for the 1649 officers, obtained large grants from the "savings" under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. His own claim for arrears of pay amounted to upwards of £3,000.—*Fifteenth Report on Public Records of Ireland*, vol. iii., pp. 94, 104, 121, 153, 207, 270, 289, 291, 301, 312.

[45] *Benburb.*—Benburb, *Beann-borb*, the 'proud cliff,' was the name of a castle, now in ruins, on the left bank of the Blackwater. See O'Donovan's note on the Four Masters, an. 1601, vol. vi., p. 2257. Philip O'Sullivan Beire twice translates this *Pinna Superba* in his *Historiæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ Compendium*, p. 147 (or pp. 184, 185, reprint, Dublin, 1850). The rock on which the castle stood, and from which the place derives its name, ascends abruptly from the river to the height of 120 feet. This place, which is situated in the parish of Clonfeacle, and barony of Dungannon, was the scene of two memorable battles, in each of which an O'Neill was the victorious commander. Hugh O'Neill—not Shane, as the author states—was the victor at the first battle on the road to Benburb, fought in the month of August, 1597.—See Stuart's *History of Armagh*, pp. 282, 283. The disaster of 1646, more particularly referred to in the text, was inflicted on the English and Scottish troops under Monro, by the well-known Irish general, Owen Roe O'Neill. Monro commanded 6000 foot and 800 horse, whilst O'Neill's army consisted of 5000 foot and 500 horse. O'Neill took up a strong position between two hills, having a wood behind him and the Blackwater on his right. He attacked his as[illegible]

English prime forces) whereon our field was rashly fought in June, 1646, and his Lo^p^ commander of the horse (warmly charging) being coldly seconded, was there taken prisoner, and by the enemy retained closely such, in a castle called Cloghwooter[46] (afores^d^) whose situation was in a very small

ants with equal skill and impetuosity. An English regiment, commanded by the second lord Blaney, was cut to pieces, his lordship falling with his men. The third viscount Montgomery was taken prisoner, together with 21 officers and 150 privates. Upwards of 3,500 were slain on the field, and in the pursuit. Sir James Montgomery's regiment was the only fragment of the whole invading army which retreated in good order. Monro himself fled with the greatest precipitation, abandoning his army, artillery, baggage, the greater part of his arms, and thirty-two colours. In his letter to the English parliament, he endeavoured to palliate his defeat and flight as much as possible. "By all appearance," says he, "the Irish under the Lisnagarvey horsemen had a purpose to betray the army by their running away, leaving the foot to be cut down, who were also deserted by the rest of the horse, after retiring from the last charge; the enemy falling on our baggage, the baggage-horses being all gone, they loved the spoyle better than to prosecute the victory." His entire letter is printed in Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. vi., p. 399. The following extract, containing names of Irish leaders at Benburb, omits those of Macdonnell of Antrim, and Macartan of Kinelarty:—"The battle of Benburb (1646), was fought upon the slopes of ground now called the Thistle Hill, from being the property of the Thistles, a family of Scotch farmers, now (1846) represented by a fine old man of over eighty years. This ground is two-and-a-half miles in a right line, or three by the road, from the church of Benburb, and about six miles below Caledon, in the county of Tyrone; in the angle between the Blackwater and the Oonagh, on the Benburb side of the latter, and close to Battleford bridge. We are thus particular in marking the exact place, because of the blunders of many writers on it. . . . . The leaders under Owen Roe O'Neill were:—sir Phelim O'Neill, and his brother Turlough; Con, Cormac, Hugh, and Bryan O'Neill; and the following chieftains with their clans:—Bernard Mac Mahon, the son of Hugh, chief of Monaghan, and baron of Dartrey; colonel Mac Mahon; colonel Patrick Mac Neney (who was married to Helen, sister of Bernard Mac Mahon); colonel Richard O'Farrell, of Longford; Roger Maguire, of Fermanagh; colonel Philip O'Reilly, of Ballynacargy castle, in the county of Cavan (who was married to Rose O'Neill, the sister of Owen Roe); and the valiant Maolmora O'Reilly (kinsman to Philip), who, from his great strength and determined bravery, was called Miles the Slasher. The O'Reillys brought 200 choosen men of their own name, and of the Mac Bradys, Mac Cabes, Mac Gowans, Fitzpatricks, and Fitzimons, from Cavan. Some fighting men were also brought by Mac Gauran, of Templeport; and Mac Ternan, of Croghan; some Connaught forces came with the O'Rorkes, Mac Dermotts, O'Connors, and O'Kellys; there came also some of the O'Donnells and O'Doghertys, of Donegal; Manus O'Cane, of Derry; sir Constantine Magennis, country of Down; the O'Hanlons, of Armagh, regal standard-bearers of Ulster; and the O'Hagans, of Tyrone."—*Appendix to the Poems of Thomas Davis*, pp. 207—9.

There is a minute and interesting sketch of this battle in Mr. J. W. Hanna's *Annals of Charlemont*, pp. 41—7. Adair, *Narrative*, p. 123, interpreted the defeat at Benburb as a judgment on the Scotch army. "For many of the soldiers," says he, "were prodigiously profane and wicked in their lives." In the preceding year (1645), the successes of Montrose and Macdonnell, against the covenanters in Scotland, were naturally viewed with dismay by the brethren in Ulster. "The presbytery at this time," says Adair, *Narrative*, p. 122, "were frequent in keeping solemn days of public humiliation, for causes relating to the state of that time, as troubles in Scotland by Montrose, or the slow proceedings of reformation in England, both by parliament and assembly; the insolence of malignants in this country, especially ministers; sin abounding generally, notwithstanding our troubles and late entering into covenant." The Commissioners of the Scottish General Assembly, with perhaps a better knowledge of facts, directly charge the evils and defeats which befel the covenanters at that crisis on the sins and back-slidings of the presbyterian ministers in Scotland. On the 5th of August, 1645, ten days before the signal victory obtained by Montrose at Kilsyth, the assembly drew up a most formidable list of the ministers' short-comings and delinquencies, which they ordered to be engrossed in the books of the various presbyteries. This document is divided into twelve heads, in each of which the gravest charges are put forward in very plain terms. Besides worldliness, lightness of demeanour in themselves and their families, ambiguousness in preaching, slander, silence on the good cause, ministers were charged with profaneness, "tipling and bearing companie in untymous drinking in taverns and ale-houses, or anywhere else, whereby the ministrie is made vyle and contemptible." At the present day, presbyterians generally look back to that time as the *golden age* of their church. The reader may find the above-named list of ministerial sins printed *in extenso* in *the Scottish Journal of Topography*, vol. i., pp. 56, 57.

[46] *Cloghwooter.*—See p. 115, *supra*. In 1627, a royal grant was made to sir Thomas Dutton of all the *inland forts* in the two provinces of Ulster and Connaught. The following are enumerated as the inland forts of Ulster, viz., "the forts of Moirie Castle and Charlemont, in our county of Armagh; *Cloghowter*, in our county of Cavan; Toome, in our county of Antrim; Monaghan, in our county of Monaghan; and Innishkylln, in our county of Fermanagh."—Morrin's *Calendar*, Charles I. p. 218. The dismal nature of lord Montgomery's prison-house may be inferred from the following short notice which describes it as "a castle in the midst of a loch, within two miles of Kilmore, the only place of strength in the whole county, called Clochwater. There was of old a little island about it; but it was worn all away to the bare stone walls, and not one foot of ground now to be seen above the water; only a tall round tower like a pigeon house, standing in the midst of the waves, and above a musket shot from it to each shore."—See Mason's *Life of Bedell*, p. 362. There is a drawing of

island (scarce bigger than its foundation) within a lough in the county of Cavan, then in the possession of Owen Roe[47] M'Art M'Ever O'Neil; his army which gained that day at Benburb afores[d], and not thence released till about two years after that misfortune, during all which doleful days his uncle (the afores[d] solicitous solicitor for his family, S[r] Jas. Montgomery) was using all his endeavours in Ireland, and to the committee of L[ds]. and comm[ns]. (who had respectfully wrote to him as afores[d]) in England, till he procured his Lo[p's] liberty[48] from that solitary melancholy restraint, whence he could see nothing but woods and water and the stones which immured him (like an anchorite.)[49] His

this place in Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 566. See also Dr. McIlwaine's *Lecture on the Life and Times of Bedell*, p. 26.

[47] *Owen Roe.*—The celebrated Irish general, Owen Roe O'Neill, was nephew of the more celebrated Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, being the natural son of Art O'Neill, Tyrone's brother. See the memoir of Owen Roe in *Ulst. Jour. of Archæol.*, vol. iv., p. 25. He went to the continent with others who accompanied the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel in their flight from Ireland in 1607. In the year 1642, at the request of the northern Irish, he returned to Ireland and took the chief command of the Ulster forces, being pronounced by pope Urban VIII. (and father Luke Wadding, a better authority) the most competent soldier for this high trust. Friar O'Mellan, in his *MS. Journal of the Wars of* 1641, speaks of Owen Roe as "the brave and honourable hero, the magnanimous and gallant warrior, the protector of the people of Pope Innocent the Tenth." He was accompanied to Ireland by other distinguished Irish exiles, among whom were Daniel O'Cahan, (who is described as a gifted linguist and general scholar); Henry, Bryan, and Con O'Neill, his own sons; Bryan MacPhelim O'Byrne, Owen O'Dogherty, and Gerald Fitzgerald. On his arrival at Doe castle, in Donegal, he was quickly joined by several leading Irish chiefs, among whom were the representatives of the Ulster O'Neills, O'Reillys, O'Cahans, Mac Mahons, and Macdonnells. At a general meeting, Owen Roe was elected commander of the Ulster forces; and sir Phelim, who had previously held that position, was made president of Ulster. After many signal services performed with a view, as he declared on his death-bed, to "the advancement of his majesty's service and the just liberties of this nation," he died on the 5th of November, 1649, at the residence of his brother-in-law, Philip O'Reilly, Cloughowter, county of Cavan. His death occasioned deep and general grief among the Irish, happening as it did, at such a woful crisis of their history. Of all the bards who gave expression to the popular grief and dismay, none were so eloquent or plaintive as one named O'Daly, or none at least have found so admirable a translator. His well-known *keene* has been converted by James Clarence Mangan into a beautiful English elegy from which the following is an extract :—

"Oh, mourn, Erin, mourn!
He is lost, he is dead,
By whom thy proudest flag was borne,
Thy bravest heroes led.
* * * *
One after one thy champions fall—
Thy valiant men lie low;
And now sleeps under shroud and pall
The gallant Owen Roe—
The worthiest hero of them all
The princely Owen Roe."—

See Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, pp. 127, 321, 472.

[48] *His lordship's liberty.*—A commission of the Scottish church pressed the Scottish parliament to interfere for viscount Montgomery's release. This commission which met at Edinburgh in February, 1647, presented the following petition on his lordship's behalf, which was first printed in Dr. Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., pp. 58–59:—"To the honourable estates of parliament, the humble petition of the commissioners of the General Assembly, humbly sheweth—That it is not unknown to your honours how the Lord viscount Montgomerie of Ards, within the Kingdom of Ireland, hath now of a long time been captive and in bitter bondage with the barbarous and bloody Irishes. We shall not need to put your honours in remembrance that he is your flesh and blood; nor yet how he is of the same body, and in the same bond of the covenant; only your honours may call to mind, when commissioners were sent from hence to tender the Solemn League and Covenant to your army, how cheerfully he did offer himself, and join in the same, despising all terrors and hazards; and how faithfully and zealously he hath laboured to promote the same, not loving even his life unto death, as most amply and solemnly testified unto us in the late General Assembly, and now again by a letter from the presbytery of our army within that kingdom; as also how in the day of our distress he offered himself willingly unto our help, and still hath been very helpful and refreshful to our forces there, to the great damage of his estate. May it then please your honours, in this day of his distress to be comfortable unto him; and to apply and bestir yourselves in the use of the best means for his relief and subsistence. So shall you encourage others to be forward for God, and zealous of the country's good, when the coal that is left shall not be quenched, according to your power and interest; and contribute much to the promoving of the work of reformation there, which is like to be crushed in the birth through want of encouragement." This glowing account of the third viscount's zeal and self-sacrifice was supplied by the Presbytery which had met at Carrickfergus, and had instructed the commissioners as to the contents of the petition to be presented by the latter to the estates of parliament. The testimony here given by the ministers contrasts very curiously with their account of lord Montgomery two years later, when he determined to carry out his own royalist sentiments by means which appeared to himself more practicable than the method adopted by the leaders of the covenanting party.

[49] *Like an anchorite.*—On anchorite cells, called in Irish *cloch angcoire*, see Reeve's *Memoirs of the Church of St. Duilech*, p. 11; Petrie's *Round Towers*, pp. 112, 113.

only comfortable prospect was the heavens, in whose God (his ever-living father) he chiefly trusted for his delivery, w^h^ came to pass by means of his s^d^ uncle's solicitation, and obtaining a licence of Parliam^t^ to exchange[50] the Earl of Westmeath and Lieut.-Gen^l^. (I think his sirname was) O'Reily, for his Lo^p^ and the s^d^ Theophilus Jones.

In this confinement, his Lo^p^ ply'd his study of books, whereby he improv'd his knowledge in the military art, ags^t^ the flesh, the world, and the devil, w^h^ he renounced according to his baptismal vow, that he might the better fight manfully under Christ's banner, both for religion and the King, laws, and country. So that his Lo^p^ came out of Cloghwooter castle as to recommencem^t^ to take or reassume his degrees for command and glory. In the interim of his imprisonment, his Lo^p's^ reg^t^. and troop were ordered by the care of the s^d^ Sir J. M. with the same kindness he had for his own, he being eldest Col. in those parts, and having his L^p's^ authority to command it. At length, this withering durance (for it impaired his health, tho' he wanted not wholesome vivers) being removed, had a safe conduct, and was rec^d^ in our frontiers by many Br^h^. officers and some troops, and convoy'd through the county of Armagh to Lisnegarvagh *(i. e.* the Gamester's Fort,[51]) where his s^d^ uncle, with

[50] *Licence to exchange.*—The efforts made by sir James Montgomery and others for the release of lord Montgomery would have probably been unsuccessful, had not Owen Roe O'Neill clearly seen that he could not much longer hold Cloughouter castle. Among the various means set in motion by sir James Montgomery to effect the liberation of his nephew, were three letters, written by Charles I., to Owen Roe, earnestly soliciting the release of viscount Montgomery. But O'Neill did not see his way clearly to this result until 'the march of events' had convinced him, some time afterwards, of the propriety of letting his captive go free. He replied to the king's three letters, by one from himself, declining to accede to the royal request. His letter is as follows:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY—I received your highness' letters of the eighth and twentieth of October, and the tenth of January last mourning thereof, to set at liberty the lord Viscount Montgomery of Ards, who was taken prisoner by my forces in June last. I most humbly beseech your Majesty to accept of these my reasons as my apology and excuse for not complying with your Majesty's pleasure herein for the present; for I do and will ever profess to be one of your Majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, and will, in testimony thereof, be ready on all occasions to observe your commands. But, dread Sovereign, be pleased to understand that the lord Viscount Montgomery of Ards, hath sided these two years past and more with the parliament rebels of England, in open hostility against your majesty, and especially against this nation of Ireland, and therein hath been more eager and active than any of his party, he being commander-in-chief of all the horse of his party in the province of Ulster here; and for this reason, and for that the party of the Scots adhere to the Parliament against your majesty, hath lately, contrary to the capitulation made between the lord marquis Montrose, on your majesty's part, and the state of Scotland, most traciterously executed and put to death lieutenant-colonel Anguish MacAllaster Duffe MacDonnell, and used the like cruel execution, after quarter given, upon lieutenant-colonel O'Cruice, major —— Laughlin, major ——, and divers other commanders, with many hundred others of inferior sort. And I cannot but represent unto your highness' memory, how the marquis of Antrim, falling twice into the hands of the Scots, as their prisoner, was refused by them to be enlarged, though your majesty, by several gracious letters and messages, earnestly sought the same; likewise the queen of France, who employed a special gentleman of her own purposely about this to the Scots: all which be motives to me not to afford them so great a favour. And I am confident, were your Majesty informed of these particulars, and of the proceedings of the Scots, whose language your highness seems now to utter, and you now in that free condition you ought to be, your majesty would never have been drawn to press me into the enlargement of so notorious a rebel, and to forfeit an enemy unto all this nation.

"So most humbly begging your majesty's pardon for this my freedom of boldness, and forbearing at present of executing this your royal command, expressed in these your letters, I, in all humbleness, take leave.—Your majesty's most humble and obedient servant and subject,

"OWEN O'NEILL."

The foregoing letter, the original of which, is preserved in the Carte Collection, has been printed in Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 466, 467. In the month of February, 1648, *new style*, lord Montgomery and Theophilus Jones were exchanged for two of O'Neill's party, namely, the earl of Westmeath and colonel Byrne. —*English Commons Journals*, vol. v., p. 411, Our author was under the impression that lieutenant-general O'Reilly was one of the captives restored to liberty on that occasion.

[51] *Gamester's Fort.*—"Lisnagarvy, *Lios na g-cearbhach*, 'the gamester's fort,' is the present name of a townland adjoining Lisburn, and was also the name of the town, until the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1635, it was written *Linsley Garvin*. The MS. account of the battle in the old Vestry Book is headed 'Lisnegarvey, 28th Nov., 1641.' The town may have changed name after its burning in that year. See also Reeves's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 383. In the charter of Charles II., 1662, it is called Lisburne, alias *Lisnagarvie*. In Jeremy Taylor's *Works*, vol. xiv., p. 489, are 'Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Diocess of Down and Connor, given at the Visitation of *Lisnegarvey*.'"—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i., p. 242. In Story's *True and Impartial History*, p. 11, we have the following account of the tradition then prevailing (1691) in reference to the origin of this name:—"And then on Monday, the second of September, we marched beyond Lisburn; this is one of the prettiest inland towns in the North of Ireland, and one of the most *English*-like places in the kingdom; the Irish name is *Lishnegarvey*, which they tell me signifies the *Gamester's Mount;* for a little to the north-east of the town there is a mount moated about, and another to the south-west; these were formerly surrounded with a great

a great train of Gents. met his Lo^p (my small self being one) and attended him through Belfast to Carrickfergus, where he made his first visit to the s^d Major-Gen^l. and to his Lady Mother.[52] All the

wood, and thither resorted all the Irish outlaws, to play at cards and dice; one of the most considerable among them having lost all, even his cloaths, went in a passion in the middle of the night, to the house of a nobleman in that country, who before had set a considerable sum on his head; and in this mood he surrendered himself his prisoner; which the other considering of, pardon^d him; and afterwards this town was built, when the knot of rogues was broke, which was done chiefly by the help of this one man; the town is so modern, however, that Camden takes no notice of it." See also *Belfast and its Environs*, by J. Hubard Smith, p. 82 (Dublin, 1853).

[52] *His Lady Mother.*—The major-general here alluded to was Robert Monro, with whom the third viscount's mother had re-married. This commander was of the family of Fowlis, in Kiltearn. He originally distinguished himself in Flanders, and afterwards in the war, waged by Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, against Ferdinand II. Of his service on the latter occasion he published an account, entitled *Monro's Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment called Mac Key's Regiment, levied, in* 1626, *under the Invincible King of Sweden,* 1637. This book, now very scarce, contains much valuable information on military affairs, with "a profusion of observations interspersed, (says Mackay) which, though they may be just in themselves, and suited to the genius of that age, the most of them no modern writer would take any notice of, unless a novelist might use some of the terms or expressions to adorn his fanciful tale." Monro, who went to Denmark a lieutenant and returned a colonel, states that Mac Key's regiment, in which he served, embarked at Cromarty, on the 10th of October, 1626, and arrived five days afterwards at Luckstadt on the Elbe. Very many of his sept or clan accompanied the expedition, there being of that surname no fewer than three generals, eight colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, and thirty captains, besides a great number of subalterns.—*New Stat. Account of Scotland, Ross and Cromartyshires*, p. 317; Mackay's *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, pp. 220—223. On Monro's return to Scotland, he zealously espoused the cause of the covenant, and appears to have had much real enjoyment in ruthlessly carrying out its behests. Balfour and Spalding record several of his exploits while engaged in the suppression of "malignants" throughout the North. "At this same werey time," says sir James Balfour, "that Argyle was scurging the highlanders, colonel Robert Monro was commanded north, with the title of Major General, and with him 1,000 foote, bot quhen he cam to Aberdeine, he was recrutted with ane addition of 500 foote more, and two troupes of horse, commanded by captaine Forbesse. His first exployt was the apprehend of 26 citizens of Aberdeine, that wold not subscreive the couenant; these he sent prissoners to Edinburghe under a gaurde, quher they wer all shutte upe in closse prissone; then tooke he the housse of Drum, and sent the laird thereof and his brother Robert bothe prissoners to Edinburghe. Theraftер he took 15 or 16 barrons and gentlemen that wold not subscreive the couenant, and sent them under sure gaurdes prissoners to Edinburghe, to be taught by the committee of estaites to speake their auen countrey language. Monro manteind his armey on thesse gentlemen's estaites, and for the suplus of the samen he was compteable to the committee of estaites of Edinburghe. After this, Monro crossed the Spey, and lay doune before the castle of Spynie, wich at his first comming, he tooke, and the bishope of Murray prissoner therin, the place being unfurnished bothe of men and ammunitione. He tooke the bishope with him, and putt a garisone in his castle. From Spynie, Monro re-crossed the river Spey, and, with all hostility, plundered the marques of Huntlie's landes, tooke the castle of Strathbogie, and putt a garisone in it. He tooke offe Huntlie landes two thousand horsse and cattle, forby maney thousandes of sheep, and thereof keept ane opin markett Strathbogie, and solde them backe to their owners at 54 Scottes the piece. From Strathbogie he marches the 2[illegible] Agust, this same yeire, to Bamffe, quher he playes the deuill, and demolishes the lord Bamffe's house, wich was bothe faire and staitely, and a grate ornament to that part of the kingdom. Heire I leve him, plundring and destroying the policey of the lande, and reducing all these that formerlie danced after Huntlie and Bamffe's fidling (quho called themselves the kinge's friends), to the obedience of the covenant."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 381, 382. When Monro came to Ulster in 1642, he continued the same predatory courses, plundering the houses of all royalists within reach of his head-quarters at Carrickfergus, and conducting raids of a most desolating character throughout various parts of Ulster. His soldiers on these occasions burned houses, carrying off every description of goods, collected immense herds of cattle from the fields, and perpetrated all manner of shocking brutalities. They were, in some measure, compelled to adopt a system of public robbery to keep themselves alive, having had no regular provision from England or Scotland, and the prayers, fasts, and entreaties of the Presbytery being barely sufficient to extort an occasional scanty alms of oatmeal for their use. In the great raid made by Munro, as far as Longford, in the summer of 1644, with a force of 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse, the rations provided for each soldier for *twenty days* was 24 *pounds of oatmeal*, so that the deficiency in meat and drink had to be supplied by ruthless and extensive robbery. An account of this raid is preserved in a now rare tract, entitled *A full Relation of the late Expedition*, &c., 4to, London, 1644. This expedition was commenced on the 27th June and closed on 16th of July. On the 24th of May preceding, Adair, *Narrative*, p. 101, states that "Another fast was appointed to be in places on a week-day, and on a Lord's Day thereafter, for the former causes, and especially the sinfulness of the army and country continuing, notwithstanding the great distress on both, and that *God would bless the expedition of the army going to the field this summer.*" It was, indeed, "blessed" to the planners and instigators of it, inasmuch as vast numbers of Roman Catholics were robbed and murdered; but it was not "blessed" so as to set the cause of the covenant above fear and peril, for no sooner had Monro reached his quarters at Carrickfergus again than retribution was announced as about to follow. "Since our returne,"

great guns and muskets in each garrison (where he came) wellcoming his Lo^p in their loudest thunderings. After these joyfull welcomes thus proclaim'd by Bellona's voice and the noise of drums and so of trumpets, and huzzas of officers and soldiers; I find nothing of this our 3d Visc^{t's} actions (for want of his papers) till his appearance at the council of war held in Lisnegarvagh (the town afores^d) on the 14th and 15th days of March, 1647, stilo anglico, under the presiedency of Conl. Geo. Monck. The names of the constitutents were as follows, lire licet:

Colo. Geo. Monck,[53] President, the R^t Hon^{b'e} the Lord of Ardes, S^r Jas. Montgomery, Col.

says the writer of the tract above mentioned, "the earle of Castlehaven and Owen Mac Art (O'Neill) doe threaten hard, that they will immediately follow us down into our quaners, and drive us into the sea, if God and we will give them leave." (Page 8.) Besides this expedition, and the one of 1642, already mentioned at p. 154, note 8, *supra*, Monro conducted several similar movements during his command in Ulster. His military career, however, ended ingloriously on the field of Benburb, from which he fled with such haste as to leave his hat and wig among the immense spoils to be gathered by the enemy. Among the Protestants of Ulster who suffered in their estates for resisting the covenant was Peter Hill, elder son of sir Moses Hill. In May, 1644, he and his family were obliged to fly for safety to Dublin, being driven from his residence by several parties of the Scotch army under Monro, who plundered his house and stock to the value of above £3,804. Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 323, represents sir James Montgomery as leading one of these marauding parties, and lord Lindsay, a Scottish colonel, the other. It is a mistake to style the former *sir* James Montgomery, as at that time he was simply colonel James Montgomery, fifth son of the earl of Eglinton. He is not to be confounded with sir James Montgomery of Rosemount, who was a British officer, and did not belong to Monro's army at all, although generally acting in concert with the Scots. Sir James Balfour, *Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 210, when noticing the proceedings of the Scottish parliament on the 9th of July, 1644, says:—"A letter from the parl. to Generall Maior Monro, in favors of the Wiscount Clandeboves, commanding the said Maior to put no more quarteringes and exactions one him, nor one hes neighbours, conforme to their estaits." In 1643, the parliament, as a means of bringing the remains of the royal party in Ulster under its authority, invested Monro with a commission under the *new* broad seal of England, to be commander-in-chief of all the British as well as Scotch forces in Ulster. On hearing this, sir James Montgomery summoned the officers of the British troops to meet in Belfast on the 13th of May, that they might consider what answer should be returned to Monro, when he would require them to submit to his authority. This meeting, which was attended by sir James Montgomery, viscount Montgomery, lord Blaney, sir Robert Stewart, col. Ar. Chichester, major Gore, and others, was adjourned until the next day; but, during the night of the 13th, Monro surprised and seized Belfast. Chichester, who had previously been appointed governor of Belfast by the king, asked an explanation of this proceeding, and Monro replied that, since he (Chichester) had published Ormond's proclamation against the covenant, all who had taken the covenant believed themselves to be denounced as traitors, and were, therefore, required to look sharply to their own interests. The seizure of Belfast was a violation of the original agreement between the English and Scottish parliaments, according to which agreement Monro was only to occupy Carrickfergus and Coleraine. His movement, therefore, called an immediate remonstrance from both Houses of the English Parliament, addressed to the Scottish Parliament, and requiring the surrender of Belfast by Monro on the 11th day of the January following. Sir James Balfour, *Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 357, has the following record:—"A letter from General Maior Monro, from Ireland, to the parl. of the dait 26 Dec., 1645, shewing them, if that they condescendit to the Englische to pairt with the toune of Belfast, that they might lykwayes pairt with all their interest in Ireland." The English did not regain possession until 1647, when Monk seized Monro, and sent him a prisoner to London. The following is M'Skimin's account of Monro's capture:—"To obtain possession of this place (Carrickfergus), was now a matter of considerable interest to the Commonwealth; and, general Robert Monroe having offended major Knox, captain Brice Coghran, and some other officers of Glencairn's regiment then in garrison, they, fearing he would join sir George Monroe, then on his way from Scotland with his disbanded troops, mutually agreed to betray the town to general Monk, then in Lisburn. In consequence of their information, on the night of the 13th September, sir Robert Adair, with a troop of horse, was despatched from Lisburn on this special service. Taking an unfrequented track across the mountains, he arrived at the north-gate about daylight, which, having been purposely left open, he entered without opposition, and surprised general Monroe in his bed, who was soon after sent prisoner to England."—*History of Carrickfergus*, p. 57; see also Adair's *Narrative*, pp. 150, 151. Belfast, as a matter of course, was surrendered to Monk on the removal of Monro, who was lodged in the tower, where he was kept a prisoner during the space of five years.

[53] *Col. Geo. Monck.*—Monk, born in 1608, was a younger son of sir Thomas Monk of Potheridge, in Devonshire. He entered the army as a volunteer in 1625, and served under lord Wimbledon in the well-known expedition against Spain. After a service of ten years in Spain and the Low Countries, he returned to England just as the war commenced between Charles I. and his Scottish subjects, and served in the royal armies during the two expeditions of the king into Scotland. He was next sent to Ireland, to assist in crushing the rebellion of 1641, and having signed a treaty with the rebels in 1643, he returned with his regiment to England. He was suspected by the royalists, and seized on his landing at Bristol; but

L^t Colo. O'Conally, Colo. Edw^d. Conway,[54] L^t.-Colo. Keith,[55] L^t-Colo. Frayle, L^t.-Colo. Conway, Major Geo. Rauden,[56] Major James Clotworthy,[57] Capt. Geo. Montgomery,[58] Capt. Edwd. Brugh,[59]

being able to justify himself to the satisfaction of lord Digby, then secretary of state, he was released, and appointed a major-general in the Irish Brigade, then employed at the siege of Nantwich, in Cheshire. At that place, sir Thomas Fairfax surprised and seized the whole brigade, and Monk was sent to the tower, where he remained until November, 1646, when, as the only means by which he could obtain his liberty, he took the covenant, engaged his services to the parliament, and was sent again to Ireland in command of the force then designed for the occupation of Dublin. Having approved himself to the parliamentary authorities as an able military officer, he was appointed on the 16th of July, 1647, to the command of the British forces in Ulster, except the regiments at Londonderry and in the Laggan, which, at the same time, were placed under the command of sir Charles Coote. Monk took up his head-quarters at Lisburn, and in the month of March following his appointment, he held a council of war at that place, to make arrangements for the campaign which was to be carried out during the succeeding months.

[54] *Edwd. Conway.*—See pp. 154, 155, *supra.* Edward Conway was appointed by Ormond to the command of the English regiment in Ulster from which his father had been removed by the committee of the Parliament. His father, the second viscount Conway, objected to the covenant, and refused to sign it, on the grounds that its acceptance was not one of the original articles agreed to between the Government and the officers of the British forces in Ulster. The parliamentary committee appointed the second lord Blaney as colonel of the regiment in his stead; but the officers of the regiment refused to accept the latter, preferring to have Edward Conway, son of their former leader. The father, although refusing to take the covenant, became quite pliant to parliamentary rule for the sake of preserving his estates, and recommended his son to adopt the same course. The following extract is taken from a letter addressed to his son on this point, and dated London, September 24, 1645:—"I did once think not to have written, for he that brings this to you knows most perfectly all that concerns this place and these times; but I have heard something which makes me think it most necessary for me to write to you. Sir Patrick Weames is come to London from Dublin, and sayeth that Lieut-Colonel Jones (Theophilus) is in Dublin, and that you have received a commission for the regiment from my Lord of Ormond, and the result of this is, that you and the officers of the regiment are not to be trusted; if the Parliament believe this, they will have cause to dispose of the regiment, so as they may be assured of it. The Commissioners that do now go into Ireland are very honest gentleman. Mr. Onslowe and Sir Robert King I know very well, and you shall do well to address yourself to them, that they may make good report of you hither. I have spoken with Ned Burgh at large when he was here; you shall do well to speak with him; take heed to yourself, and keep the good opinion of this place. There was one that answered to that, that you had a commision for the regiment sent from the Marquiss of Ormond; that you were not to be blamed, because that he might do it without your seeking; but it was certain that the Parliament was sent to, and desired to give you a commission. I have answered for Lieut.-Colonel Jones all that I could; you shall do well to speak with him, and I hope that he will satisfy the Commissioners. If there be any officer whom you know to be disaffected to the Parliament, so that the putting of him out may be a good service, you shall do well to put him out, having told the Commissioners of him."—*Rawdon Papers*, pp. 181, 182. The concluding sentence of this extract contains but a scurvy advice from a father to his son, and especially as the former had himself been "put out" of the same service not long before the date of this letter. The son became a wise man,—a philosopher, in fact,—and never hazarded the loss of his estates by any reckless adhesion to political convictions.

[55] *Col. Keith.*—See p. 163, *supra.*

[56] *Rauden.*—See p. 163, *supra.*

[57] *James Clotworthy.*—See p. 156, *supra.*

[58] *Geo. Montgomery.*—The third son of the first viscount. See p. 94, *supra.*

[59] *Edwd. Brugh.*—This surname was also written Brauff and Burgh. This was an officer of sir George Rawdon's regiment, but we are unable to state any particulars of his family or native place. In the rare tract already mentioned, at p. 168, note 52, *supra*, containing an account of Monro's expedition as far south as Longford, in 1644, there is the following mention of this officer:—"We having rested at Granard upon the Sabbath day, being the 7. of July, we sent out and burnt the townes of Ballynlie and Longford, where the rebells had quartered, and all the castles that were of any availe to them, all which they wholly deserted, not one man staying within the countrey, except such as hid themselves in Ilands. At one of the chiefest of the passes upon the Evey water, is the bridge of Fyna, where the earle of West-meath's castle is at the end of it, about two myles from Granard; there the earle of Castle-Heaven had put 200 musqueteers, and three troops of horse, whereof his owne lifegard was one. It happened that Maior Royden, with seven English troops, were quartered neere unto that place, who orderly seting out his gards and scouts got the alarm severall times given him by the rebell horse from the castle upon the Sunday; who, when the rest horsed, and strengthened their guards, did still retire to the castle. At last, about 12 of the clock, Maior Royden expecting that they would stand and skirmish, drew to them with his troopes, but they retired, yet espying 5 or 6 of their horsemen riding to the top of a hill about half a mile from the castle; whereupon he sent out captaine Brauff (Brugh) with six well-horsed men, who endeavoured to get betwixt them and the castle, which the rebells perceiving rode hard, and being neerer, gained the pass and stopped; then one of them tearming himself a captaine, called to our men to know if there were ever a captaine amongst them, who durst change a paire of bullets with him. Captaine Brauff with his men seeming to retire slowly, the enemy followed him suit; whereupon he upon a sudden wheled about with his men and charged them, and having discharged their carabines the rogues took to flight. Captaine Brauff charged home

Capt. Clemens,[60] Capt. Jos. Hamilton, Capt. Hans Hamilton,[61] and Capt. Augustin.[62]—I will not recount all the passages at this meeting, but only a few, which (I think) are worth knowledge and memory.

Imprimis, it was resolved upon the question, that the Capts. and Field Officers should be involved (I use their own words) in one vote; that the Field Officers and Captains shall take place according to the antiquity of their Colo.'s commissions, not their own; and it was (on debate) ordered by the President pursuant to the last said resolve, that Lieut. Colo. Coghran, under S^{r} J. M. should have the preced^{t} in the courts of war of L^{t}.-Colo. Conally,[63] under S^{r}. Jas. Clotworthy.

neer to the passe; the chiefe man of them he run him quite through with his rapier, and killed him, and so retired himself and his men without hurt, and had no more alarms that night."—pp. 4, 5. Captain Brugh was chosen by Monk to convey Monro, as a prisoner, from Carrickfergus to London, and during his visit he had seen lord Conway. See note 54, *supra*. The lattter, writing again to his son, on the 9th of July, 1647, commences his letter thus:—"I need not say anything of the affairs of this place; you will have information from Major Rawdon and Ned Burgh."—*Rawdon Papers*, p. 184. It appears by *Inquisition, Down*, no. 96, Car. I., that Edward Brugh obtained from Hugh O'Laury of Reske, county of Downe, the towns, lands, sessiaghs, and parcels called Reske, containing 120 acres; Carnealbeanagh, 60 acres; Drombane, 60 acres; Gortemoney, 60 acres; Leage, 60 acres; Kilmonyoge, 60 acres; and Taghlomny, 20 acres. These lands, known generally as Meyrah (Moira), Burgh purchased from O'Laury, in 1639, for the sum of £300.—Thorpe's *Catalogue of Southwell MSS.*, p. 209,—No. in Cat. 367.

[60] *Capt. Clemens.*—This was Henry Clements, supposed to have been a son of Edward Clements, who, on the 20th of March, 1609, obtained from John Dalway a deed of the townlands of Ballythomas, Straidballythomas, and Ballymenagh, near Carrickfergus, for the yearly rent of £2 5s. About the year 1640, this Henry Clements was deputy-recorder of Carrickfergus, and soon afterwards an alderman. In 1648, he was in garrison at Carrickfergus as a captain in sir John Clotworthy's regiment of foot. He died soon after the year last named. Henry, Edward, Andrew, and Francis Clements, afterwards mentioned in the records of Carrickfergus as aldermen or burgesses, were believed to be his sons. The Carrickfergus branch is now represented by the Adairs of Loughanmore. Another son of Henry Clements, named Robert, settled in the county of Cavan, where he obtained an estate, married Miss Sandford, a member of the Castlerea family, and from him by his marriage descended the viscounts and earls of Leitrim.—M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, p. 326, *note*.

[61] *Hans Hamilton.*—This Hans Hamilton was third son of John Hamilton of Tullimore, and nephew of viscount Clanaboy. He died in 1656, at his residence of Carnacure, near Comber, and was buried, according to directions given in his will, in his father's grave, in the aisle of Holywood church. By his wife, Mary Kennedy of Killarne, he left three sons and four daughters. One of his daughters, Jane, married Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown, whose family is afterwards fully noticed by the author, near the conclusion of his Manuscripts.—Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p 7.

[62] *Capt. Augustin.*—This British officer, on the defeat of the royalist party in 1649, retired to Scotland, and entered the army of the estates, which had been hastily collected to oppose Cromwell; but being one of those "purged out" for "malignancy" before the battle of Dunbar, Augustine took to the practice of robbing and murdering stragglers from the English forces. By this means he soon enriched himself, and found great favour in the eyes of the covenanting authorities who had previously expelled him for his royalist sentiments, but who had, in the meantime, been thoroughly defeated by Cromwell, in consequence, it was believed, of their determination to accept the assistance of no "malignants" in fighting the battles of the Lord! Of this moss-trooper's career, we have the following notice by sir James Balfour: "One Augustine, a heighe Germane, being purged out of the armey before Dunbar, bot a stout and resolute young man, and a lover of the Scotts natione, imitating Watte (another freebooter) in October and November, this zeire (1651), annoyed the enimey werey muche, killing many of his straglers, and made nightly infals upone theire quarters, killing sometyme 20, and sometyme 30, and more or less of them; quherby he both enriched himselve and his followers, and grateumly dammissed the enimey. Hes cheffe abode was aboute and in the mountains of Pentland and Soutra."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 165. "Captaine Augustine is called, and the lord Chancellor, in his majesties name, and in the name of the Parl. giues him thankes for his good service; and ordaines the Committee of Military Affairs to giue him some reasonable recompense to encourage him and others."—*Ibid*, vol. iv., p. 214. For some account of the operations of "the villanous moss-troopers," generally, against Cromwell's troops, see Bisset's *Omitted Chapters in the History of England*, vol. i., p. 389. Two persons, named John and George Augustine, probably brothers, were 1649 officers in Ireland, but we cannot discover by which of the brothers these Scottish distinctions were earned. Captain George received, as arrears of pay, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, the sum of £339 18s; and captain John received £708 1s 10d. *15th Report, of Irish Record Commission*, p. 289. "Heighe Germanes" were numerous in Scotland during the seventeenth century, coming generally as professional mountebanks. See Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 296.

[63] *Lt.-colo. Conally*.—This was the well-known Owen O'Conally (Eoghan O'Conghalaigh) who first informed the Government of the conspiracy in 1641. The following is sir John Temple's account:—"O'Conally, a gentleman of a meere Irish family, but one that

There were (then) ordered forts to be made at certain passes, and men out of every regt. (not above 80 out of any one) to be posted in them, and to be relieved monthly by fresh detachments, and the quota of money is set down what pay every officer and common soldier, serjeant, corporal,

had long lived among the English, and been trained up in the true Protestant religion, came unto the lord justice Parsons about nine of the clock that evening (22nd October, 1641), and made him a broken relation of a great conspiracy for the seizing of his Majesties castle of Dublin. He gave him the names of some of the chief conspirators; assured him they were come up expressly to the town for the same purpose, and that next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their design was not speedily prevented; and that he had understood all this from Hugh MacMahon, one of the chief conspirators, who was then in town, and came up but the very same afternoon for the execution of the plot; and with whom he had been *drinking indeed somewhat liberally*, and as the truth is, did then make such a broken relation of the matter that seemed so incredible in itself, as that his lordship gave very little belief to it at first, in regard it came from an obscure person, and one, as he conceived, somewhat distempered at that time."—*Irish Rebellion*, pp. 18, 19. In O'Conally's Examination, p. 20, he states that he was summoned by MacMahon from *Monimore*, in the county of Derry; he was probably, therefore, one of the conspirators, and had relented at the eleventh hour. Adair's account of him is as follows:—"It is worthy of observation, that this Owen O'Connolly was at first a poor Irish boy admitted into the family of sir Hugh Clotworthy, at Antrim—a religious and worthy family; and there was educated and taught not only the principles of the Protestant religion, but, through the blessing of God upon that education, and the power of the Gospel in the parish of Antrim, he became truly religious, in heart and conscience bound to the truth, and to those who were truly godly."—*Narrative*, p. 84. MacBride, the successor of Adair as minister of the First Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast, states that O'Connolly was an elder in the Presbyterian Church, and that, as "Minutes still extant in his (MacBride's) time testified, he often sat as such in meetings of Presbytery." See Dr. Killen's *Note*, at page 84 of Adair's *Narrative;* also MacBride's *Sample of Jet Black Prelatic Calumny*, p. 174. Should any doubt still exist as to this man's presbyterianism, it must be cleared off, we think, by the following extract of a letter, to the marquis of Ormond, written by sir James Montgomery from Rosemount, on the 9th December, 1643, and now printed for the first time:—"Since the wryting of my other letters, one Captaine Occonnelie (yt. was S'. John Clotworthie's man) is come into these parts from England, and has brought lettres unto all the Collonels of the English Army in this province, inviting us to take the new Covenant. The coppy of that which is sent unto me I herewith send unto your Lordship. I had with it three printed papers, the Coppy of the Covenant, the Declaration of both houses thereupon, and the Articles of Cessation. These I suppose your Lordship has had from England, and therefore I will not increase my packet with them. I send yor. Lop. also a Coppy of the votes of the houses upon the articles; O'Connelly presses hard and peremptorily his answer like a Grand Commissioner. My Lord Montgomery and I put him off till Collonel Chichester's returne from Enishone that we have [been] awaiting. O'Connelly tells how that he was informed by the Marquesse of Ardgyle that I am made Viscount of Arglasse, and many other things that I know not of myself, which makes me (as he says) so fierce a royalist; and some trounkes of mine are stayed in Scotland, wherein I have above six or 700 lb. starl. worth of commodities and cloathes. But all this shall not trouble me; I serve a good master, who I hope will not let me be a louser."—*Carte MSS.*, vol. viii., p. 46. But although at first a presbyterian, as were his patrons, the Clotworthys, O'Conally afterwards became a puritan or independent. For his discovery of the plot in 1641, he had a reward of £500 in hand, and £200 per annum for life. He obtained also a military commission; and at the time of his death in 1649–50, had risen to the rank of colonel. His death is thus mentioned in a rare tract, entitled *The Taking of Wexford*, 4to, London, 1649:—"We (the soldiers of the Commonwealth) have lately had some losse in the North; Colonell Oconelly with a party of horse about 100 marching from Belfast to Antrim, was set upon by George Monroe (nephew of General Robert Monro) with a bigger orce, routed our men, Colonell Oconelly and Captain Rooper with about twentie others slaine, about the same number taken prisoners, the rest escaped."—P. 6. Adair supplies the following additional particulars of this affair at pp. 176, 177 of his *Narrative;*—"He (O'Conally) had fallen in with the sectarian party, got the command of the regiment in Antrim, which formerly belonged to his old master, sir John Clotworthy (now a sufferer and prisoner under the sectaries, for declining their courses and adhering to the king's just right and interest). This O'Connolly and some few English met accidentally with a party under the command of—as well as the company of Colonel John Hamilton (who at that time was subject to Colonel George Monro, then in the country) at Dunadry, near Antrim, where there was a sharp debate. O'Connolly was mortally wounded, and carried with no more respect than a dead ox behind a man to Connor, where he immediately died. This man, from what could be observed, was of an ingenious nature, and truly sincere, yet he was then deceived by the pretences of that party, and seemed violent that way. Therefore, though God had brought him to great respect and a considerable estate upon occasion of his former faithfulness at the breaking out of the rebellion; yet falling from his first principles, and going along with the declining party, the Lord would perish him with this temporal stroke of being thus cut off for a warning to others to beware of such courses. His wife died shortly after, and left a son and daughter—his son a very idiot unto the greatest height, and the daughter, though thereafter married to a worthy gentleman (Mr. Hugh Rowley), yet proved but more than half a fool, and a burden to her husband for many years, and without posterity." This lady, of whom Adair thus speaks so disparagingly, was married to Hugh Rowley, son of Edward

and drums shou'd have; some debates, touching titles to command and pay, and to precedency, were likewise determined; so the reader hath a brief acc^{t}. martial and (tho' he be one of the army) he may perhaps learn something there out.

I am now again at a loss for his Lo^{ps} actions (for the want of his papers afores^{d}. many being burned in his house after his death) during the interval[64] between the s^{d}. court till the 12th of Dec^{r}. 1648, that I find Colo. Monck, Command-in-Chief of the Brits^{h}. forces in Ulster (so he stiles himself) in his declaration directed to and requiring all comm^{rs}. and officers in the army in their several quarters, and likewise praying all pastors and ministers in their churches and parishes, &c., to publish the same,[65] and a particular letter from him to S^{r}. J. M^{r}. of the same date, to oppose the landing of S^{r}. Geo. Munro's men, who were coming over hither, after Duke Jas. Hamilton's defeat at Preston,[66] in Lancashire, mensi Aug. the 18th, that same year, 1648. The last of Colo. Monck's doings (w^{h} I left at) were the declaration and the letter, both dated 12th day of 7^{ber}, 1648, as afores^{d}, whereby he threw off his vizard and appeared barefaced for a commonwealth against the K.

Rowley of Castlerock. His mother was Letitia Clotworthy, a daughter of sir Hugh Clotworthy of Massereene. Thus O'Conally's daughter married the son of a lady in whose father's house he (O'Conally) had been a servant.

[64] *The interval.*—It was during this interval the third viscount Montgomery wrote the following letter to Alexander, sixth earl of Eglinton, which has been printed in Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 288:—

"RIGHT HONORABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Being informed by Generall Quarter Master Drumond that your lordship had a minde to two deeres which are heere, he not having the opportunitye to send them himselfe before his leaving this countrye, I have now sent them along by this bearer, who hath promised to have a great caire of them, soe that I hope they will come safe to your lordship's hands. The greatest newes we have in this countrye is, that lately in Dublin, upon the discovery of some plot intended, as is reported, for the taking of the castle, sixteene gentlemen and officers are apprehended; the halfe of them are sent over to the parliament of England, and the rest kept prisoners by Jones: the names of the chiefs are, Sir Maurice Eustache, Sir John Gifford, Collonell Flower, and Collonell Willoughby, all great servants of my Lord Ormond. The divisions betwixt the Irish continues: our country is in such an extreme want of victualls that we cannot possibly marche abroad to doe any service, though it might gaine the kingdome. If my cosin, Collonell James, bee theire, I pray your lordship showe him that the countreyes unstabilitye and refractoriness is such, that this day I have been forced to give orders for a partye of my owne horse and foote to lift his regiment mentinance by force; howsoever, I shall indeavour to provide for them till the end of this month. Thus intreating to heere from your lordship the trueth of all occurrences frequently,—I rest your lordship's most affectionat cosen and humble servant,

"MONTGOMERIE.

"Carrickfergus, 7th of August, 1648.

"Collonell Monke hath taken in the fort of Ballyhoe; and we heerd that our forces in Conoght are now joined with Preston against Owen M'Art O'Neill."

[65] *To publish the same.*—As soon as Monk had sent off Monro, and got possession of Carrickfergus and Belfast, he published a declaration as commander in chief of the British forces in Ulster, to explain and vindicate his conduct in these proceedings. This declaration he required the officers to make known in their several quarters; at the same time requesting all pastors and ministers to publish it in their several parishes and churches.

[66] *Defeat at Preston.*—In June, 1648, the army of the English parliament, having swept all the royalist forces from the field, seized Charles I., and held him as a guarantee for the redress of certain grievances of which it complained. This extreme measure created a reaction throughout Scotland in favour of royalty, and the duke of Hamilton had sufficient influence to procure a vote of the Scottish parliament for an army of 40,000 men to aid in the liberation of the king. The General Assembly of the Kirk viewed this movement with the utmost jealousy, denouncing it as an attempt to rob Christ of his prerogative, by thus espousing the king's quarrel before the king had recognised the covenant. This opposition of the church interfered very much with the collecting and equipping the required amount of troops; and the *engagers*, as Hamilton's party was called in Scotland, appealed for assistance to the Scottish royalists in Ulster. The viscounts Montgomery and Clannaboy, sir James Montgomery, and other British officers, received urgent applications on this point, and, in reply, it was arranged by them to send 2,100 foot, and 1,200 cavalry, under the command of colonel George Monro, to co-operate with the forces of Hamilton. The presbyterian ministers in Ulster, adopting the views of their Scottish brethren, preached against this expedition, and denounced woe against all who would give it the slightest countenance. As soon as Cromwell heard of the movement in Scotland, he hastened to meet Hamilton, marching by way of Gloucester, Warwick, and Northampton, reaching Doncaster on the 7th of August, and soon afterwards forming a junction at Knaresborough with the troops commanded by Lambert. The force under Langdale, the leader of the English royalists, met Cromwell somewhat in advance of Hamilton, and after a conflict of four hours' duration, fell back on the Scots. Cromwell then attacked the main body of the enemy in the act of crossing the Ribble, into Cheshire, killing 1,000 Scots and capturing 4,000. Sir George Monro, who had got no farther than the borders of Westmoreland and Cumberland, was recalled to assist in checking Argyle, who had opposed the movement of Hamilton. Cromwell marched directly on Edinburgh, where he hurled the engagers or Hamilton party from power, putting the presbyterians in their place. The latter received Cromwell with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and although lately regarding the independent party as their worst enemies, they now owned and embraced them as their best friends and deliverers. The presbyterian authorities even

I am next to mention his letter to S^r Jas. M^r. and no doubt there was another to our Visc^t. for I have the copy of their joint answers, Monck acquainting him (the s^d. 12th day afores^d.) he had surprised the garrison of Carrickfergus, and that Belfast was delivered to him, and that he was resolved to go to Colerain, and therefore he had orders to the L^d. Canbrassil and L^d. of Ardes, to send 200 men apiece out of their regts. &c. with a fortnight's provisions, to be there as speedily as may be, to w^h letters of orders, I find our Visc^t. and the s^d. S^r. J. Mont^r. did give a joint answer as afores^d. of the date 17th same month, wherein they desire to know of Colo. Monck his intentions and reasons of surprising Carrickfergus, and of going against Colerain, and of making Major-Gen^l. Munro prisoner, say^s those two towns and Belfast were given by the K. and Parliament as cautionary towns, that the Scotish army[67] should receive their arrears of pay, and that the M^r.-G^l. was made commander (by them) in chief over the B^rh. forces in Ulster; to which Colo. Monck replys civily the 19th of the same month f^m Carrickfergus, where he kept the s^d M. G^l. in sure (but favourable) restraint; his Lo^p's Lady mother, with his sister and brother, James Montg^r, coming to Newtown (as soon as they might conveniently) and thence to her jointure-house of Mount Alexander;[68] Colo. Monck, in his s^d reply, having accepted of his Lo^ps. and S^r J. M. excuse

prevailed on Cromwell to leave general Lambert in Edinburgh with troops to protect them, until they could muster a force sufficient to secure their own safety. —Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth of England*, vol. ii., p. 568; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 262. Sir George Monro was compelled to disband his Ulster force in Scotland, and the presbyterians of this province became alarmed lest, on his return hither, he should be received, and perhaps joined by his uncle, general Robert Monro, then in possession of Carrickfergus. It was understood that sir George was to bring back with him "a profane crew of officers," as Adair, p. 149, describes them, "who had followed him, and who had been professed enemies to the ministry and people of God at his departure." Their fears on this head were adroitly employed by Monk to assist him in the seizure and removal of general Robert Monro, who had been the presbyterians' chief friend, and had often taken sweet counsel with them even in their meetings of presbytery.—Mackay's *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, p. 296, *note*. Monk had also gained the good opinion of presbyterians in Ulster by making proclamation on the 12th December, 1648, against the landing of sir George Monro, and calling on sir James Montgomery to assist in preventing him (Monro) from entering Ulster again.

[67] *The Scotish army.*—There was little cordiality between the British and Scottish forces in Ulster since 1644, but probably still less between these sections and the parliamentary troops in the following years. The covenant had alienated the two former from each other, and it was the obvious policy of the parliament to keep them disunited. We have a striking illustration of the all but hostile feelings existing between the British and Scottish troops, during the expedition of 1644, in the following passage, at page 7, of the *Full Relation* already referred to:—"The thirteenth day we came and leagured also by the Newrey; the generall major (Robert Monro) with 5 or 6 officers did ride into the town, and desired lieutenant-colonel Mathewes (who, after the Scots garrison left that place, was appointed governor there, by the lord Marquesse of Ormond) that he might have passage through the towne with the army the next morning, which he refused; whereupon some hot words grew betwixt them, and one captaine Perkins, a young captaine in that garrison, gave some offensive words both to the generall major, and some of the officers that were with him; whereupon, after the generall major returned from the towne to the campe, he sent a drummer to the governour, and charged him to give him passage, or if not to be upon his guard, being resolved to have stormed the town, and taken it in, Mathewes persisted obstinate in his denyall after two severall faire messages which were sent unto him by the generall major, which being perceived by the commanders of the army, and foreseeing the mischiefe might come to that place, and the spilling of Protestant blood, did labour earnestly with the generall major to passe by that time, and not to take notice of their folly and indiscretion, which he (out of respect to the lord Conway, who had then a company in that place, and to shew he could better rule his passion then the governour and rest of that garrison) was nobly pleased to doe." Three years afterwards, when the parliament had become unpopular, there was a faint attempt at re-union between the British and Scottish troops in Ulster—an attempt, however, which was soon arrested by the prudence and vigilance of Cromwell. But, although the British forces were employed to break up the Scottish army, there existed little or no cordiality between them and their new commanders, Monk and Coote.

[68] *Mount-Alexander.*—On the seizure of Monro, his wife and step-children, the mother, brother, and sister of the third viscount Montgomery, retired to Mount-Alexander, the lady's own residence. A post-mortem inquisition was held at Newtown on the 7th of October [ ] at which it was found that at the time of the second viscount's death, 15th November, 1642, his son and heir, the third viscount, was nineteen years of age. "Jeane, viscountess Montgomery, is living and unmarried. The said vis-

for not urging their comm^ds upon that unwilling required party (indeed their whole regm^ts. and the L^d Clanbrassill's were extremely averse and highly stomached at such a march against their countrymen in Colerain) and praying their favourable constructions of the surprise he had made as afores^d, and promising kind usage to their relations and friends, and to give themselves satisfactory reasons of his doings. He forthwith marched to Colerain, and by getting the same (as he said he hoped without bloodsheding) he did complete his business in hand with a total breaking the Scotish army.

countes is dowable of the premisses, in liew whereof, she hath, in open court, produced an instrument, bearing date the 6th September, 1643, whereby she is content and desyrous to be concluded *pro presenti et de futuro*, and did pray that for avoiding all controversies that nowe or hereafter might happen to aryse between her and her said son, the now lord viscount Montgomery and other of her children, the said instrument might be found in this office, and did then declare that she is content thereby to be concluded, and debarrd of all other rights, claims, or demands whatsoever, other than what by the said instrument is [ ] unto her."—*Inquisitions, Down*, no. 109, Car. I.

CHAPTER XI.

IN these cloudy times, our s[d] Visct. appeared in his lustre, by going with a great train of attendance and the convoy of his troops to Mellifont[1] (S[r] Js. M. his uncle, making a figure suitable to himself,) and there his Lo[p] wedded the Hon[ble] Mary,[2] eldest sister of Henry, L[d] Visc[t]. Moor, S[r] J. M assisting to have her La[p's] marriage portion of £3000 secured by bonds of the staple,[3] w[h] her brother (the L[d] Moor) gave for the same; and there was need of the best security, for his Lo[p's] estate was entailed, and himself but tenant for life.[4] This was done in the month of Dec[r]. 1648. Then his Lo[p] returned with his Lady and her sister[5] and two of her younger brothers,[6] &c.; the reception at Newtown was great as military appearance and good cheer could make it,

[1] *Mellifont.*—See p. 45, *supra.*

[2] *The Honourable Mary.*—This lady, born in 1631, was eldest daughter of Charles, second viscount Moore of Drogheda, and Alice, daughter of sir Adam Loftus. Her father was slain whilst serving against the Irish at Portlester, county of Meath, in 1643. Her mother was killed by a fall from her horse in 1649. This accident was occasioned by lady Moore yielding to a sudden outburst of grief, on beholding St. Peter's Church, Drogheda (for the first time), where her husband had been buried. Their son, Henry, mentioned in the text, was created first earl of Drogheda in 1661.—Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 104.

[3] *Bonds of the staple.*—The word *staple*, from the old French *estape*, denotes, in its original sense, the mart or market established by law for the sale of the principal products of the country. A *statute staple* is a bond of record, acknowledged before the mayor of the *staple* or town, in the presence of one or more constables of the same *staple*, by virtue of which the creditor forthwith had execution of the body, lands, and goods of the debtor on non-payment, and was thus tenant until the debt was paid. It is called *statute* because it is founded on the stat. 27 Edward III., chap. 9, which sets forth the manner of entering into it, and of its execution.—See Wishaw's *Law Dictionary*, p. 299. In the present instance the town of Drogheda is the *staple* referred to in the text, the bond of which, when duly signed by the mayor, and witnessed, was sufficient security for the payment of any debt thus acknowledged. Referring to this tribunal, Holinshed, *Chronicles of Irelande*, anno 1576, says:—"Alsoe they have a maior and officers of the staple yearlie to be chosen, who have the libertie of taking of statutes and recognisances staple within their own towne and concerning themselves." These ancient *staples* or markets were appointed to be held at such points throughout Europe as were supposed to possess the greatest conveniences of situation. One, at Calais, was removed by an Act of the 17th Edward III., chap. 8, to various towns in England, Wales, and Ireland, which towns are appointed by the statute itself. In Ireland, these towns were Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda. The favourable position of Drogheda secured for it the advantage and distinction of a staple town in Ireland, this place being situated between Louth, which was known as the granary of Ireland, and Meath, the mensal province of the ancient kings. It is interesting thus to know what towns were then thought of sufficient importance to have *staples* assigned to them. Drogheda also commanded by land the great avenue to Ulster, opening inwardly to the trade of Ireland and seaward to the trade of Great Britain. See Dalton's *History of Drogheda*, vol. i., pp. 137, 138.

[4] *Tenant for life.*—His father, who was a life-renter, had disposed of his interest in his estate, in 1637, for the maintenance of his family, and to provide fortunes for his daughters. The terms of this arrangement indicate the difficult circumstances to which this property had been reduced.—Lodge, *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 104, *note.*

[5] *Her sister.*—Lady Montgomery had three sisters—viz., Sarah, married, in 1653, to viscount Charlemont; Anne, married, in 1657, to Thomas Caulfeild, esq.; and Lettice, married, in 1661, to Hercules Davis, esq., of Carrickfergus.—Lodge, *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 105.

[6] *Her younger brothers.*—Her brothers' names were Henry, Garret, Randal, and Adam. Henry succeeded to the family estate, and became first earl of Drogheda. The other three brothers came to Newtown on the joyous occasion mentioned in the text. Garret, who died in 1665, was permitted by the parliament, in 1654, to compound for his estate near Ardee, at two years and six months' purchase, amounting to a sum of £1,023 16s. Randal, who also resided at Ardee, was attainted by King James's Parliament in 1689, and died soon after the Revolution. Adam, who died in 1666, appears to have resided at Mellifont, as he was interred in St. Peter's, Drogheda.—Lodge, *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 104, 105.

and their entertainment suitable. For divers days, the Ladies had the pleasure to see several Gent^m. on horseback, with lances at their thighs, running at full career at glove and ring, for the scarf, ring, and gloves w^h her Ladyship had set forth (on the 1st day of that solemnity) as prizes for the 1, 2, and 3 best runners (a sight never beheld by any of the Ladies or any of the attendants before that time.) These exercises continued for two other days, matches for mastery being made among the Gent^s runners themselves, and the wagers were mostly bestowed on a supper and good wine; other days there were horse races made to entertain her Ladyship's brothers, who were always guests at the consumption of the winnings. Among these cavaliers, Capt. Geo. Montgomery (his Lo^p.^s uncle) bore away more prizes than all the rest, and to shew his good horsemanship (for he had in his travels learned to manage them) he broke his lance against the garden wall at high speed, and wheeled his horse upon his hinder feet, and rode back curveting and troting to the great admiration of fearfull Ladies and all the other beholders. I was then at Newtown school, and was a diligent spectator.

His Lo^p. in a little while after these pastimes, gave visit to his uncle, S^r Jas. M. (whose third lady was before then dead)[7] at Rosem^t. and there his Lo^p. with his own hands, begirt me with a silver-hilted sword. It was my constant fellow-traveller till (to my great grief) it was stolen from me, when our ship was broke at Amelandt,[8] as I was going to Holland; and now our Visc^t. and the Earle of Clanbrassill, S^r J. M., S^r Geo. Moor,[9] and the rest of the Scottish nation, being apprehensive (especially the officers under their command were) of being served by Monck in the same manner as he had done to the Scottish army, and that the King's party in Ulster would be shortly wholly ruined; therefore his Lo^p. a principal actor and S^r J. M. (as one chief contriver) and the persons afores^d. made up a friendship with the Presbitarian Ministers,[9] who stirred up the

[7] *Before then dead.*—For the date of the death of sir James Montgomery's first lady, see p. 120, *supra*. He married in 1647, as his third wife, Frances St. Lawrence, third daughter of Nicholas, baron Howth. This lady lived but a short period after her marriage. The following inscription, discovered, in 1843, on clearing away the rubbish inside that portion of the Abbey at Greyabbey which had been used as a parish church, fixes the date of her death :—

"*Here under are*
The earthy Remains
Of ye. Honble. Frances Saint
Lawrence 3d. daughter of
Nicholas Lord Baron Houth
& 3d. wife to the Honble. James
Montgomery of Rosemount,
Knight Collonel.
This lady died in childbed
In October Ao. Dni. 1648
doe not despise nor eject
Her bones."

The foregoing inscription was written in white paint on a large slate, placed over some bones, under the flags of the platform, outside the vault in which William Montgomery, the author, was interred. It was evidently written or painted on the slate by his own hand.—*MS. Notes by Colonel F. O. Montgomery.*

[8] *At Amelandt.*—This incident will be noticed in connexion with the author's Memoir of himself. See *infra*.

[9] *Sir Geo. Moor.*—This officer was uncle to lady Montgomery. He is described as sir Geo. Moor of Mellifont, in a letter of attorney, 1632, authorising him and his brother, the baron of Mellifont, with others, to enter into the territory or precinct of land called the Erenagh or Termon land of Tomregan, with the appurtenances, containing six poles of land, and also into the manor of Tulloculton, which had been demised to them and others by Robert, late lord bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, for sixty years.—Morrin's *Calendar*, Charles I., p. 657. The author speaks of sir George Moor as of the Scottish nation (although of English descent), because he was an officer of the British forces in Ulster, most of whom, but not all, belonged to families of Scottish settlers.

[10] *Presbitarian ministers.*—This hollow compact was entered into by parties here in imitation of a similar proceeding then on foot between the royalists and covenanters in Scotland. The result was the same in both cases—speedy disruption attended with greatly increased party bitterness. Adair tells us, *Narrative*, p. 156, that on the great occasion referred to in the text, the lord of Ards with his own hand formed a declaration for the covenant, and against both malignants and sectaries, which was read and approved by the presbytery, after some alterations and additions. Should this document ever turn up, it will, no doubt, be found to be a curious production. It must have ingeniously pledged each party to support

commonality against the sectarians[11] (for so they called their late dear brethren), and by their advice *the solemn league and covenant*[12] was renewed, and by universal desire of all sorts, his Lo^p^ was chosen Gen^l^. of all the forces in Ulster, and his Majesty Cha^s^. the 2d, was proclaimed King, in Newtown, where I saw the claret flow (in abundance) from the spouts of the market cross,[13] and catched in hats and bowls by who cou'd or wou'd, the noise of six trumpets sounding levitts,[14] drums beating, the soldiers discharging three vollies apiece, as the brass guns also at his Lo^p's^ house did, at the healths drank to three royal brothers;[15] and at night bonefires in the street and illuminations of

the other, and at the same time left both free to work for their own peculiar objects, which were very dissimilar indeed.

[11] *Against the sectarians.*—The Sectarians, better known as the Independents of *that* day, first introduced and practically asserted the principles of religious toleration, and were, therefore, peculiarly the objects of covenanting suspicion and abhorrence. They had grown suddenly into a powerful party throughout England, and were represented by many able men, among whom John Milton stood pre-eminent. As a means of rousing the presbyterians of Ulster against this party, and against the government of the Commonwealth, which had fallen very much into its keeping, the presbytery, that met at Belfast, on the 15th of February, 1649, drew up and published a document, which they called *A Necessary Representation of the present evils and imminent dangers to religion, laws, and liberties, arising from the late and present practices of the sectarian party in England and their abettors; together with an exhortation to duties relating to the covenant unto all within our charge, and to all the well-affected within this kingdom.* The presbytery soon realised at least one distinction, namely, the honour of having their manifesto read and replied to by John Milton. His reply is entitled—*Observations upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels; on the Letter of Ormond to Colonel Jones; and the Representation of the Presbytery at Belfast.* The reader will find the poet's scathing reply to the presbyterian *Representation* printed entire in an admirable volume entitled, *Historical Collections relative to the town of Belfast*, 8vo, 1817.

[12] *Solemn league and covenant.*—See p. 127, *supra*. This may be described as a third edition of the original, and was so called to distinguish it from its immediate predecessor, the *National Covenant* of 1638. The solemn league and covenant was adopted by the Scotch people generally in 1643, and in the following year by a large and influential section in England. "In 1643, both nations having united against the king, it was thought advisable that an intimate alliance should be concluded; but in the negotiations which followed, it is noticed by a contemporary observer, that though the English merely wished for a civil league, the Scotch demanded a religious covenant. And as they would only continue the war on condition that this was granted, the English were obliged to give way. The result was the Solemn League and Covenant, by which what seemed a cordial union was effected between the two countries. Such a compact was, however, sure to be short-lived, as each party had different objects; the aim of the English being political, while that of the Scotch was religious."—Buckle, *Civilization in England*, vol. ii., pp. 336, 337. This instrument was sent to Ireland as we have seen, p. 172, *supra*, in charge of O'Connolly, who pressed it upon the British forces in Ulster "like a grand commissioner," and we may imagine how tightly the screw was applied by the parliament in this business, from the names of several who were induced tosign. In the *Carte Collection*, Bodleian Library, is a list of several distinguished persons in Ireland who "subscribed the vow and covenant," in 1645, among whom were "Roger Lo: Broghill, S^r^. Hardres Waller, S^r^. Arthur Loftus, S^r^. Charles Coote, S^r^. Francis Hamilton, S^r^. Wm. Cole, Michael Berisford, Lieut.-Col. Walter Loftus, Lieut.-Col. Wingfield, and S^r^. Percy Smith." The expression "according to the Word of God," in an introductory clause of the solemn league and covenant, was supplied by sir Harry Vane, for the purpose of enabling "the English Parliament to deny that they had sworn to adopt the Presbyterian form of Church government." See Bisset's *Omitted Chapters in the History of England*, vol. i., p. 276.

[13] *Market cross.*—See p. 68, *supra*.

[14] *Sounding levitts.*—*Levitts* (from the French *lever*, to raise), were sounded in this instance to call together the British officers who had assembled at Newtown, for deliberation. The poet Gray applies the word *levee*, from the same root, to the rising of the sun. "I set out," says he, in a letter to Mr. Nicholls, "one morning before five o'clock, the moon shining through a dark and misty autumnal air, and got to the sea-coast time enough to be at the sun's *levee*."—See Richardson's *English Dictionary*.

[15] *Three royal brothers.*—These royal brothers were Charles II.; James, duke of York (afterwards James II.); and Henry, duke of Gloucester. A servant of the royal household, by name E. Sanders, esq., wrote a sketch of the lives of these hopeful youths while in exile, predicting the wondrous results which the world generally, and England in particular, might expect to reap from their pre-eminent virtues. The reader may fairly judge of the contents of this production from the title page, which is as follows:—*The Three Royal Colours, or Great Britain's glorious Diamonds; being a Royal Court Narrative of the Proceedings, Travels, Letters, Conferences, Speeches, and conspicuous Resolutions of the most High and Renowned King Charles, his Highness, Prince James, duke of York, and the most illustrious Prince Henry, duke of Gloucester. With a brief History of their memorable transactions, Results, and judicious Councils, since their too-much lamented exile in Flanders. Also, the resplendent vertues appearing in thes Princely Pearls, to the great joy of all Loyal subjects, who have for their sovereign a just King to govern, a valiant Duke to defend, and a wise Counsellor to advise.* 1660. The author concludes his sketch thus:—"These Three

s in the windows, and good fellows in the houses with the soldiers (to whom a largess was encreasing their mirth and joy by good liquor.

ow our L[d] Visc[t]. (Gen[l]. of Ulster) making a numerous party, and declaring for the King, vouzed an army and expelled Monck,[16] who retired to Dundalk with his adherents, and they riendship with Owen Roe O'Neil afores[d];[17] S[r] Chas. Coote (President of Connaught) being

are like three Diamonds or Pearls, which we have tly cast away, and not come to know the worth of ll we come to want them; their virtues having hem resplendent throughout all the world, and d them, if we justly consider it, the only means y we can attain to happiness: for what nation can e blessed than that which hath for her Prince a just govern, a valiant duke to defend, and a wise or to advise."—See Lord Somers' *Tracts*, 1 Col- vol. iv., pp. 467–472.

pelled Monk.—On the renewal of the Covenant in ry, 1649, the Ulster leaders tendered it to Monk ote, the two commanders under the Common- in Ulster. On their refusal to accept it, the com- oyalists and presbyterians of the north rose in nder the leadership of the third viscount Mont- , "declaring against the English rebels and their s," and taking possession of all the towns and f strength in Ulster, except the forts of Culmore ry.—Carte, *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., p. 76.

en Roe O'Neil aforesaid.—In forming this alliance e Irish—so distasteful to the authorities of the Commonwealth—Monk was providing merely the necessities of the hour. He wanted to pre- nion of that party in Ulster which had now de- or the King with the royalists under Ormond, and no other feasible means of doing so than the alli- ow mentioned. That the reader may have the official documents connected with this matter, we nt them together, from a valuable and now very rare ntitled, *The True State of the Transactions of George Monk with Owen-Roe-Mac-Art-O-Neal; as eported to the Parliament by the Council of State. with the Votes and Resolutions of the Parliament n*, London, 4to, 1649:—

"Die Veneris, 10 Augusti, 1649.

Scot Reports from the Council of State, a Letter and Paper g a Cessation made by Colonel Monk with General Owen Art O Neal, sent to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Monk, and were by the Lord Lieutenant brought and to the Council, and by them taken into consideration, and whole Business was then disapproved by the Council; and cil hath declared unto Colonel Monk, That they neither did pprove of what he hath done therein; and Ordered, That foresaid Letters and Papers, and also the Reasons now ex- o the Council by Colonel Monk, for his making the Cess- uld be Reported to the House; which were all this day

House being informed, That Colonel Monk was at the door, alled in: and being come to the Bar,

Speaker by Command of the House declared to him, That e had received a Report from the Council of State, touching ment for a Cessation between him and Owen Roe: and in his Letter he doth mention, That he had done it with ad- some others there, Mr. Speaker demanded of him, what he intended thereby: To which Colonel Monk answered, did it upon his own score, without the advice of any other onely having formerly had Discourse with Colonel Jones, ones told him, That if he the said Colonel Monk could keep Roe and Ormond from joyning, it would be a good service.

"Being demanded by Mr. Speaker, Whether he had any advice or direction from the Parliament, or Council of State, or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other person here to do the same; he did expresly deny, That he had any advice or direction therein from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or from the Council of State, or from the Parliament, or any Member of either, but he did it onely on his own score, conceiving it was for the preservation of the English Interest there, and that they have had some fruits thereof accordingly.

"Being withdrawn, and afterwards called in again, the questions demanded him by Mr. Speaker, and his answers thereunto, were read unto him; and the said Colonel Monk did acknowledge, That the same are his answers to the said questions.

"Resolved, &c., That this House doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of Colonel Monk, in the Treaty and Cessation made between him and Owen Roe O Neal: And that the innocent Blood which hath been shed in Ireland, is so fresh in the memory of this House, that this House doth detest and abhor the thoughts of any closing with any party of Popish Rebels there, who have had their hands in shedding that blood.

"Nevertheless, the House being satisfied that what the said Colonel Monk did therein, was in his apprehension necessary for the preservation of the Parliament of Englands Interest, That the House is content the further consideration thereof, as to him, be laid aside, and shall not at any time hereafter be called in question.

"Ordered, That it be referred to the Council of State, to give Direction for printing the Report from the Council of State, and so much of the Letters and Proceedings as concern this business, and the Votes of the House thereupon.

"HEN. SCOBELL, Cleric. Parliamenti."

"Colonel George Monks Letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

"RIGHT HONORABLE,—Since I received advertisement of your resolution of coming into this Kingdom, I have very much rejoyced, and withal do assure you, that you have no servant in the world more glad of it, then my self; I am infinitely obliged to you for your many favors, for which I return you hearty thanks. I do account it a principal part of my duty, to give you account of affairs here in this service: I have, since the Scots deserting me (although they are unwilling to own it notwithstanding their actions do fully manifest it), used my utmost endeavours to reserve the interest of England in the North, and to keep some footing there. I have taken care to provide the Garrison of Lisnegarvy, with two moneths provision of corn, which is kept there safe, if any rupture happen between, which is likely to be, since their ends are clear opposite: As also I have well furnished with victual the Garrison of Derry, the onely pass into the North, and Green Castle, Carlingford, Dundalk, and Colerane, if my Forces should advance to besiege either of them. And being in a very ill condition with these Garrisons between the Scots and Irish, Owen mac Art's Army, I have adventured, by the advice of some special friends and well-wishers to this Service, to treat with Owen mac Art, to keep him from joyning with Ormond, which if he had done, Colonel Jones and I had been in a very great hazard of losing the Parliament's footing in this Kingdom; whereupon finding Colonel Jones in such a condition, that he could not relieve me, it made me the more confident to adventure upon a Cessation of Arms between Owen mac Art's Party and mine, he engaging himself to oppose Ormond, which he doth really intend to do, and hath already by his endeavors manifested his willingness to ruine Ormond, for a greater feud cannot possibly be between them then there is now: whereupon upon this score I have treated with him, and according to his desire, sent you the Copy of the propositions made by him, to the Parliament, which are wonderful high, but I believe will descend much lower: I have sent you likewise a Copy of the Agreement for the three moneths Cessation betwixt Owen mac Art and I. I do not think it fit to signifie this to the Council of State, but do wholly refer the business to you, either to make further use of it, or else to move it, or as you conceive most fit to be done, since there was great necessity for me to do it, I hope it will beget no ill construction, when the advantage gained to the Service, by dividing Ormond and Mac Art, is fully weighed.

"By this busines I have very much quieted the Scots, who were upon so high terms, that nothing would satisfie them, but that I must

with a strong garrison at that time in Londonderry, holding the same, and Connaught for the

deliver up the provision, Arms and Ammunition to them which I had in my Stores, as you may perceive by the Copies of their Letters at their meetings; but now they do not stir, either to send Forces to joyn with those against Derry, or to advance towards me: Wherefore being driven to this great streight, I shall desire that it may not receive any ill censure, but that it may be throughly considered.

"I doubt I have already trespassed too much upon your time, and do therefore crave pardon for this boldness, and humbly beseech you to continue your good opinion toward's me, and esteem me, as I am,
—Your faithful and most humble Servant,

"Dundalk, this 25 of May, 1649." "GEORGE MONK.

"Ormond within this three days hath taken a Garrison of Owen mac Arts, and put most of the men to the sword, the place called Mary-Burrow, and he hath sent Preston to lye before Athy, another of Owen mac Arts Garrisons."

"Articles condescended unto, and agreed upon, by and between General Owen O Neal, Commander in chief of the confederate Catholiques, and Colonel George Monk, Commander in chief of the Parliament Forces, within the Province of Ulster. Dated 8 *May*, 1649.

"I. It is agreed that there be a Cessation of Arms, and of all acts of Hostility, between the Forces and Parties commanded by, and adhering to General Owen O Neal, as well in Ulster as in the rest of the Provinces of the Kingdom, and the Forces or Parties under Colonel George Monk his command, for three moneths after the date hereof; Provided that in the said time, there be not any agreement made with the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord of Inchiqueen, or any their adherents, or with any who are Enemies to the Parliament of England.

"II. That upon all occasions during the said time, both Parties be ready with their Forces to assist one another, until a more absolute agreement be made and condescended unto by the Parliament of England.

"III. It is agreed between the said Parties, that the Creaghts of Ulster, residing within the quarters of Colonel Monk, pay contributions to General Owen O'Neal: And that it may be likewise lawful for the said Colonel Monk to receive contribution from such Creaghts of Ulster, as well those who have not as yet paid him contribution, as those that do; and in case any of them refuse so to do, it shall be lawful for Colonel Monk to compel them thereunto, excepting those who belong to the County of Cavan.

"IV. It is also agreed, That if General Owen O'Neal shall happen to fight against the Forces under the command of the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord Inchiqueen, or any other Enemies of the Parliament of England, and thereby spend his Ammunition, if he be near unto my Quarters, and be distressed for want of Ammunition, I shall then furnish him.

"V. It is agreed between the said Parties, And the said Colonel Monk doth in the behalf of himself and his Party, faithfully promise and undertake, that free leave and liberty shall be given to any Ship or Ships, that may arrive at any Harbor, or Port-Town within the said Colonel Monk's liberty, during the time of our Agreement, with any Silver, Gold, Provision, Arms, Ammunition, or any other commodities, to the use of the said General or his Forces: And that the said General O'Neal, or such as shall be by him authorized hereunto, shall be admitted to fetch away the same with security and safety; and that no interruption or impediment be given to the said shipping, to depart without any prejudice, at their will and pleasure."

"The Propositions of General Owen O Neal, the Lords, Gentry, and Commons of the confederate Catholiques of Ulster, to the most High and most Honorable, the Parliament of England.

"I. Imprimis, That such as are already joyned, or shall within the space of three moneths, joyn with General Owen O Neal, in the service of the Parliament of England in this Kingdom, as well Clergy as others, may have all laws and penalties against their Religion and its Professors, taken off by Act of Parliament, and that Act to extend to the said Parties, their Heirs and Successors for ever, while they loyally serve the Parliament of England.

"II. The said General O Neal desireth an Act of oblivion to be passed, to extend to all and every of his party, for all things done since the beginning of the year 1641.

"III. They desire that General Owen O Neal be provided with a competent command in the Army, befitting his worth and quality.

"IV. They desire that they may enjoy all the Lands that were, or ought to be in their or their Ancestors possession.

"V. That all incapacity, inability and distrust hitherto, by Act of State or otherwise, against the said party, be taken off.

"VI. That on both sides all jealousies, hate and aversion, be laid aside; unity, love and amity, be renewed and practised between both parties.

"VII. That General Owen O Neill may be restored and put in possession of his Successors (*sic*) estates, or some estates equivalent to it, in the Counties of Tyrome (*sic*), Ardmach, or London-dery, in reward of his merit, and the good service that he shall perform in the Parliament of Englands service, in the preservation of their interest in this Kingdom.

"VIII. That the Army belonging to General Owen O Neal and his party, be provided for, in all points as the rest of the Army shall be.

"IX. That the said party be provided with, and possessed of a convenient Sea-port in the Province of Ulster.

"I do, upon receiving a confirmation of these Propositions forthwith undertake and promise in behalf of my self, and the whole Party under my command, faithfully and firmly to adhere to the service of the Parliament of England in this Kingdom, and maintain their interest hereafter, with the hazard of our lives and fortunes, against all opposers whatsoever. In witness whereof, I have hereunto put my hand and seal, this 8 day of May, Anno Dom. 1649.

"Signed,

"OWEN O NEAL.

"The Reasons inducing Colonel Monk to make a Cessation with Owen Roe O Neal for three Moneths, which is now expired, were as followeth:

"1. That about April last, the Scots under his command having relinquished their obedience to the Parliament, and denied to obey any command from him, upon refusing to joyn with them in a Declaration against the Parliament and Army, he desired assistance from Colonel Jones to reduce them to obedience: But Colonel Jones finding by good Intelligence, that the Lord of Ormond had made a Peace with all the Irish, except Owen Roe O Neal; That he had set up the Prince's Interest, and upon that score was raising all the force he could make to distress Colonel Jones in his quarters, thought it not safe, as to the Parliament's Interest in Leinster, to spare any assistance to Colonel Monk.

"2. That Colonel Monk being upon this necessitated to retire to his Garison of Dundalk, found Owen Roe O Neal quartered with his Forces, being Six thousand Foot, and about Seven hundred horse, in the counties of Cavan and Monahan, within twenty or thirty miles march of his Garrison; and also received good Intelligence, that the Lord of Ormond at that time used all possible means to draw Owen Roe to his party, offering him any Conditions to induce to it.

"3. That Colonel Monk finding himself thus invironed with the Scots on the one hand, with whom he understood the Lord of Ormond kept Intelligence at that time, and with Owen Roe on the other; and finding how dangerous it would in all probability be, not onely to himself, but also to Colonel Jones, and so consequently to all the Parliaments interest in Ireland, to have Owen Roe and the Scots thus upon the sudden, and before any Forces could be expected to arrive out of England, either to Colonel Jones or his own relief, united with the Lord of Ormond.

"4. Finding that if he could keep the Lord of Ormond and Owen Roe at distance, until supplies arrived, he should not onely deprive the Lord of Ormond of that accession of strength which Owen Roe's Forces would have added unto him, but also render the Scots in Ulster, and the Earl of Clanrickard with his Connaght Forces (all which being joyned together, would have made Twelve thousand horse and foot) useless to the Lord of Ormond, as to any assistance he could expect from them to joyn with him against Colonel Jones, Owen Roe lying so with his Forces, as that he might within two or three days march, have fallen either into the Scots quarters, or Clanrickards quarters, if they had not kept their Forces to attend his motions.

"5. Finding also that Owen Roe, in regard of his own safety, would accept the large Offers made him by the Earl of Ormond if he had not been speedily prevented; Colonel Monk well weighing all the dangers and advantages as aforesaid, that might in all probability insue thereupon; and likewise what hazard it might have been to retard a conclusion with Owen Roe (whom he found impatient of all Delays) until he might receive Directions either from the Council of State or the Parliament, for his farther proceeding therein, thought it most agreeable to the discharge of his trust, and the safety of the Parliament's Interest in that Kingdom, rather to cast himself upon the Parliament's favorable interpretation, and to conclude a Cessation with Owen Roe for three moneths, then by any further delay, to lose the advantages aforesaid; the fruits whereof have in some measure

Parlement; as these affairs took up many months, and the K. was then at Breda,[18] treating with Com^rs from Scotland, and being advertised of his Lo^p's actions for him, and praying his authority to proceed therein, his Majesty sent him his com^n to be Gen^l of all the forces in Ulster, who owned his right to the crown, with divers powers therein,[19] &c. This was brought by S^r Lewis Dives[20] (whom I saw in Newtown house), and it was kept secret a great while, and became suspected more and more because of S^r Lewis (who was a known cavalier) had been with his L^p but was not fully known till the siege hereafter spoken of.[21]

But I must return to some remarkable passages after the s^d surprise of Carrickfergus.[22] Colo. Monk returning from Colerain, which was surrendered to him the same Sept^r. 1648; he sent Major-Gen^l. Robert Munro prisoner to the Parliament, w^h committed him to the tower of London.

answered his expectation, and prevented the Earl of Ormond all this while from a strict besieging of Dublin, and so consequently of taking it, for want of a competent number of foot to lie down before it, which he could not have done, without the addition of the Scots and Connaught forces as aforesaid; and in the mean time necessitated him to spend his time in taking of the out-Garisons, which if Dublin had been taken, he knew would have speedily fallen into his hands. The truth of all which, and of the advantages gained by his proceedings, he submits to the further testimony of those that Command in chief for the Parliament upon the place."

"*A Letter of the Scottish Officers in Ulster, to Colonel Monk.*

"HONORABLE SIR—We are very well satisfied in our own consciences, and are confident all, except the parties against whom we do declare, will be so, That we have discharged our duties in relation to you, and that we have with a great deal of honesty and fidelity declared ourselves for the Parliament of England, And onely against those who have illegally usurped their power, for whose service we are confident the Arms, Ammunition and Clothes sent to the Army, were never ordained; nor can we see how you discharge your trust to the Parliament, when you detain those provisions sent by them to us, who are still willing cordially to prosecute those ends to which we were engaged, when you got your Commission, and to follow the commands of that lawful Power which did give it you. Thus far we are free, because we cannot lie under the accusation of that crime, wherein others are guilty, &c.

"Major Rawden will give you an accompt of our Answers to your desires, which we are confident will witness our respects to you, and we do earnestly desire that you may be as careful in preserving a good correspondency and neighbour-hood, as—Your affectionate humble Servants,

"(Signed), MONTGOMERY, JOHN EDMONSTONE, UTI KNOX, WILLIAM HAMILTON, GEORGE KEITH, JAMES CLOTWORTHY, JAMES SHAW, FERGUS KENNEDY, ED. ELLIS.

"Belfast, the 9 of May, 1649."

[18] *The K. was then at Breda.*—Breda is a town in the province of North Brabant, where Charles II. generally resided until his restoration in 1660. The commission, however, was sent to viscount Montgomery from the Hague, and not from Breda.

[19] *Powers therein.*—The following is a copy of this commission, which was recently discovered among the family papers preserved at Donaghadee:—

"Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.—To our Right trusty and well-beloved Hugh, Viscount Montgomery, of Ards, and to all others to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Know you, that wee, impesing special trust in the courage, conduct, loyalty, and good affection of you, the said Viscount Montgomery, do by these presents, nominate, constitute, and appoint you to be chiefe commander of the army and all the forces, both horse and foote, in the province of Ulster, in our Kingdom of Ireland, and of all townes, forts, and garrisons within the same; Giving you hereby power and full authority to command, order, and governe the same army and forces as commander in chiefe, and to constitute and appoint by commission or otherwise, all such officers as shall be from tyme to tyme necessary for the command and conduct of said forces, townes, or forts, for our service; and to remove and displace the said officers as you shall find necessary for our service to be removed from their respective commands: As always to assure in our name all such as shall be willing to return to their due obedience and allegiance to us, our free grace and pardon for all that is past; And accordingly to receive them into our favour and protection: And wee further command and authorize you to protect, secure, and defend to the utmost of your power, all our Irish subjects, and all others within the said province of Ulster, that are well-affected to us, and shall render us that duty and allegiance that belongs to us as their King and Sovereign; Authorizing you further to doe and perform all such duties and services, and to hold and enjoy all such rights and privileges as belong and appertaine to the office of a commander in chiefe: In the execution whereof, and of this our Comission, you are to obey and pursue such orders and directions as you shall from tyme to tymie receive from our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cosen, James Marquis of Ormond, our lieutenant general of the Kingdom of Ireland:

"Given under our signet at the Haghe, the 14th day of May, 1649, and in the first yeare of our Raigne."

[20] *Sir Lewis Dives.*—Sir Lewis Dives, well known as an active emissary of the royal party in England, was son of sir John Dives of Bromham, in Bedfordshire. He was living in 1668. Among the attractions of a noted gaming-house in London, one was "to see some old gamesters that have no money now to spend, as formerly, come, and sit, and look on; and, among others, sir Lewis Dives, who was here, and hath been a great gamester in his time."—*Diary of Samuel Pepys*, edited by Lord Braybrooke, vol. iii., p. 338.

[21] *Hereafter spoken of.*—The secret here mentioned respecting the commission appears to have oozed out sooner than the author supposed. The presbyterians were well acquainted with lord Montgomery's movements prior to the final rupture consequent on his seizure of Belfast. "In all this," says Adair, *Narrative*, p. 156, "the Lord of Ards was the great contriver, director, and pattern, in his own carriage carrying himself so fair and so friendly with the Presbytery, and pretending concurrence in all the ends to the covenant, as that few doubted his integrity, even while, withal, he kept constant correspondence with Ormond, who then commanded the King's forces in Ireland." The cause of Montgomery's temporary reticence in the matter of his commission was, no doubt, a desire to keep the king's party in Ulster as much and as long as possible united.

[22] *Surprise of Carrickfergus.*—This surprise was effected by Monk when Robert Monro was seized and sent to London. See p. 169, note 52, *supra*. The author here enters into a detail of the events which afterwards led to the expulsion of Monk from Ulster, but which he had not mentioned in the preceding sketch.

Colo. Monk thus done, call'd a general council of war of all the Br^h Colo^s. L^t.-Colo^s. and Majo[illegible]rs, to meet at Lisnegarvy, his head quarters, in Oct^br. 1648, to satisfy them of his doings, and to c[illegible]n-sult with them of the future safety and proceedings; but, in truth, with design of sending over [illegible]as appeared afterwards) more officers prisoners the same way.[23] Our Visc^t. (by advice of his un[illegible]le, S. J. M.) and also the Earl of Clanbrassill (by like advice of his friends) stay'd at home upon th[illegible]ir guard against the like surprise, and wrote their several excuses, sending some field officers ([illegible]ll cautioned and instructed) to represent, &c. for their respective regim^ts. S^r J. M. went out also to find out what intrigues he could learn, telling his Ld. and nephew, he feared much of his being snap'd, and undoubtedly believed his Lo^p the chiefest person aimed at, to be ensnared by his appearance (shou'd he be at that court-martial), and it was better himself shou'd venture his liberty and life than his Lo^p. and the King's cause shou'd suffer by any circumvention ags^t his Lo^p's person; and as it was guessed so it happened, for the court being sat, and the two lords' letters of excuse read, S^r J. M. speaking to the same purpose, was, by order of Colo. Monk, made prisoner, but he giving Colo. Conway[24] and others bondsmen for his appearance before the Committee of Parliam^t sitting in Darby-house[25] in London, he had leave to return home to settle his own and nephew Savage,[26] of Portaferry's affairs, and to prepare for his journey. About the same time, S^r Robert Stewart (who kept the fort of Culmore, w^h commanded the passage by water to Derry) was trepanned into a visit and christning of his friend's child in the town of Derry, and Colo. Audley Mervin also was insiduously taken, and both of them sent by sea prisoners to England.[27] So the mask fell

[23] *Prisoners the same way.*—The "design" here ascribed to Monk was no doubt to be carried out as the author mentions. Coote performed the same trick of catching opponents, when off their guard, at Derry. The plan was evidently concerted between Monk and Coote.

[24] *Colo. Conway.*—While Monk remained at Dundalk, to which place he had retreated from Lisburn, being driven southward by viscount Montgomery, he wrote the following letter to major George Rawdon, in which he deprecates the contemplated journey of this colonel Conway to London:—

"SIR,—I cannot understand that there is an urgent necessity for Colonel Conway to go to England, since I am confident it will not be so well construed; and I doubt your quitting will not be so favourably taken as if you had continued your command and kept all right. I have written to Colonel Hill to take £100 for his own use out of your latter payment for your contract for invalids. I am so engaged for him that I will not be unmindful of this favour to me. What else I thought not fit to commit to paper, I have acquainted Mr. Norris with it. Assuring you that I shall unfeignedly approve myself to be your affectionate friend and servant,

"GEORGE MONCK.

"Dundalk, this 6 of July, 1649.

"To his much esteemed good friend, Major George Rawdon, these in Lisnagarvy."

—*Rawdon Papers*, p. 177. Colonel Hill, above-named, was Arthur, younger son of sir Moses. See p. 161, *supra*. He got £100, probably the same as mentioned in this letter, for special service done by him, touching the forces and stores. —Lodge, *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 323. Rawdon and Monk continued firm friends, and took counsel together at various times, particularly respecting the restoration of Charles II. Rawdon did not give his active services to the Commonwealth, but lived in retirement during that period.—Lodge, *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 103.

[25] *In Darby House.*—The committee of parliament was dissolved on the 7th of February, so that sir James must have appeared before the celebrated *Council of State*. The meetings of its members were held for a time in Derby House, situated in Cannon Row, between the river and the present Parliament street, which did not then exist, King street serving the purpose of a thoroughfare, between Whitehall and Westminster hall. The following were the members of the *first* council of state, appointed by the parliament on the 13th of February, 1649:—Basil, earl of Denbeigh; Edmund, earl of Malgrave; Philip, earl of Pembroke; William, earl of Salisbury; William, lord Grey of Werke; Henry Rolle, chief justice of the upper bench; Oliver St. John, chief justice of the common bench; John Wylde, chief baron of the exchequer; John Bradshaw, serjeant-at-law; Thomas, lord Fairfax; Thomas, lord Grey of Groby; Oliver Cromwell; Philip Skipton; Henry Martin; Isaac Pennington; sir Gilbert Pickering; Rowland Wilson; Anthony Stapeley; sir William Masham; William Heveningham; Bulstrode Whitelock; sir Arthur Haselrig; sir James Harrington; Robert Wallop; John Hutchinson; sir Henry Vane, jun.; Dennis Bond; Philip, lord Lisle; Alexander Popham; sir John Danvers; sir William Armyne; Valentine Wanton; sir Henry Mildmay; William Purefoy; William Constable; John Jones; John Lisle; Edmund Ludlow; Thomas Scott; Cornelius Holland; and John Robinson; in all, forty-one members. See [illegible] *Omitted Chapters of the History of England*, pp. 24, [illegible]

[26] *Nephew Savage.*—This was Hugh Savage, [illegible] Patrick Savage and Jean, younger daughter of [illegible] viscount Montgomery.

[27] *Prisoners to England.*—These distinguished [illegible]

's face, and our Visc^{t}. with the Earl of Clanbrazil,[28] were upon their guard still, and the rces,[29] headed by S^{r} Alex^{r} Stewart,[30] Bart. (who sided with the Covenanters) was also guard, having a strong party out of S^{r} Robert Stewart's and Colo. Mervin's reg^{ts} joining now plainly appeared that Colo. Monk wou'd not test[31] at his breaking the Scotch reg^{ts}. born in Scotland, but (if he cou'd) he w^{d} also discard all the Br^{h} officers and soldiers of ce, tho' born and bred in Ireland; which, therefore, made them cleave together the more having renewed the covenant) both there and here.

e had long ago been great animosities betw^{n} the families of Ardes and Claneboys, by reason suits which the first had against the latter; and the occasions of them (tho' partly removed 1639,[32]) was not fully taken away as yet; but a cessation began A^{o}. 1641, when Dan^{l}. ve the s^{d} disturbance ags^{t} them both, and then those animosities were laid in a deep sleep h rebellion and the deaths of our 2d Visc^{t} and of the first Lord Claneboys, for *inter arma* [33]

hardships, also, w^{h} our third Visc^{t} and the first Earle of Clanbrassill were now like to rom Monk, and which they actually and jointly suffered from the usurpers, who aimed at lestruction of both their families, had totally mortified and burryed those differences be- se interwoven neighbours, and had made them good friends as they were fellow-sufferers ıse; so that the last two named Lords often met on divers affairs, both publicly and pri- and drank together, without jealousy or grudging to one another.

ppened in the time when consultation and strict union was most needful ags^{t} Monk, that f Clanbrazil stayed with our Visct. all night in Newtown-house; the Earle had taken eno^{h} against fleabitings,[34] but (as the story goes) was abused or rather affront^{d} by a spirit

by order of sir Charles Coote, in October, in the house of a friend in Derry, where they be present at the baptism of his child. They ter Monro to London, and imprisoned in the lge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., e note 23, *supra*.

f Clanbrazil. — This was James Hamilton, James, first viscount Clandeboy, and Anne, heir of sir John Perrot, lord-deputy of Ire- vas created earl of Clanbrasil in 1647.

forces.—The word *Lagan*, a "hollow," is various places throughout Ireland, but the referred to lay between lough Foyle and . It was anciently known as *Tir-Enna*, and in Colgan's *Acta SS.* as "in Tir-Conallia aris brachia, nempe inter sinum *Loch Febhuil Suilech*." See Reeves, *Eccles. Antiquities*, his district, known in modern days as the requently mentioned in connexion with the tlements in Ulster in the seventeenth century. *True Narrative*, pp, 87, 129, 137, 148,

x^{r}. Stewart. — Sir Alexander Stewart was of sir William Stewart of Aughentean and wart, by his wife Frances, second daughter of Newcomen of Mosstown, county of Longford. der was, therefore, uncle to our author, William Montgomery. Unlike his father and uncle, he appears to have been always consistently for the covenant. On the failure of this movement in which he was engaged, at the head of the Lagan presbyterians, he went to Scotland, and was slain at the battle of Dunbar, in 1650. He married Catherine Newcomen, his cousin, whose mother was a grand-niece of Queen Elizabeth. His son, William, who was born six weeks after his father's death, succeeded to the vast estates of his grandfather, and became viscount Mountjoy.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., pp. 247, 248. Adair describes sir Alexander Stewart as "a gentleman of great integrity, and fervent in propagating the gospel interest in the districts around Derry."—*True Narrative*, p. 158.

[31] *Test.*—Misprint for *rest.*

[32] *Before A^{o}.* 1639.—The articles of agreement, drawn up in 1633, were not signed by the viscounts Ards and Clannaboy until 1636. See pp. 79, 81, *supra.*

[33] *Silent leges.*—The dissensions between these families were not finally laid asleep until the deaths of the second viscount Montgomery in 1642, and of the first viscount Clannaboy in 1643.

[34] *Against fleabitings.*—This is another way of saying that the earl had made himself proof, for the time, against the minor griefs and annoyances of life, if not indeed "o'er all the ills of life victorious." The term *fleabiting* was often used to denote slight hurts or pains, as dis-

(they call them 'BROONEYS' in Scotland[35]), and there was one of them in the appearance of an hairy man which hanted Dunskey castle a little before our first Visc^h^ bo^t^ it and Portpatrick lands from S^r^ Robt. Adair, Kn^t^); which spirit was not seen in any shape, or to make a noise, or play tricks, during any of our Lords' times. But it pleased his devilship (that night very artificially) to tear off the Earle of Clanbrazill's Holland shirt from his body, without disturbing his rest; only left on his Lo^p^ the wristbands of his sleeves and the collar of the shirt's neck, as they were tyed with ribband when he went to bed. The Earle awaking, found himself robbed of his shirt, and lay as close as an hare in her form, till Mr. Hans[36] (afterwards S^r^ Hans Hamilton) thinking his Lo^p^ had lain and slept long enough to digest his *histernum crapulum*, knocked at the door, and his Lo^p^ calling him, he went in, and his Lo^p^ showing him his condition, prayed one of his shirts to relieve him in that extremity, bidding him shut the door after him, and to discharge servants to come at him 'til after his return; and having put on the shirt w^h^ he was to bring him, his Lo^p^ s^d^, "Cozen Hans, I w^d^ rather £100

tinguished from serious evils. An illustration is found in Strype's *Memorials of Queen Mary*, anno 1555:—"Winchester replied to this with seemingly much satisfaction, how himself was arrived at that haven of quietness without loss of any notable tackle, as the mariners say, which he said was a great matter, as the winds had blown, and with little *fleabiting* conveyed to an easy estate." Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 13, says:—"That which is but a fleabiting to one causeth insufferable torment to others." Bishop Hall, in his *Contemplations*, exclaims:—"What *fleabitings* these, in comparison of those inward torments." And Hervey, in his *Meditations*, asserts that "a gout, a cholick, a cutting off an arm or leg, or searing the flesh, are but *fleabites* to the pain of the soul." See Johnson's and Richardson's *Dictionaries*.

[35] *Brooneys in Scotland.*—The Brooney or Brownie is a thoroughly Scottish hob-goblin, and was not known in Ulster prior to the plantation period. Just about the time at which the greatest number of Scottish settlers were coming to Ulster, their king (James I) had published his *Dæmonology*, in which he proclaimed that "the spirit called brownie appeared like a rough man, and haunted divers houses, without doing any evill, but doing as it were necessarie turnes up and downe the house; yet some were so blinded as to beleeve that their house was all the sonsier, as they called it, that such spirits resorted there." In Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, p. 334, we read that "a spirit, by the country people called *brownie*, was frequently seen in all the most considerable families of these Isles and north of Scotland, in the shape of a tall man; but within these twenty or thirty years past he is but rarely seen." Again, at page 391:—"It is not long since every family of any considerable substance in those islands was haunted by a spirit they called browny, which did several sorts of work; and this was the reason why they gave him offerings of the various products of the place. Thus, some, when they churned their milk, or brewed, poured some milk and wort through the hole of a stone, called browny's stone." In Heron's *Journey through part of Scotland* (1799), vol. ii., p. 227, we have the following:—"The Brownie was a very obliging spirit, who used to come into houses by night, and for a dish of cream, to perform lustily any piece of work that might remain to be done: sometimes he would work, and sometimes eat till he bursted: if old clothes were laid out for him, he took them in great distress, and never more returned." See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, pp. 284, 285.

[36] *Mr. Hans.*—Mr. Hans was eldest son of John Hamilton, fourth brother of the first viscount Clannaboy, and, therefore, cousin-german of the first earl of Clanbrassil. Of this Hans, afterwards sir Hans Hamilton, the writer of the *Hamilton Manuscripts* says:—"His years and parts early promoted him to be a captain of horse; as in progress of time he became lieut.-colonel, he joined with the earl of Clanbrassill, in Ormond's association. That war being ended, he married Magdalen Trevor, daughter of sir Edward Trevor, and by her had some children, whereof only his daughter Sarah came to maturity. His business then being to improve and plant his estate, lying mostly in the upper country; and, by reason of his very good natural and acquired parts, and justice to the king's interest and family, after king Charles II. his restoration, was knighted and made bart., and afterwards one of his majesties privy council in Ireland, and was very much entrusted by the government in the oversight of the upper country; died of a good age, in great esteem, and generally much bewailed; lyes in the tomb with his father, mother, lady, and daughter. He was guilty of great errors—whereof afterwards. . . . His estate being much burthened, his disposition to live high, and aim to purchase great things, occasioned many to think (as a gent. of his neighbourhood and great acquaintance once sayd) that '*Sir* Hans Hamilton was never so honest as *Hans* Hamilton by half.' He was unfortunate in that his daughter married contrary to his disposition, and the measures he had proposed to himself. He fell at last in great variance with his nearest friends, and affliction by the death of his lady and daughter; went to Dublin, with design, and it is believed, to do something that was great for his family against his friends, but failed of it, and died in the enterprise, but did not perform it."—*Hamilton Manuscripts*, edited by T. K. Lowry, esq., p. 80. Sir Hans Hamilton's estates lay at Monella (now Hamilton's Bawn), in the county of Armagh, and at Coronary, in the county of Cavan, which gave the owner an influence in what the writer of the *Hamilton Manuscripts* terms the "upper country."

others Mont^rie^ of Ardes shou'd hear of this adventure, and therefore conceal it;" w^h^ was
s Lo^p^ was three miles off. But the further mishap was, that Mr. Hamilton had no shirt
n Holland half shirt, that being then in fashion to be worn above the night shirts, w^h^ did
is Lo^p's^ navel; but having got on his breeches and doublit, with Mr. Hamilton's help
was excessively fatt) his servants were let in and dressed him; and his Lo^p^ having
he chamber-pot, (now called in taverns a looking-glass, for reasons I know) his Lo^p^
shirt admirably wrapt up and stuffed therein; but his servants were enjoyned
l his Lo^p^ came to the parlour, where his brother, the Ld. of Ardes (as he called him)
s Lo^p^. They took a morning draught and dined; after which his Lo^p^ went to Carna-
Comer, the habitation of one of his Capt's. and cousin's, called also, Hans Hamilton,[37]
him his misadventure, had a long shirt, which he put on, and so went to his Countess at
All I shall remark on this event is, that I presume to think that his Lo^p^ would not for
l pounds he spoke of have stayed another night (tho' he was heartily entreated), for he
not *broony's* manner of fighting, tho' himself had learned in France to fence with a *câ cât*
nt bas:[38] as (himself did often say) he was taught and did in his travels.
inserted this story because but very lately told me by Mrs. Savage,[39] in Newtown, whose
d was the s^d^ Capt. Hans Hamilton, and because it is the first and last time I ever heard
ey in any Montgomery's house, tho' in S^r^ Ninian Adair's time and his son's, one of them
house of Dunsky.[40] Therefore I proceed in my narrative.

ns Hamilton.—Hans Hamilton of Carna-
rd son of William Hamilton, the fifth brother
scount Clannaboy, and therefore also cousin-
e first earl of Clanbrassil. Of this Hans, the
Hamilton Manuscripts says:—"He was ad-
e a captain of foot, and very active in his
ter the war was over, he married Mary
aughter of Mr. Kennedy of Killern (near
s), and had three children that came to
., James, Jane, and Ursula. He became a
ous and useful man both to his family and
ed well, and died much lamented; was
ried at Holywood, leaving his children very
milton Manuscripts, p. 81. This gentleman
, and, by his request, was interred in his
.—Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol.

t bas.—Pour pont is a misprint for *Pourpoint.*
may be translated—"Now then, off with, or
your coat." The Dictionary of the French
fines pourpoint as "la partie de l'ancien
français qui couvrait le corps depuis cou
a ceinture." Major-general Robert Monro,
nt of the *Expedition to Denmark*, 1626
a), describes the soldiers of Wallenstine as
e Danes and Scots at Stralsund with the
of *sa* (ça), *sa, sa, sa.*—Mackay's *History of*
Clan of Mackay, p. 231.

avage.—This lady was Mary Kennedy, a
e respectable family of that surname, residing
, near Newtown, in the Ards. Her first
a Hans Hamilton of Carnaseure, near
See note 37, *supra.* She died in May,
1713–14, and was interred on the 26th of that month, as appears from an entry in a Register kept by the First Presbyterian Congregation of Belfast for the loan of mort cloths and mourning cloaks at funerals. This Register is a curious and interesting document, extending over twenty-four years, from 1712 to 1736, and containing a list of 2,000 funerals, with the names of the deceased, the dates of interment, the palls, and the number of cloaks let out on each occasion. It is now in the possession of the Rev. Classon Porter of Larne, who, we are glad to know, is likely to have it printed. The following is the entry in which the name of Mrs. Savage occurs:—"May 26, 1713–14. Mrs. Savage in Newtoun her Funerall per Mr. Jno. Shadges. To six clockes at 3s. per clocke—18s."

[40] *House of Dunsky.*—For the story of a famous Wigtonshire Brownie, see *Scottish Journal of Topography*, vol. ii., p. 235. Every one has heard of the Brownie of Bodsbeck, in Ettrick, who left his employment there about a century ago, on being offered clothing and food in return for his services. To this considerate offer he replied:—

"Gie brownie coat, gie brownie sark,
Ye'se get nae mair o' brownie's wark!"
Ca', brownie, ca',
A' the luck o' Bodsbeck's awa' to Leithenha'."

The luck of Bodsbeck appears to have been accordingly transferred to a farm-house in the vicinity called Leithenhall.—Chambers's *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, p. 33. Campbell, in his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands orally Collected*, vol. ii., p. 101, says:—"My belief is, that bocan, bodach, fuath, and all their tribe, were once savages, dressed in skins, and that gruagach was a half-

You have heard of S^r Jas. Mont^y. his going to the Committee of Darby-house;[41] he met with Colo. Mervin there, both of them being sent before any publ^k breach or rupture of friendship was made by our British reg^ts. towards Colo. Monk. They appearing (as bound to do) found friends, who got them leave to return home; and you may be sure they did not procrastnate their departure, lest advice from Monk of the fermentation arising from his late actions, and the likelihood of rupture between the Presbeterians and him, should occasion their restraint; and therefore they rode post haste to Scotland, and seeing things therein genrl^y tending to an agreement for the calling home our King, they came (with all expedition they could make) to Newtown (where I saw them both), and they found affairs were soon ready to proclaim the King, w^h was done as afores^d.[42]

What our Visct's particular conduct was afterwards I cannot tell, for want of the perusal of his papers, and lacking some older than myself to assist me in the relation thereof; for I was then a boy at school, and was glad when I saw my father and Colo. Mervin returned with life, limbs and liberty safe. Yet I remember to see great clutter of mustering and exercising of armed men at Newtown; and my father, S^r Ja^s. Montg^y. going often to our Visc^t and many officers also resorting thither, and the King and Colo. Monk was in every man's mouth almost every minute.[43]

The sum of my knowledge of affairs about this time is, that our Visc^t rendezvouzed his forces, marched to Lisburn, that Monk retired to Dundalk;[44] that then his Lo^p had Carrickfergus surrend^d

tamed savage hanging about the houses, with his long hair and skin clothing; that these have gradually acquired the attributes of divinities, river gods, or forest nymphs, or that they have been condemned as pagan superstitions, and degraded into demons; and I know that they are now remembered, and still somewhat dreaded in their last character. The tales told of them partake of the natural and supernatural, and bring fiction nearer to fact than any class of tales current in the Highlands unless it be the fairy stories." At vol. i., p. 23, the word *gruagach* is said to denote generally a female or maiden brownie. Armstrong's *Dictionary* defines it as meaning "A female spectre of the class of brownies, to which the Highland dairy-maids made frequent libations of milk." Campbell's belief as to these hobgoblins is reasonable enough, but he should have explained *who* were the civilized people at the period when brownies, *et hoc omne genus*, were the savages.

[41] *Darby house.*—See note 25, *supra*.

[42] *Done as aforesaid.*—See p. 68, *supra*.

[43] *Every minute.*—The reader may see a somewhat detailed account of this meeting at Newtown in Adair's *True Narrative*, p. 160. The following were among the principal British officers who attended it—viz., Clanbrassil, Montgomery, Hugh Cochrane, James Wallace, J. Campbell, Colin Maxwell, Richard Kilgore, Fergus Kennedy, Geo. Keith, Hans Hamilton, and Geo. Ross.—Reid's *History*, vol. ii., pp. 96, 97. The following letter, referring to a later meeting at Newtown, after the rupture with the presbyterians, proves how interested the Scottish people must have felt in the movements of parties in Ulster at that important crisis. The letter was written by lady Anna Montgomerie, a daughter of the sixth earl of Eglinton, to her stepmother, and dated Eglintoune, the 21st of August, 1649:—

"Right Madame,—Hauaing the occasione of this beirer, I wold not omit to shoue your ladyship that all your ladyship's freinds heir ar in good healthe; and it shall be great contentment to us to hear the leyk of your ladyship, which shall be much wished for by me. There is no leat noues from Irland, bot suche as I doubt not bot Mr. Gilbert Ramsey hes shouen your ladyship in his letre; onlly we heir that yesterday my lord Earde, and George Monroe, and sir Robert Stouart was to have had a counsell of warr at Nouestoune, to sei what course they should tak with the contrie, and to setell all doeisionis amoingest themselves. This being all I will trubell your ladyship with at this tyme, bot that I am ever, madam, your ladyshie's affectionate doghter and serueant,

"Anna Montgomerie.

"Madam, recave Mr. Gilbert Ramsay's letre from the beirer."

The lady to whom the above was written was Margaret (or, as she signed herself, *Margireitt*,) Scott, the second countess of the sixth earl. She was a daughter of Walter, first lord Scott of Buccleuch. She had been first married to James, sixth lord Ross, but left no family by either of her husbands. She died at Hull, where the earl of Eglinton was imprisoned in 1651. She was a pious lady, and had a great horror of witches. Writing to the earl from Edinburgh, in 1650, on the eve of a great witch trial there, she says:—"God Almightie send a good tryell of all the witchies, and send them a hotte fyre to burn them with."—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., pp. 295, 296. Mr. Gilbert Ramsay, whose letter had been forwarded to the countess from Eglinton, was the presbyterian minister of Bangor, county of Down, who was, with others of his brethren, afterwards imprisoned in Carlingford castle for alleged complicity in Blood's plot.

[44] *Retired to Dundalk.*—"The want of the perusal" of viscount Montgomery's papers could only account for the author's omission here to record the manner in which his lordship got possession of Belfast—a proceeding which has drawn down upon his devoted head such a large amount of virulent criticism from presbyterian writers. See Adair's *True Narrative*, pp. 167-172; M'Bride's *Sample of Jet Black Prelatic Calumny*, p. 192; Reid's

[5] and then his Lo[p] marched to Colerain, w[h] was deserted of Monk, and so went to London-

f the Presbyterian Church, vol. ii., pp. 110–122. Robert Monro, in the interest of the parliament covenanters, seized Belfast by a *coup de main* royalists, and held it (in violation of the original is with the Scottish forces) until June, 1649. tter date, lord Montgomery retook Belfast from yterian party, with whom he found he could no t for the restoration of the king. Curiously everal papers preserved by viscount Montgomery ion with this affair were discovered not long since ther family documents at Donaghadee. These ill be found in Appendix K.

rickfergus surrend[d] to him.—After taking pos- n of Belfast, viscount Montgomery employed his s in seizing the town of Antrim, which had been he presbyterians by captain Francis Ellis, whilst rward sir Geo. Monro to invest Carrickfergus. fficers, influenced by their attachment to presby- , refussed to acquiesce in lord Montgomery's views, ed in the surrender of Carrickfergus to George When the commander-in-chief had secured Antrim, liately proceeded to unite his force with that of nt addressed the following letter (now printed for me) to major Ellis and other officers who held the n that town :—

he leagure at Wood-burne, the second day of July, 1649. Right hon[ble] The lord Viscount Montgomery of Ardes, der us chiefe of the Province of Ulster.

as, I have by tuo severall letters formerly giuen you notice r committed unto mee by his Ma[ties] Comission to comand es, forts, and garisons within this Province, and to dispose e as I shall see most for the advantage of his ma[ties] service, rwise shew the said Comission unto you the Governor of m, and required present obedience according to the tenor expectation and hopes whereof I haue attended here nes, labouring by all amicable wayes to procure the same, ready and willing to give all just satisfaction to what & fitting demaundes (not prejudiciall to his Ma[ties] ser- d be by you tendered unto me, The which together with ion was pemptorily promised this day by nyne of the clocke noone : But finding yet nothing but delayes, whereby the good subjects hereabout are much ruined and his Ma[ties] judiced, I haue thought fit, and doe hereby require you ther delay to deliuer up the said garison to be disposed of I shall see most for the advantage of his Ma[ties] service, to the power given unto mee by his Ma[ties] Comission Whereof if you faile, or make any longer delay, These witnes that what soever evill, mischiefe or hurt shall fol- on, either unto that garison or this Countrie about, shall n yo[r] score, and I be freed of the same.

"MONTGOMERIE.

or Ellis, Major Coghran, and st of the officers comanding me and Castle of Carrickfergus.

d to the officers of Carrickfergus for rendring that garison astle.

, 1649."

MSS. vol. xxv., fol 15. Carrickfergus was sur- to lord Montgomery and George Monro on the ly, and formally taken possession of in the in- the royalist party. The reader may see the very d terms of surrender in M'Skimin's *History of rgus*, at pp. 379, 380, entitled "*Articles agreed luded by and between the Right Honourable Hugh, ount Montgomery of the Ards, on the one part, for behalf of all parts of the army within the province , that either are, or hereafter shall be, joined under and; and Major Ellis, governor of Carrickfergus; Major Cochran, governor of the Castle; and the rest of the Officers within the said town and castle; together with the mayor, burgesses, aldermen, and commoners of the other part, the 4th day of July*, 1649." These articles were signed by Edmond Ellis, Brice Cochran, Henry Clements, Robert Hannay, Edward Ferguson, and Samuel Stewart.—See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., p. 118, *note*. On the same day, viscount Montgomery published the following declaration, which has been recently found among the family papers preserved at Donaghadee. It was printed in M'Bride's *Sample of Jet-Black Prelatic Calumny*, p. 193:—

"The declaration of the Right hon[ble] Hugh, Lord Viscount Montgomery of the Ardes.

"The King, our most hopefull and undoubted Soveraigne, having lately, by his gracious and ample commission, been pleased to appoint me Comander in Chiefe of all the forces within this Province of Ulster (a charge as little expected as deserved by mee), I doe foresee (& already have great cause to believe) that I shall thereby become a butt & marke whereat all those whose judgements and affections are byassed either by envy, malice, or ignorance, will shoot their sharpes arrowes, and that even this hono[r] & authority, wherewith his Ma[ty] has beene pleased to cloath mee, and which (untill these worst of tymes, in all places wheresoever either Religion or Civility were professed & practised, did not only protect men from injuries, but procured respect and obedience unto them) is now (in the opinions of some mis-led or mis-taken people) become a sufficient ground to load even men of hono[r] and integrity with all the reproaches and injuries which distempered braines can invent, loose tongues utter, or rash hands act, yet I conceive that it is my duety (as farre as in me lyeth) to prevent these mischiefes: And therefore, and for the satisfaction, as well as of all moderate, well-affected, and loyal subjects, as for my owne vindication, I have thought fit and necessary to publish to the world, and (in the sight and presence of God, the searcher of hearts) to declare that neither thirst of Comand nor ambitious desire of preferment did move mee directly or indirectly to solicite or any wayes seeke after that authority or Comand now conferred upon mee, The delivery of his Ma[ties] comission into my hands being the first intimation I had of his royall and gracious intentions towards me: and truely the knowledge of my owne inabilities for so eminent an employment had prevailed with mee to return his Ma[ties] humble thanks for so great and undeserved a favo[r] without acting any thing thereupon, But that when I did consider how this poore countrie was so pitifully racked and torne asunder by diverse factions; some actively plotting and labouring to in-slave us to the lawless power of the sectarian Army in England & their adherents, wherein they so closely and wittily pursued their wicked intentions that my owne person (who they conceived did most obstruct their designs) was not any wise secure from their treacherous plotts: Others not much interested in this kingdome (preferring their owne opinions or ends to security or peace thereof) laboured to make us run in absolute opposition, as well to the King's party as to the other, so that wee could not possibly evite ruin from one of both, wee thus exposing ourselves to the fury of both, and being in such indigency and want as that we were altogether unable to raise meanes for defending ourselves by sea or land against either.

"And having likewise found to our cost that (since the late distractions happened amongst us) all our consultations and transactions by comittees for the better managing of our affairs either in relation to the countrie or Army, did produce nothing but confusions and divisions more and more every day amongst us.

"And now likewise perceiving that by the coming of sir George Monro into this countrie, the King's interest (as not sufficiently secured in our garisons & quarters) began to be pressed upon us by strangers, I did conceive it high tyme for mee to make use of his Ma[ties] comission, as well in discharge of my duty to him, as for the preventing this poore countrie to be swallowed up in that deluge of miseries which the condensed clouds of divisions within, & the power and malice of enemies without, upon all hands did visibly and suddenly threatten it with.

"But least any should feare Religion may hereby be prejudged (though I conceive my constant practices might (if well pondered) resolve any such doubts), I doe in the presence of God protest I shall use my uttermost endeavours, whilest I am trusted with power to countenance & assist the exercise of our Religion in this Province as it is now practised: And likewise (as I have good grounds to hope

derry to visit Sr. Chas. Coote[46] in his garrison, where his Lo[p] joyned Sr Alex. Stewart with his Lagan forces[47] (so *they* were called who quartered in those north-west parts of Ulster), and Colo. Mervin came with his reg[mt]. and then they encamped before the town and straitned it. Sr. Chas. rose strong in it; he had good men and store of provisions and ammunition, for Monck and he had put up stores therein ags[t] a siege, and expected supplies from England, and had got Culmore to their

with successe) shall solicit his Ma[tie] for a confirmation thereof under his owne hand.

"And I doe further declare that no man either in the countrie or Army shall be pressed with any new oathes whatsoever, being sufficiently confirmed by dayly experience that where the sense of duety doth not bind oaths will not. And likewise that I shall never make use of that authority wherewith his Ma[tie] has beene pleased to impower mee to the prejudice of any man either in his hono[r], property, or other interest; nor ever make any national distinction of persons, But shall (by God's assistance) to the uttermost of my power, with equal care and respect, protect, countenance, & advance every honest man as his affections & forwardness for the advancement of his Ma[ties] service, shall witness his loyalty.

"And lastly, in regard I am very sensible that this party who has lately come amongst us is a burden greater then this countrie (without ruine) can lye under, I doe declare that soe soon as submission & obedience shall be given unto that authority his Ma[tie] has put into my hands, I shall not onely thereupon procure the removeall of such strangers as are now amongst (us), But likewise (with God's helpe) so order the forces of this Province, for the good of his Ma[ties] service, as that the like disturbances may hereafter be prevented, and all his Ma[ties] Protestant subjects secured as well in the profession & practise of Religion as their temporal estates, If I find not obstructions from those who in duty are most bound to assist mee. And therefore I doe hereby pray and require all well-affected and loyall subjects as they render the glory of God in the preservation of Religion in its purity amongst us, the hono[r] and happyness of his Ma[tie], our undoubted & lawfull soveraigne, now banished & debarred from his throne by the power & practice of these wicked men, who have likewise overturned government both civill and ecclesiastick in other his dominions, and goe about to doe the like in this, which is now the quarrell in dispute, and as they wish the particular safety and well being of every one of us in what els is most neare and deare unto us to give cheerfull & ready obedience unto his Ma[ties] comission granted unto mee, and to concurre & assist mee, in the execution of the same, as I shall find the exigency of affairs from tyme to tyme to require the (y[e]) same; otherwise I take God to witnes that If I be compelled to procure by force that obedience which every good subject is bound by his alledgeance to render willingly, I am free of all the sad consequences & evills that may follow yereupon. Given under my hand the 4[th] day of July, 1649."

[46] *Sir Chas. Coote.*—This sir Charles Coote's father came originally to Ireland from Eaton, in Norfolk, and served as a captain in the forces operating against Hugh O'Neill. For his faithful services, the elder sir Charles Coote was appointed provost-marshal of Connaught in 1606, and vice-president of Connaught in 1620. His principal residence was Castle-Cuffe, in Queen's county, but he owned estates also in King's county, and in the counties of Leitrim, Cavan, Roscommon, and Sligo. On the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, his vast accumulations of property in manufactures, chattels, and stock on his estates, were swept away by the insurgent Irish, and he himself was surrounded and slain by the rebels, at Trim, in the month of May, 1642. His son, the second sir Charles, mentioned in the text, distinguished himself as a military leader in assisting to suppress the rebellion. He afterwards became a great parliamentary general, and served the commonwealth faithfully until the death of Cromwell. In 1660, he assisted zealously in the restoration of Charles II., and was rewarded in the following year, by being created earl of Mountrath.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 71—76. Coote was charged on more than one occasion with cold-blooded cruelty towards the Irish. The *Journal* kept by colonel Henry M'Tully O'Neill, from 1641 to 1650, concludes with the following account of a diabolical act perpetrated by him :—"When quarters were given to several of the Irish officers, and in particular to my grandfather, he and sir Charles Coote came to terms about his ransom, and it was agreed between them that my grandfather, on procuring one hundred beeves from his friends, to be delivered to sir Charles, should have his life spared, and be set at liberty; and for that purpose he was drawing articles to be executed between sir Charles and him, when a sergeant came into sir Charles's tent the next day after the action, with an account of his having brought colonel Henry Roe O'Neill, general Owen O'Neill's son, prisoner. Without more ado, sir Charles reprimanded the sergeant for not bringing his head, and commanded him to go and despatch him immediately, whereupon the pen dropped out of my grandfather's hand, and accosting sir Charles in favour of his relation, pleaded in his behalf, his being a Spaniard born, and that he came here as a soldier of fortune; and hoped for those considerations, he would not suffer his orders to be put into execution. But all would not do; the orders were executed, sir Charles telling my grandfather that if he began to prate he would be served the same way. My grandfather being touched with the usage his kinsmen received, replied 'that he would rather be served so than owe his life to such a monstrous villain as he was.' Whereupon he ordered him fortwith to be carried out and knocked on the head with tent poles, by sir Charles's men, which being observed by one of sir Charles's officers that was coming towards the tent, he asked the soldiers what they meant by using the gentleman so, and they replying it was by the general's orders, the officer, in compassion to him, and to put him out of pain, drew his sword and ran him thro' the heart; and both his and Henry Roe's heads were cut off and put up in Derry. So far had they the honour to imitate the death of their king who was most barbarously murthered the year before."—*Dunderan Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii., pp. 527, 528. The ill-fated Henry Roe O'Neill mentioned in the foregoing extract was married to the daughter of sir Luke Fitzgerald, and had been taken prisoner by Coote on the field of Scarriffhollis, near Letterkenny, about eight months after the death of his father, Owen Roe O'Neill. It is generally believed that Henry Roe had been tried by a court-martial at Derry, but whether or no, he and many of his kindred were executed in cold blood, although Coote had promised him quarter, and although Henry O'Neill had pleaded his Spanish birth as a reason for mercy. "Such," says an anonymous writer, "was the unchristian and tigerish conduct of this human blood-sucker (Coote), that the family of O'Neill in the ebb of many years may scarce recover their former state."—Meehan, *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, p. 474.

[47] *Lagan forces.*—See p. 183, *infra*.

hands by some artifice, when S^r. Robert Stewart was trained into Derry as afores^d.[48] Nevertheless, our Visc^t. and Gen^l. was hopefull to reduce that important place to his Majesties obedience. The fault was not in his Lo^p. but in those Laggan men, who no sooner knew of his Lo^p having accepted a commission from the King, without their Kirk Pastor's leave, and that he w^d no longer admit their Ministers into his councils, nor walk by their advice (that is in English would not act pursuant to their commands only) than the whole gang or crew of them deserted the siege and his Lo^p; they all at once disbanding themselves with one text of scripture, viz. "To your tents, O Israel," which was certainly a precipitate course, to leave their country open to the impressions of Owen Roe O'Neil's army, w^h was now confederates with Monk and Coote. But they did not think of that, nor of the duty w^h they owed to their King, that had no fear of Coote, because thereby they put a necessity on his Lo^p to raise the siege, and their Ministers helped it forward by preaching from him most of his men and officers (as they did more effectually at their return.) So that his Lo^p was obliged to march home with thin companys. So the covenant (as they called made on that desertion said) turned tayle on the King and his cause.[49] The Presbiterians would admit of no cavaliers to assist them, and that proved the loss of

[48] *Into Derry as aforesd.*—See p. 182, note 27, *supra*. Coote was opposed at Derry by sir Robert Stewart, who commanded the royalist forces, and sir Alexander Stewart, his nephew, who commanded the presbyterian troops of the Lagan. Coote's garrison consisted of 800 foot and 180 horse. On the surrender of Carrickfergus and Coleraine, sir George Monro advanced also against Derry, and was soon followed by viscount Montgomery, who, as commander-in-chief in Ulster, directed the operations of the siege.

[49] *The King and his cause.*—After a siege of four months, and when reduced to the greatest extremity, Derry was relieved by Owen Roe O'Neill, to whom Coote promised £5000 for his services. Coote, however, was more indebted for his extrication to the divisions among his besiegers than even to the timely succour of the Irish general. When the presbyterian soldiers were told by their ministers of viscount Montgomery's commission from the king, and his proceedings at Belfast and Carrickfergus, they disbanded themselves, and returned to their homes, as being unwilling to fight for the covenant side by side with "malignants." Adair's account of this affair is as follows:—"When they" (the presbyterians under sir Alexander Stewart) "were thus besieging Derry for a considerable time, the old malignant party in the country pretended great affection to the cause, and, submitting to the covenant and declaration, mixed with them in the leagure, and become a stronger party there than the other commanded by Sir Alexander Stewart. As the Presbytery all these times had supplied the Lagan by commissioners of their own number, upon their own charges, one or two at a time; so the ministers who had, upon sir Alexander's desire, been sent from the presbytery to join with the few ministers of Lagan, in order to further the renewing of the covenant, and entering into the 'Declaration' in that country, being invited to preach in the leagure, did comply with the desire for a time—the rather to know how things were going on, and to understand the designs of that party. But a few days discovered to them that the malignant party carried all before them, and that they were generally profane and unconcerned for religion and the ends of the covenant. The ministers could not in duty but testify this in their preaching; whereupon, though for a little time they were seemingly entertained and consulted with, as the circumstances of that party called for in that juncture; yet within a very little time they were slighted and mocked by the new party that had joined. But Sir Alexander Stewart, with his party, still persisting in his respect for the ministers, put it to them for their advice what was best to be done. The ministers saw no grounds for him and his party to continue the leagure, and so declared, not from respect to Coote's party, but that they saw the old malignant interest carrying on. At this they were yet more discountenanced by the other party, upon which they left off frequenting the leagure, and employed themselves in such places of the country as were destitute of ministers. Thereafter, divisions grew between the two parties in the leagure; and, honest men being put on the hardest pieces of service, divers were killed, and all of them found it hard to continue the siege. Therefore, they acquaint the Lord of Ards with their condition, who, with his attendants, went to Derry, pretending to bring about a right understanding between Coote and them. He was received into the town with civility and compliments, and had communion with Coote, but no agreement followed. Therefore, he returned that night to the leagure, where, being at supper, and having drunk largely in the city, he became more free in his discourse in the audience of one of the ministers of Down, who came thither to take leave with some friends, saying, 'If Coote would engage for monarchical government in the person of the present King, the devil take him that meddles with religion; let God fight for his own religion himself.'"—*Narrative*, pp. 163—5. The reader will find in Appendix L. a number of letters now for the first time printed, written by viscount Montgomery at the crisis referred to in the text. These letters are preserved in the *Carte Collection*, Bodleian Library, Oxford. The writer of

the King's cause and their ruin now in this kingdom, as it did the next year in Scotland;[50] from whence our Dominie preachers here were influenced to take measures for the Ministers and adherents intended to capitulate w^th^ the King for their party and covenant here, as the com^nrs^ at Breda were doing, and to doo the Lord's work by themselves, so to get all the preferm^ts^ and profit in their own hands;[51] tho' they could not pretend to merit by acting ag^t^ the usurpers or by loyalty to the late King.

But his Lo^p^ returned home in order, and fortified passes and garrisons, and was in safety till next winter; for in June, 1649, Michael Jones having routed Ormond at Remeins,[52] near Dublin,

hese letters freely expresses his opinion respecting the conduct of the presbyterians in abandoning the siege of Derry.

[50] *In Scotland.*—The author here refers especially to the fact that the battle of Dunbar was lost in the following year, through the intermeddling of the Scottish preachers, who, among other arrangements, insisted that no "malignants," or, as the author terms them, "cavaliers," should be permitted the honour of fighting side by side with covenanters for the restoration of Charles II. The royalists were called cavaliers, a name of which they were proud, as expressive of their quality, but which their opponents always applied to them as a term of reproach, synonymous with atheist, papist, and voluptuary.

[51] *In their own hands.*—On the execution of Charles I., his son, afterwards Charles II., resided first at the Hague, under the protection of his brother-in-law, the prince of Orange. His court consisted originally of the few persons whom his father had placed around him, but was soon afterwards augmented by the additions of the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and the earl of Callender, who were known as the chiefs of the Scottish *Engagers*, together with the Scottish royalists proper, Montrose, Kinnoul, and Seaforth. These noblemen were with Charles at the Hague, when the earl of Cassilis accompanied by four commissioners from the Scottish parliament and three deputies from the kirk, arrived. Immediately afterwards, an event occurred which drove Charles and the whole party hastily from the Hague to Breda. Dr. Dorislaus, a native of Holland, but formerly a professor of Gresham college, had been employed in England to prepare the charge on which Charles I. was tried. He was afterwards appointed as envoy from the English parliament to the States of Holland. On the evening of his arrival at the Hague, and whilst he sat at supper in his hotel, six assassins in masks entered the room, and instantly murdered him. They were soon known to be followers of Montrose, and Charles, fearing the results of this murder, suddenly left the Hague, went to visit his mother at St. Germain in France, and afterwards settled, with his followers, at Breda. Thither addresses soon reached him from the parliament and kirk of Scotland. In the kirk's address, the young king was charged with refusing "to allow the Son of God to reign over him in the pure ordinances of church government and worship, cleaving to counsellors who never had the glory of God and the good of His people before their eyes, admitting to his presence that fugacious and excommunicate rebel, James Graham, and especially giving the royal power and strength to the beast, by concluding a peace with the Irish papists, the murderers of so many protestants." They further required him to remember the iniquities of his father's house, and to be assured that unless he laid aside the "service-book, so stuffed with Romish corruptions, for the reformation of doctrine and worship agreed upon by the divines at Westminster, and approved of the covenant in his three kingdoms, without which the people could have no security for their religion or liberty, he would find that the Lord's anger was not turned away, but that his hand was still stretched against the royal person and his family."—*Clarendon Papers*, vol. iii., p. 293; Whitelock, *Memorials*, pp. 401, 429; Carte's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 323, as quoted in Lingard's *History of England*, vol. viii., pp. 129, 130.

[52] *At Remeins.*—The author here writes Rathmines as the name is pronounced. When Dublin was surrendered by Ormond to the parliament on the 19th of June, 1647, colonel Michael Jones, brother of sir Theophilus Jones, had been appointed governor of the city and commander of the forces in Leinster. In July, 1649, Ormond having collected an army of 7000 foot, and 1000 horse, determined, if possible, to retake the capital. On the morning of the 31st of July, Ormond, finding that Jones was determined on a general engagement, drew out his whole army in battle array, and, after having made the necessary arrangements, in full expectation of the enemy's attack, he retired to his tent at Rathmines, for the purpose of taking a short repose in the interval between his preparations and the actual commencement of battle. He was soon roused, however, only to witness the defeat and dispersion of his army by the victorious Michael Jones, who fell upon the royalists unexpectedly. In this engagement Ormond lost 600 men slain on the field, besides 2000 taken prisoners; the shattered remains of his army taking refuge in Trim, Drogheda, and Kilkenny. Adair, in referring to this action, at page 173 of his *Narrative*, speaks as if he was rather gratified at the royalist defeat:—"And indeed the Lord of Ards' government in the North lasted not long. For, being called to join Ormond with what forces he had, with the Lord Claneboy and his followers, they left that part of the country, and were broken at Dundalk. For though they had then the power of the whole kingdom, except Derry and Dublin, yet Ormond's whole party, and a great army lying about Dublin, and minding their drinking, cards, and dice, more than their work, were surprised by a party out of the city by Colonel Jones, and scattered." On the death of Jones soon afterwards at Dungarvan, Cromwell thus writes:—"The noble lieutenant-general, whose finger, to our knowledge, never ached in these expeditions, fell sick upon a cold taken in our late wet march, and ill accommodation, and went to Dungarvan, where, struggling some four or five days with a fever, he died, having run his course with so much honour,

and O. C. landing,[53] had taken Drogheda,[54] and the K.'s forces (like the wained moon in the middle of her last quarter) diminished to the last degree in Ireland, Ormond (deserted by many of the Irish) retiring to his defensive strengths, with his Protestant party, w^h^ he kept in a body (as the rest of the Irish did to Limerick and other garrisons.)[55]

Our third Visc^t^ with his few loyal followers and adherents, and the Earle of Clanbrasil, with his men (all that were preaching proof);[56] their Lo^p^^s^ kept their forces together, and being personally present (as they were afterwards with Ormond) and by ther example encouraging their soldiers, were routed at Lisnestrain (as it was s^d^ by S^r^ Geo. Munro's mismanagement near Lisnegarvey afores^d^) by S^r^ Cha^s^ Coote and a party of O. C. army;[57] Clanbrasil shifting with some flying

courage, and fidelity, as his actions better speak than any pen. What England lost hereby is above me to speak." In Cromwell's letter to the speaker, dated Dublin, Sept. 17, 1649, he says:—"Since this great mercy (the storming of Drogheda) vouchsafed to us, I sent a party of horse and dragoons to Dundalk, which the enemy quitted, and we are possessed of: as also, another castle they deserted between Trim and Drogheda, upon the Boyne. I sent a party of dragoons to a house within five miles of Trim (Trubly); there being then in Trim some Scots companies, which the Lord of Ards brought to assist the Lord of Ormond; but, upon the news of Drogheda having fallen into our hands, they ran away, leaving their great guns behind them, which we also have possessed." See Dean Butler's *Notices of the Castle and of the Ecclesiastical Buildings of Trim*, p. 139; see *Original Letters* in Appendix L.

[53] *O. C. landing.*—This hapless country, Ireland, was then so attractive as a field for enterprise, that both sir Hardress Waller and general Lambert aspired to the office of lord deputy. But when Cromwell was known to wish for it, he was unanimously appointed by the Parliament, in preference to all other claimants. On the evening of the 10th of July, 1649, Cromwell, after prayers for the success of his expedition by three ministers, and an exposition of the Scriptures by himself, Goff, and Harrison, in the presence of a large assemblage at Whitehall, set out on his journey to Ireland, by way of Windsor and Bristol. He had previously adopted certain sublunary means of success, having despatched before him into Ireland a contingent of 4000 horse and foot under Reynolds and Venables, to the assistance of Jones, who held Dublin for him. This reinforcement enabled Jones, on the 2nd August, 1649, to rout the marquis of Ormond at Baggotsrath, near Dublin, with a loss of 1000 slain, and double that number prisoners. On the 15th of August, Cromwell reached the harbour of Dublin, "where he landed a force of 8000 foot, half that number of horse, with all the sinews of war, including a formidable train of artillery, and a sum of twenty thousand pounds in money."—*Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. iii., pp. 120, 121.

[54] *Taken Drogheda.*—On the 2nd of September, Cromwell invested Drogheda, which Ormond had garrisoned with his choicest troops. In about a week the town was taken by storm, the garrison put to the sword, and large numbers of the defenceless Roman Catholic inhabitants massacred. The promiscuous slaughter of royalists and Roman Catholics was gratifying news to the godly dwellers in the north. In referring to the fate of the brave defenders of Drogheda, Adair only remarks, p. 174, that they "consisted of profane Protestants and Irish Papists, who, in the righteous judgment of God, met with a scourge from unjust hands."

[55] *Other garrisons.*—After the fall and fate of Drogheda opposition at several points to the parliamentary forces came quickly to an end, Cromwell himself looking after the southern garrisons, and sending Venables to the north. Carlingford was soon reduced, Newry surrendered, Lisburn fell, Belfast capitulated four days after his approach, and Coleraine was betrayed. Carrickfergus held out longest, but was, also, surrendered by the royalist commander, Dallyel, on the 2nd of November, 1649. In McSkimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 59, 60, the reader may see a copy of the "Articles agreed upon between the Right Hon. Sir Charles Coote, knight and baronet, lord President of Connaught, and Colonel Robert Venables on the one part, and Colonel Thomas Dallyel, the governor of the town and castle of Carrickfergus, on the other part, for the surrender of the said town and castle."

[56] *All that were preaching proof.*—In other words, all that were not presbyterians bent upon the ways of the covenant. Very few of Clanbrassil's men, probably, were "preaching proof."

[57] *Party of O. C. army.*—Venables had formed a junction with Coote, who came from Derry, by Coleraine, and met him at Belfast. After the reduction of the several garrisons in Ulster, these commanders routed the last royalist force in this district, commanded by viscount Montgomery, the earl of Clanbrassil, and sir George Monro, at a place called Lisnastrain, in the parish of Drumbeg, county of Down. Ormond had sent reinforcements to the Ulster royalists, under the command of Daniel O'Neill and Mark Trevor, but this force (which would probably have been very important, being led by such distinguished officers), came too late. Nearly all that is known of this decisive battle at Lisnastrain, near Lisburn, is contained in a tract printed in London soon after its occurrence, and entitled, *Two Letters from William Basil, Esq., Attorney-General of Ireland; the one to the Right Honourable John Bradshaw, Lord President of the Council of State: the other to the Right Honourable William Lenthal, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England, of a great victory obtained by the parliament forces in the North of Ireland, on the plains of Lisnegarvy, against the enemy there, wherin were 1,400 slain, Colonel John Hamilton taken prisoner, and seventeen more of quality. With a relation of the taking of Drumcree; and of the surrender*

horse, and his castle of Killyleagh standing out,[58] he resorted to Ormond. The L[d] of Ardes had been too active and too much hated and feared and was wiser than to trust his person into Coote's

of Carrickfergus upon Articles. We give the contents of this very interesting tract *in extenso*:—

"To the Right Honorable John Bradshaw, Lord President of the Councel of State.

"RIGHT HONORABLE,—Since my last unto your Lordship, viz. on Thursday last, being the sixth of December instant, our Forces in the North engaged with the Forces of the Enemy there, which consisted of that Party which the Lords of Ardes and Clanduboys brought with them out of Munster, and also of those under the command of George Monro, part whereof were formerly his own, and part were of Owen O Neals Ultoghs, in the whole consisting of about Two thousand Foot and Eight hundred Horse; their Design was to Relieve Carrickfergus, but were met withal by ours near unto Lisnegarvy: After some dispute between our Forlorn and their Rere-guard, at a boggy pass on the Plains of Lisnegarvy, their whole Army were so frighted and disordered, that they were soon totally Routed, and the chief work of our main Body was onely Pursuit and Execution, which was done effectually by the space of about eight or ten miles. Letters from the place speaks of a thousand of the Enemy to be killed; but the Messenger who brought the News hither, who was present at the Work, affirms Fourteen hundred; four hundred whereof were killed by a Party commanded by Major King, Son to Sir Robert King, who possest himself of a Pass to which the Enemy was likely to come: this was the place where George Monro swam over, who with the Lord of Ardes fled to Charlemount in great haste at the beginning of the Business: All the Enemies Ammunition and Baggage were taken, together with Five hundred of their Horses, with most of their Foot Officers; Colonel Henderson, a Scotchman, who betrayed Sligo to the Irish, was killed; Colonel John Hamilton, one other Scotchman, who killed O Conelly, and burnt Lisnegarvy, is taken Prisoner: also it is affirmed, That the Lord Clanduboys, and Philip mac Mull Moor O Relly, one of the most active men amongst the Rebels, are slain. Our Party were in pursuit of the Enemy when the Messenger came away; we lost but one Corporal of Horse, and three private Soldiers. Your Lordship may please further to understand, That Drumcree, a strong Garison of the Enemies, being twelve miles from Trym, and a Receptacle for their Thieving Toryes, was upon Friday last was sevennight taken by Major Stanley, Governor of Trym. To morrow is the day whereon Carrickfergus is by Articles to be Surrendred: Here are about One thousand three hundred landed from England since Saturday last. It is an exceeding great comfort to us all here, to see the good hand of God so evidently with us against our bloody Enemies: He alone, I hope and pray, will settle Peace and Happiness in England and Ireland, In the continuance of these his Mercies.—My Lord, I am your Lordships most humble Servant,

"WILLIAM BASIL.

"Dublin, 12 Decemb. 1649.

"This night Colonel Chidley Coot is come to Town with Letters from his Brother the Lord President, the substance of his Brothers Letters and his own Relation, is briefly thus:

"The Scotch Lords and George Monro, fell into the Clanboys with 4000 men, and the fifth of this instant the Enemy drew out their Army, and would have fought, but our Party wanting some Horse, forbare to ingage; the next day the Enemy drew off, and our Army following them, sent out a Forlorn Hope of 200 men, the Horse Commanded by Captain Dunbar, of Sir Theophilus Jones his Regiment, and the Foot by Major Gore, of the Lord Presidents Regiment; the 200 men fell into the Rear of the Enemy, and before the Army could come up, with the loss of one Corporal, and two private Soldiers, routed the whole Army, of whom were slain in the place a thousand men, the President writes. And a Party of Horse Commanded the nearest way to the Blackwater, to stay that Pass, slew Four hundred more there, where George Monro saved himself by swimming; the Lord Clanboys is supposed to be slain, and Philip mac Mulmore O Relly, and most of their Foot Officers; Colonel John Hamilton is Prisoner, and seventeen more of Quality, they gave no Quarter to any Irish: Thus you may see what wonders our God doth for us, the Lord give us thankful hearts suitable to such mercies. All their Foot Arms taken, and Five hundred Horse, eight Barrels of Powder, and all the Baggage they had."

"To the Right Honorable William Lenthal Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of England.

"RIGHT HONORABLE,—In my last I gave your Honor an accompt of the taking of Killileagh and Down-Drum by our forces in the North; since which time (viz.) on Thursday last, being the Sixth of December instant, they ingaged with the Forces of the Enemy there, which consisted of that party which the Lords of Ards and Clanduboys brought with them out of Munster, and also of those under the command of George Monro, part whereof were formerly his own, and part were of Owen O Neals Ultoghs, in the whole consisting of about Two thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse; their Design was to relieve Carrickfergus, but were met withal by ours near unto Lisnegarvy: After some dispute between our Forlorn and their Rereguard, at a Boggy Pass on the Plains of Lisnegarvy, their whole Army were so frightened and disordered, that the chief work of our main body was onely Pursuit and Execution, which was done by the space of about eight or ten miles; Letters from the place speaks of a thousand of the Enemy to be kill'd: The Messenger who brought the News hither (who was present at the Work) affirms, Fourteen hundred; all their Ammunition and Baggage were taken, together with most of their Foot Officers, Col: Henderson, a Scotchman, who betrayed Sligo to the Irish, was kill'd, and Col: John Hamilton, who kill'd O Connelly, and burnt Lisnegarvy, taken Prisoner: Our Party was in Pursuit of the Victory when the Messenger came away, no accompt is given of the Lords of Ards and Clanduboys, but it is affirmed, That Monro adventured to swim over a River to save himself: We lost but one Corporal of Horse, and three private Soldiers, to God onely be the praise. Drumcree, a strong Garrison of the Enemies, being twelve miles from Trim, a Receptacle for their thieving Toryes, was upon Fryday last was sevennight taken by Major Stanley the Governor of Trim. To morrow is the day whereon Carrickfergus is by Articles to be surrendred, whereof I made mention to your Honor heretofore. Col: Moor is safely arrived here with his Recruits for his Regiment, and about Six hundred others, and desires to have his service presented unto your Honor; and withal, to signifie unto you, That these men thus arrived, brought neither Arms, Victual, Money nor Clothes with them.

Whilest I am writing, some other particulars worth your notice are come unto my hand; (viz.) That the Enemies Army was at least Four thousand; And that upon the routing of them, Major King, Son to Sir Robert King, with a Party possest himself of a Pass to which the Enemy was likely to come, and there kild Four hundred of them; this was the place where George Monro swam over, who with the Lord of Ardes made haste away with the first for Charlemount; and Clanduboys and Philip Mac Mul Moor O Relly are reported to be kild, the latter being one of the most active men the Rebels had. To God onely again be the praise, and that he would be pleased to continue our God in the manifestation of his mercies toward us, and Justice against our bloody Enemies, is the daily prayer of—Your Honors most humble Servant,

"WILLIAM BASIL.

"Dublin, 12 Decem. 1649."

Whitelock, in his *Memorials of English Affairs from Charles I. to the Restoration*, p. 435, has given the substance of the above letters, adding one or two rumours not mentioned by Basil. Thus, he states that the lord Clandeboy "was slain, or sunk in a bog, being corpulent," and that "Colonel Montgomery was taken prisoner." Lord Clannaboy escaped, and lived until the year, 1659; and colonel Montgomery, after having surrendered, was brutally shot. He was the eldest son of Hugh Montgomery, seneschal of Newtown during the time of the first and second viscounts. The author has noticed this soldier's death in a subsequent portion of his *Manuscripts*.

[58] *Killyleagh standing out.*—Killyleagh castle must have been captured by the Parliamentary forces previously to the 6th of December, which was the date of the battle of Lisnastrain. It had not surrendered, however, in the month of October, as Basil, the attorney-general, writing towards the close of that month, says—"We are now possessed of all the North, saving Knockfergus, Coleraine, and Killileagh." In the second letter above quoted, which was written on the 12th of December, Basil says—"In my last I gave your Honor an accompt of the taking of Killileagh and Down-Drum by our forces in the North;

hands (who he had complimented by an unwelcome visit at Derry.) Therefore, his Lo^{p} collected his scattered horse and foot (much again, before last fight, being dismissed by the pulpeteer's preachments) the soldiers bidding, *Au diable*[59] to the back-sliding covenant and its rebellious adherents, who disowned the K.'s commission and authority, and with this party (most of them officers and gents.) contented to partake of all sorts of fortune with so brave a leader as the L^{d} Montg^{r}. who made his way through many difficulties to join with his father's friend and the K.'s chief serv^{t}. Ormond, then a Marquis.

His Lo^{p} thus leaving his Lady and house at Newtown, and his Lady Mother, his sister and brother at M^{r} Alexander, protection for them, their households and goods were obtained, but by whose procurem^{t}. I know not; yet I confess the English are civil enemies, and I may think Colo. Monk (who had highly wronged his Lo$^{p's}$ family[60]) took now an oportunity of verifying his promise of good treatment, mentioned in his reply to his Lo^{p} and to S^{r} J. M. dated the 19th Sept^{r}. afores^{d}) concerning his Lo^{ps} relations.[61] But S^{r} J. M. might expect no protection, being so considerable an enemy, as he was (both for head and hand) feared by the Parl^{t}. party, and his opposites being highly incensed ags^{t} his loyalty, (this appeared by the Rump made after his death excepting him from life and estate[62]) that he now must needs truss up his best goods, and send them and me to Greenock; himself soon flying after them, where he absconded, as shall be s^{d} when I discourse of him in particular.

Our third Visc^{t}. stayd with the Marquis and was included among the Protes^{ts} (as the Earl of Clanbrasil also was) with whom O. C. made capitulations for their coming home and peaceably living there without deserting the realm or acting ags^{t} the Parliam^{t}. and for being adm^{d} to their estates upon composition money to be p^{d} by them as the Parl^{t}. should think fit; w^{h} done, O. C. went to Eng^{d}. in winter, 1649, leaving Ireton[63] to attend the blockade of Limerick, to w^{h} the Irish

since which time (viz.) on Thursday last, being the sixth of December instant, they ingaged with the forces of the Enemy there," &c., &c. Killileagh castle was in part demolished by the parliamentary soldiers, but was afterwards rebuilt by Henry, second earl of Clanbrassil of the first creation.—*Hamilton Manuscripts*, p. 68 *note*.

[59] *Au diable.*—Thus ended the hollow compact which had been formed ten months previously between the royalists and presbyterians. The royalists collected their shattered forces and left Ulster "bidding *au diable* to the back-sliding covenant and its rebellious adherents," whilst the presbyterians were well pleased to witness their defeat. In April, 1650, viscount Montgomery, colonel Trevor, and others, went from the Irish head-quarters to Cromwell at Clonmel, to render themselves up to him, being the first distinguished persons of the protestant party that had come for this purpose.—Borlase, *History*, &c., Appendix, p. 22.

[60] *Wronged his Lo$^{p's}$ family.*—Probably by seizing and sending Robert Monro, his lordship's step-father to the Tower.

[61] *Lo$^{p's}$ relations.*—See p. 174, note 68, *supra*.

[62] *From life and estate.*—By an Act of Parliament for settling Ireland, dated the 12th of August, 1652, sir James, although then dead, was excepted from pardon of life and estate. His name appears in the Act among those of eighty-one baronets, knights, and gentlemen who were placed in the same circumstances. The name of his nephew, the third viscount, appears among those of nine others of the same rank.

[63] *Leaving Ireton.*—Cromwell whose presence was required in England, left Ireton, his son-in-law, to whom had been given the title of lord deputy, to bring the war in Ireland to a conclusion. Ireton, with very slight interruptions, pursued the same victorious career as Cromwell. The Irish were compelled to surrender at Letterkenny, Trecoghan, Waterford, Carlow, Charlemont, Duncannon, and finally at Limerick. The garrison in the last-mentioned place was commanded by Hugh O'Neill, brother of Owen Roe, and son of Art O'Neill, who was son of Matthew, baron of Dungannon. After Ireton had captured Limerick, O'Neill was condemned to die, but received a pardon on account of his heroic defence. Among those put to death was Terence O'Brien, bishop of Emly, who, on hearing his sentence, exclaimed in the presence of Ireton—"I appeal to the tribunal of God, and summon thee to meet me at that bar!" These words were soon afterwards believed to be prophetic, for in less than a month, Ireton died of the plague that then raged throughout the west of Ireland. His death was lamented as a grievous loss to the commonwealth. His remains were interred at the public expense, being conveyed from Ire-

had retired for their last refuge, to obtain conditions of peace. The Marquis of Ormond went to wait on the K. (C^ha the 2d.)

And now our Visc^t came to visit his Lady and his daughter Jean,[64] not three months old, and his mother, sister[65] and brother[66] afores^d. his Lo^p being afterwards bro^t under more severe bonds than his neighbour L^d and other Protestants, viz. to leave his family, friends, relations and tenants, by a certain time, and to travel to London by way of Dublin, and not through any part of Scotland, and to appear before a committee of Parl. (to witt of the Rump)[67] w^h banished him into Holland. This was a trap or snare for his life and forfeiture of his estate; besides, his enemies considered that his being abroad cou'd do the harm but of a single man of his parts and interest at a distance; but if his Lo^p staid at home, he could do a general mischief to them (the usurpers) as formerly to Monck and Coote. So by removing him they prevented this, and watched him for the other danger.

And on his Lo^p they had laid a strict charge on several penalties of hard usage to his Lady and to his other relations afores^d; tho' he shou'd not go into the Spanish Netherlands or Scotland, nor come back to England or Ireland, without the Council of State's license, nor be any way correspondent with *Char. Stuart.*

land to Bristol, thence to Somerset House, and afterwards honoured with burial in Henry the Seventh's chapel. Ludlow, when noticing Ireton's public funeral, says—"Some of General Cromwell's relations, who were not ignorant of his vast designs now on foot, caused the body of the Lord Deputy Ireton to be transported into England, and solemnly interred at Westminster, in a magnificent monument, at the public charge; who, if he could have foreseen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his desire that his body might have found a grave where his soul left it, so much did he despise those pompous and expensive vanities; having erected for himself a more glorious monument in the hearts of good men, by his affection to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial justice, his diligence in the public service, and his other vertues, which were a far greater honour to his memory than a dormitory among the ashes of kings, who, for the most part, as they had governed others by their passions, so were they themselves as much governed by them."—*Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 384.

[64] *Daughter Jean.*—The lady Jean, called after his mother, was his only daughter by his first marriage. She was born at Newtown House, in September, 1649, and died unmarried at Chester, in 1673.

[65] *Sister.*—His only sister, Elizabeth Montgomery, married her cousin, William Montgomery of Rosemount, the author of the *Manuscripts.*

[66] *Brother.*—His only surviving brother, James, born at Dunskey, in 1639.

[67] *The Rump.*—So the remnant of the Long Parliament was nicknamed after 1648, when the presbyterian members were expelled by the process known as *Pride's Purge.* The Rump Parliament was one of the most distinguished legislative assemblies ever witnessed in England. Among its leading men were sir Harry Vane, the most practical of statesmen;—Thomas Scott, some of whose speeches are described as among the most eloquent in the English language;—Algernon Sidney, a descendant by his mother's side from Hotspur, and as 'impatient as Hotspur himself of all courtly arts or kingly arrogance;' and Thomas Harrison, who carried his daring as a soldier to the most chivalrous extent. The great practical error of this parliament was its reluctance and delay in dissolving itself, thus giving Cromwell a pretext violently to put an end to its sittings in 1653, after an existence of thirteen years.—See Bisset's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii., pp. 420, 429, 430, 455, 456.

CHAPTER XII.

ALL these rigid injunctions hindered not his Lo^p to see privately the court at the Hague.[1] His Lo^p was then an unwilling traveller, to his great cost, in that dear country. His expense was that w^h his enemies always partly aimed at, and against his will; but he diverted melancholy the best way he cou'd, by seeing the Dutch neat towns, and going *incognito;* among which his Lo^p. in winter, 1651, visited Lyden, Carsacs Mount,[2] and an Atomy Chamber,[3] &c. and its university;[4] it being the most inviting citie for many rarities (where I was at my studies among many Gents. of divers nations); and there his Lo^p came to see me to the great joy of my heart, (my father being then in Scotland very private), and I waited on him to Delft[5] and to the Hague, and

[1] *At the Hague.*—See p. 12, notes 37 and 40, *supra.* When Evelyn visited the Hague, the first place he went to see was the "Hoff or Prince's court, with the adjoining gardens, which were full of ornaments, close walks, statues marbles, grotts, fountains, and artificiall musiq. There is a stately hall, not much inferior to ours of Westminster, hung round with colours and other trophies, taken from the Spanyards, and the sides below are furnished with shops."—*Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 14. Sir John Carr, in his *Tour through Holland*, pp. 153, 154, says:—"The first place I visited was the palace of the last of the Stadtholders. It is a vast pile of houses, many of them somewhat ancient, surrounded by a canal, without which and a pipe, paradise itself would have no charms for a Dutchman. . . . But the most beautiful part of the Hague is the Vyverbeirg, a vast oblong square, adorned with a noble walk or mall, strewed with broken shells, and shaded by avenues of trees on one side, and, on the other by the palace and a large basin of water, called the *Vyver*, almost a quarter of a mile in length, variegated by an island of poplars, in its centre. This mall is the place of fashionable resort."

[2] *Carsacs Mount.*—"At Leyden," says Evelyn, "I was carried up to the Castle, or Pyrgus, built on a very steep artificiall Mount, cast up, as reported, by Hengist the Saxon, on his return out of England, as a place to retire to in case of any sudden inundation."—*Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 18. The following is sir John Carr's notice of this place:—"I ascended a large Mount, which may be considered as a great curiosity in Holland, in the centre of the town, where there is a fine view of it. * * * This place is much resorted to, on Sundays and holidays, by the citizens and their families, to smoke, and enjoy the beauty of the prospect, and the refreshing sweetness of the air."—*Tour through Holland*, pp. 193, 194.

[3] *An Atomy Chamber.*—"The Theatre of Anatomy is very near the Botanic Garden; in it is a valuable collection of anatomical and pathological subjects. This hall is well worthy the notice of a traveller, as well for its valuable contents, as for having furnished Europe with some of its best physicians."—Sir John Carr's *Tour Through Holland*, p. 204.

[4] *Its University.*—The following is Evelyn's not very flattering account of his visit to this celebrated seat of learning:—"I went to see their College and Schooles, which are nothing extraordinary, and was matriculated by the then magnificus professor, who first in Latine demanded of me where my lodginge in the towne was, my name, age, birth, and to what Faculty I addicted myself; then recording my answers in a booke, he administered an oath to me that I should observe the Statutes and orders of the University whiles I staid, and then delivered me a ticket by virtue whereof, I was made excise-free, for all which worthy privileges and the paines of writing, he accepted of a rix-dollar."—*Memoirs*, vol. i., p, 18.

[5] *Delft.*—Delft is a town in South Holland, very old and picturesque. It is the birth-place of Grotius, and was once the seat of the manufacture of a species of pottery, to which it gave its name. It is distant nine miles from Rotterdam, on the high road from that city to the Hague and Leyden. "As you enter the old church at Delft, the first object that meets your eye is the magnificent mass of white marble, which forms the monument of Martin Harpetz Tromp, and represents the admiral lying at full length, with his head resting upon a ship's gun; and below and around him, carved in basrelief, symbols of the achievements of his stormy and valiant life. The bones of the Englishman (Robert Blake) who conquered him lie undistinguished by tomb or epitaph."—Bisset's *History of the Commonwealth of England*, vol. ii., p. 32.

to see the Prince of Orange's houses at Reswick[6] and Hunsterdyke,[7] where (in a parish church) we saw a copper pan and brass one, in w^h a Countess of Holland's birth were baptised, the males and the females separately, but at one time; the infants (in all) were 365.[8] There were also hung (up by those pans) verses pasted on boards, declaring how this world's wonderment came on that Countess, viz. that she refused to give alms to a poor distressed woman, who went about begging charity for her little ones at home and for three sucklings on her back, which she fostered on her own breasts. The Countess conjecturing the beggar to be a common whore and the children to be bastards to three men, and telling her that was the reason she rejected her. The poor woman answered, God knows I am the honest wife of an indigent man, who is at home using industry to preserve our numerous family from starving. He sent me forth thinking a sight like this of mine was the best way to move compassion and to get relief, but seeing your Ladyship is so hard-hearted

[6] *Rerwick.*—The village of Ryswick is situated about half way between Delft and the Hague, amidst scenery of surpassing beauty. It is known throughout Europe as the place where the celebrated peace was concluded between Louis XIV. and the confederate powers, on the 20th of September, 1697, after a war of nine years' duration. The treaty of Ryswick was signed in the royal palace there, then occupied by William III., and known as the House of Neubourg.

[7] *Hunsterdyke.*—Evelyn calls this place *Hounslers Dyck.* "I went," says he, "to see one of the prince's palaces, called the Hoff van Hounslers Dyck, which is a very magnificent cloyster[d] and quadrangular building. The gallery is prettily paynted with several huntings, and at one end, a Gordian knot, with several rusticall instruments so artificially represented as to deceive an accurate eye to distinguish it from actual relievo. The ceiling of the stair-case is paynted with the *Rape of Ganymede*, and other pendent figures, the work of F. Covenberg, of whose hand I bought an excellent drollery, which I afterwards parted with to my brother George of Wotton, where it now hangs. To this palace joynes a faire garden and parke, curiously planted with limes."—*Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 19.

[8] *Were* 365.—This story was originally preserved in an old Dutch MS., of which a Latin translation was published at page 66, of a work entitled *Variorum in Europa Itinerum Delicia.* See Moreri, *Le Grand Dictionaire*, under Loosduynen, and the authorities cited there. "A une lieue et demie de la Haye, et à deux de Delft, on remarque le Village de Losduynen, ou il y eut autre-fois une Abbaye le Filles, de l'Ordre de Citeaux, laquelle a été fondée l'an 1224, par Florent IV., et son épouse Marguerite, Comtesse de Hollande. C'est dans ce lien qu' arriva ce monstrueux accouchement de la Comtesse Mathilde, femme de Herman, Comte de Hanneberg, qui, à l'âge de vingt-quatre ans, mit au monde, d'une seule portée, le jour des Rameaux, l'an 1276, trois cents soixante-cinq enfans, moitie mâles, moitie femelles, &c. Cette Histoire se trouve dans Erasme, Vives, Guichardin, Camerarius, Pierre d'Oudegerst, auteur des Annales de Flandres, et dans plusieurs autres.—*Les Délices des Pays-Bas*, tom. v., p. 89, (Liege, 1769)." The following is a translation of the Latin version :—"Matilda, wife of Herman, count of Henneberg, fourth daughter of Floris, count of Holland and Zealand, was about forty-two years of age, and, on the Good Friday, about nine of the clock in the morning, in the year 1276, was delivered of 365 children, all of whom were baptized on the day of their birth—the boys being called *John*, and the girls *Elizabeth*. All of them bore a strong resemblance to their mother, and the mother and children died the very same day they were born, and were buried in the holy church of Loosduyn. The occasion of this very miraculous birth was an old beggar-woman, who happened to solicit alms of the countess as she was passing. This woman had two children in her arms, which, she said, were twins, and declared that she was left entirely destitute of home with them. 'You wicked impostor,' said the enraged countess, 'begone, it is impossible.' The countess was about to have her punished; and as the beggar, being disturbed in her mind, turned away, she wished that the countess, who was then *enciente*, might have, at one birth, as many children as there were days in the year. To prove this, there are the old memorials and manuscripts at Utrecht. May God for ever be praised and glorified. Amen." The following extract of a letter from the Hague contains some additional details relating to this wonderful affair :—"On the 20th of March, 1748, a friend took me to Loosdein, five miles from the Hague, to view two brass basins, in which it is recorded that 365 children, born by Margaret, countess of Henneberg, at one birth, were baptized. Accordingly, when we entered the church, I saw a long inscription on the wall, giving the following account :—That the said countess, in 1276, having upbraided a poor woman with twins in her arms, as unchaste, insinuating that one man could not get both at once, so provoked the honest woman, that she wished her ladyship, then with child, might bring forth as many children at a birth as there are days in the year. And this wish, or rather curse, says the inscription, was fulfilled upon the uncharitable Margaret, who was delivered of 365 children, who were all baptized by Guido Suffragan of Utrecht, the males being named *John*, and the females *Elizabeth*; and they and their mother all died the same day. I also saw the two brass basins, with this distich under them :—

"En tibi monstrosum nimis et memorabile factum,
Quale nec a mundi conditione datum."

—*The Edinburgh Topographical, Traditional, and Antiquarian Magazine*, pp. 110, 111.

to me and my babys, and so misbelieving of my having these children honestly and at one birth, may God convince your Lady^{p}. by giving you as many as there be days in the year; and so it happened, as is gen^{ly} there believed and reported.[9]

In this province of Holland, this winter, 1651, we had the satisfaction to see many of the King's officers, who escaped from Worcester fight,[10] it being *solamin* (a sorry one) *miseries socios habuisse doloris.* But all the entertainment w^{h} travel gave his Lo^{p} was full of pain and throes (like a woman's travell in child-bearing) for he cou'd have no comfort (or but very little) till he was delivered from that captivity in that Babilon of religions and nations. His earthly treasure was in Ireland, and his heart was there also; and when the hopes of his Majesty's success in England ever dashed in that kingdom, (as in the other two) out of his grief for those disasters, an hope arose (for his good God always supported his mind) that his enemies being now out of fears of royalists, he should be permitted to return home, where he might wait for better times and opportunities to serve his Majesty.

It was very lucky I had the happiness to see his Lo^{p}. because bound to my studies; and but this once I accompanied him to any village or town. When we were at Hunsterdyke,[11] and gen^{ly} alwheres (but publick certain rated ordinarys, where his Lo^{p}. could hardly be unknown) he kept himself so as to pass for a Gent^{m}. and we strove to do so; in this dorp.[12] Ensign Simeon Erskin[13] was then his Lo$^{p's}$ only serv^{t}. L^{t} Col. Geo. Stewart[14] (S^{r}. Robert afores$^{d's}$ son), Cap^{t}. Hugh Mont-

[9] *Believed and reported.*—The foregoing story attracted the attention of Howell, who made himself familiar with the ideas and traditions of the people in whatever place he visited. His account is as follows:—"That wonder of nature is a church monument, where an earl and a lady are engraved with 365 children about them, which were all delivered at one birth; they were half male, half female; the two basins in which they were christened hang still in the church, and the bishop's name who did it; and the story of this miracle, with the year and the day of the month mentioned, which is not yet 200 years ago; and the story is this:—That the countess walking about her door after dinner, there came a begger-woman with two children upon her back, to beg alms; the countess asking whether those children were her own, she answered, she had them both at one birth, and by one father, who was her husband. The countess would not only not give her any alms, but reviled her bitterly, saying it was impossible for one man to get two children at once; the begger-woman being thus provoked with ill words, and without alms, fell to imprecations, that it should please God to shew his judgment upon her, and that she might bear at one birth as many children as there be days in the year, which she did before the same year's end, having never born child before."—Howell's *Familiar Letters, Domestic and Foreign*, 1726, p. 92. Sir John Carr, during a tour in Holland, visited the village of *Loosduynen* in 1806, and found that the villagers, even then, were believers in the miracle. "A Dutch author," he says, "has gone so far as to declare that he had seen the 365 children of the countess of Henesberg, and with pleasant minuteness describes them to be of the size of shrimps, and Erasmus believed the story. Those who have the hardihood to differ from such authorities explain away the miracle by stating that on the *third* day of January the beggar wished the countess, who expected to lie in every hour, might have as many children as there had been days in the year, and that she, on that day, was delivered of *three children.*"—*Tour through Holland*, p. 178. Evelyn is silent respecting this story of the countess of Henneberg, but he tells us, vol. i., p. 17, of another feminine feat almost equally wonderful:—"They showed us a cottage," (near the Hague) says he, "where dwelt a woman who had been married to her twenty-fifth husband, and, being now a widow, was prohibited to marry in future, yet it could not be proved that she had ever made any of her husbands away, though the suspicion had brought her divers times into trouble."

[10] *Worcester fight.*—In this battle Cromwell utterly routed the English and Scottish forces, killing 3,550, and taking 5,000 prisoners. This crowning victory for the commonwealth was won on Sunday, the 3rd of September, 1651—just twelve months after the great defeat of the Scots at Dunbar.

[11] *Hunsterdyke.*—See p. 196, *supra*.

[12] *In this dorp.*—This word is now generally written *dort*, a well-known Scottish term signifying a fit of sullen melancholy. Sibbald, in his glossary to the *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, derives it from *trotsigh*, *tortigh*, 'arrogant or supercilious.' It is now generally used in the plural number, *in the dorts* being a common and not enviable condition.

[13] *Simeon Erskin.*—This person was probably related to viscount Montgomery, through his grandmother, who was a daughter of sir William Erskine. See pp. 92, 141, *supra*.

[14] *Geo. Stewart.*—Son of sir Robert Stewart. This gentleman resided afterwards at Culmore, near Derry, and is supposed to have been the founder of the family of Stewart

gomery[15] and myself, had that afternoon walked from the Hague with his Lo^p. as if we had been fellows. We went to a tavern in Hunsterdyke afores^d, and we had all got an apetite for victuals; so after two or three stoops of Rhenish (without distinction of hats or any extraordinary deference one to another), Simon and I were dispatched for meat; we had a cold veal py, but did not price it. This gave but small suspicion there was any Lord in company, yet for all the restraint that was on us all, that we should not drop one word or action w^h might discover that there was a Nobleman amongst us; yet this huisbrow[16] and her maid watched like cats, peeped and perceived it. I did (and so did the rest) wonder at it, yet the matter was not so difficult to know, for notwithstanding the settled melancholy w^h was in his Lo^p's heart, yet the rays of his noble soul often broke the prison and sprang out at his eyes, features, and presence, which were always (and when unafflicted) seen in his Lo^p's. generous countenance: and so we lost our labour of conversing in mascarade. In short, the landlady brought in all to maal bill[17] (without paper), ag^t w^h we objected; for it was five times the price of the wine (w^h we drank liberally and wherein we agreed.) Then the covetous, imperious, wretched woman put into the scale (to make the bill relevant) imperious, the py, then the bread, butter, chees, small beer, spitting in the room, the smoaking, her pictures and attendance, and chiefly she urged there was a great Lord there; bidding us in plain Dutch words be content and pay willingly, for if the Prince of Orange was there she would not abate one doit.[18]

His Lo^p's exile continued long after this time, winter, 1651, that the King's armys and friends in all his three kingdoms were defoiled and broken.[19] Then his Lo^p. (the spring time following, or thereabouts) caused solicit O. C. (who had made the capitulation afores^d) to allow his return home, which was granted by the Rump[20] (so was the fagg end of the long parliament called), but with all he must appear before the Council at Whitehall,[21] where (as an innocent) I was petitioning for my

in the county of Wicklow. See pp. 156, 157, 182, 189, *supra*. Lodge, *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., p. 244.

[15] *Hugh Montgomery.*—This was son of Mr. James Montgomery, curate of Greyabbey, and Elizabeth Lindsay, granddaughter of John Shaw of Greenock. By both his father and mother, therefore, he was related to the Montgomerys of Newtown and Rosemount. He is afterwards mentioned by the author as his "fellow-traveller in the usurping times." He appears to have been a sort of guardian to the author, William Montgomery, whilst the latter was compelled to reside in Holland.

[16] *Huisbrow.*—Huisbrow is a misprint for *hausfrau*, housewife or landlady.

[17] *Maal bill.*—*Maal* is also written *mal* and *mahl*, signifying meal or repast. The landlady in this instance charged for each repast without taking the trouble of making out a regular account in writing.

[18] *Abate one doit.*—Latin *digitus*, Dutch *duyt*, Scotch *doyght*. This word literally denotes so much brass as can be covered by the tip of the finger. The Dutch *duyt* or doit was value for the eighth part of a penny, or half a farthing. The small copper coin of this name, formerly current in Scotland, was equal to one penny *Scots*, or half a *bodle*. In *Poems in the Buchan Dialect*, p. 19, there is the following illustration:—

"The famous Hector did na care
A *doit* for a' your dird."

"No worth a doit" is a phrase applied in Scotland, and in many parts of Ulster, to a person in extreme poverty. Pope introduces the word in one of his poems thus:—

"In Anna's wars, a soldier poor and old,
Had dearly earned a little purse of gold;
Tired with his tedious march, one luckless night,
He slept, poor dog, and lost it to a *doit*."

—See Jamieson's and Johnson's *Dictionaries*.

[19] *Defoiled and broken.*—The royal cause expired in England at the battle of Worcester; in Ireland, at the fall of Limerick; and in Scotland, at the battle of Dunbar. The strife was weakly maintained for a short time afterwards in Scotland by the earl of Glencairn, general Middleton, sir Arthur Forbes, and sir George Monro, but the contest was virtually ended at Dunbar.

[20] *Rump.*—See p. 194, *supra*.

[21] *Council at Whitehall.*—See p. 182, note 25, *supra*. Soon after the appointment of the council of state, in February, 1649, the members resolved that their meetings should be held at Whitehall instead of Derby House. Accordingly, on the 28th of May, the warrant for the clearing of Whitehall was issued, and required to be put into immediate execution by the serjeant-at-arms. After that day, the meetings of the council were discontinued at Derby House and held at Whitehall. On the 24th of May, the council had reported to the parliament its desire that "those houses and parks under named be kept for the

birth-right at least to be admitted (no other Protestant) to a composition.[22] I was in Westminster from June, 1652, to May, 1653; and when his Lo^p^ came thither, he made the required appearance afores^d^. No sooner had his Lo^p^ received his passport for Dublin, to appear there in like manner, but he hasted gladly away, for he might be put to keep Major-Gen^l^. Rob^t^. Munro company (whom we divers times formerly visited in the tower.)[23] Then being so dismissed, his Lo^p^ bro^t^ me with him to Dublin, and we loytered not by the way. His Lo^p^ having arrived at Dublin, he presented his letters to the council and after some short stay, he came home and now obtained a breathing

public use of the Commonwealth and not sold—viz., Whitehall House and St. James's Park, St. James's House, Somerset House, Hampton Court and the Home Park, Theobald's and the Park, Windsor and the little Park next the House, Greenwich House and Park, Hide Park."—Bisset's *Omitted Chapters in English History*, p. 101. "The minutes of the council of state," says this writer at pp. 118—123, "lay open the whole system of the machinery by which the government called the Commonwealth of England did its work in a manner and to an extent of which, as far as I know, no other State papers in existence furnish an example. While those minutes show with what indefatigable diligence, with what rapid promptitude, unremitting vigilance and courage, that work was done; the results prove, by the most infallible test, success, that the statesmanship which predominated in its council of state was as sure-footed as it was energetic and laborious. . . . The result abundantly proves that a council of executive administration actually, and not merely nominally, consisting of a number exceeding thirty members, was found to possess unity, secrecy, expedition; in short, all the qualities which such a body ought to possess; for never did any government in any age or country evince greater ability for administration than this council of state did at a time when contending single-handed against nearly all the world."

[22] *To a composition.*—This was a very difficult work for the author, and at first it seemed as if utterly hopeless. His father's well-known and unfaltering devotion to the royal cause had doubtless hardened the republican authorities generally against any claims to restoration put forward by the son. Fortunately for him, however, the Cromwells—Oliver and Henry—were not the obdurate and high-handed patriots which many of their adherents proved to be, and which eventually lost to them all that the genius and valour of the former had won. We have an illustration of this in our author's case. When he applied to the council for permission to compound for his father's estate, in other words, that it should not be wholly sequestered—but that he should be allowed a portion of its rents for his support—the reply of the council was to the effect that *they did not know him at all!* He had probably not asked for more than a *third part* of the profits of his estate, which was the proportion that protestant delinquents generally were allowed by the commonwealth to enjoy. William Montgomery afterwards appealed to the Protector himself, and obtained a letter from Cromwell, dated 30th September, 1657, in which the latter "thought fit to let the members of council know that William Montgomery should have, and enjoy to his own use, one full *moiety* of all lands, goods, debts, credits, and chattels, as he has made, or shall hereafter make appear, to have belonged to his late father." This letter is preserved in the Council Book kept in the Birmingham Tower, Dublin. Such liberal conduct on the part of Cromwell was in keeping with his publicly expressed opinions on various occasions in reference to the hardships inflicted on individuals by his officials, probably under the stern pressure of necessity to provide for the expenses of the government. "One day in November, 1652, Cromwell, in the course of a conversation with Whitelock, whom he had met in St. James's park, amid some just enough objections against the parliament, such as their designs to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands, also stated their meddling in the institution of parliaments, and their unjustness and partiality in these matters. . . . Cromwell, in his speech of the 12th of September, 1654, told the parliament then assembled, 'poor men, under their arbitrary power, were driven like flocks of sheep, by forty in the morning, to the confiscation of goods, and estates, without any man being able to give a reason that two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling.'"—Bisset, *History of the Commonwealth of England*, vol. ii., p. 423.

[23] *Visited in the tower.*—Monro had been sent a prisoner from Carrickfergus in 1648, and was thus in the fifth year of his imprisonment, in 1653. Although a captive, he had personal influence with the Cromwells, arising from his having had the command of the Scotch troops which were afterwards commanded by Henry Cromwell in Ireland. To Monro's interposition, Mr. Banks, in his sketch of the life of sir William Alexander, ascribes the comparatively generous treatment which the third viscount Montgomery received at the hands of the Cromwells, father and son. Although lord Montgomery was among those excepted from pardon of life and estate, in 1649, yet he was soon permitted to return from exile and compound for his estates. He was subjected unnecessarily at times to indignities and losses through some of Cromwell's Irish officials, but he was no longer outlawed than the circumstances of his case required. Mr. Banks in noticing the re-marriage of Jean Alexander, the second viscountess Montgomery, with general Robert Monro says:—"This marriage was probably attended with many felicitous circumstances, as well for the protection and happiness of her late husband's family, as for that of her father. Her (former) husband the 2nd Viscount Montgomery had died in the Royal Cause, and her eldest son, the next (3rd) Viscount, had suffered much both in person and fortune in supporting the same: but through the influence of her then husband, the generous-minded General Monro, he was enabled to make his peace with Cromwell, and be permitted to return, and remain undisturbed at his own House, and enjoy the undisturbed society of his relatives and friends."

time for some months) to enjoy himself with his Lady and children, and his mother, sister, and brother, to their mutual great comfort, and the rejoicings of the whole country; where I was before him, Dublin not suiting with my light purse.

Now when I contemplate on his Lo$^{p's}$ past and future sufferings, I am sometimes drawn to think of the worldly implicities w^{h} (invariable times) attended persons of great spirit (such as his Lo^{p}) when as their neighbours (like his) of mean capacity in mind are suffered to rest at home unsuspected.[24] This seems to be hard measure, but it is a fate imposed on the noble souls for their outward glory, to go *per ardua ad alta*, and to make them strive for true happiness, and so the said way is the high road to Heaven also.

But now again his Lo^{p} was commanded up to Dublin (for his compositions business requr^{d} his attend^{ce}) therefore his Lo^{p} took with him his Lady and children, and settled them at Milifont (his brother-in-law the L^{d} Visc^{t} Moore's stately capacious house[25]) where hospitality was kindly given to them and requitted by allowance out of the interest payable for the forbearance of ceding the staple bonds given for security of paying the marriage (portion) money afores^{d}. But it seems the deluge of troubles was not abated, for tho' his Lo^{p} was let out of confinement and was abroad and might fly whither he pleased, yet he found no station of ease to the soles of his feet at Milifont. There he must not be, nor haunt nor harbour long; for he might plot with his brother Moore, and by their respective intelligence (w^{h} came to them f^{m} their several friends) they might hold multiplied correspondence, and contrive disturbances ag^{t} the state. This made the governers at Dublin call

[24] *At home unsuspected.*—His neighbour, the earl of Clanbrassil, was not only permitted to remain at home, but was able to compound for his estate on easier terms than viscount Montgomery. A bill was introduced in the English parliament to confirm lord Clanbrassil's composition, on the 7th of March, 1656, and obtained the Protector's consent on the 9th of June following.—*English Commons Journals*, vol. vii., pp. 500, 553. When Cromwell assumed the supreme power, one of his first measures was to appoint, in September, 1654, a deputy and council for the administration of Irish affairs. His first despatch to them contained a clause requiring that all protestants, whose estates had been sequestered as delinquents, should be allowed to compound for them. The earl of Clanbrassil and viscount Montgomery petitioned to be allowed to compound under this ordinance, and they were each directed, by order of the council, dated 21st October, 1654, to "forthwith bring in a particular of his whole real estate, with titles thereto, together with what the full yearly value was worth to be let for, or might have been let for in 1640, and an estimate of what his personal estate may be now really worth, so that a final despatch of the matter may be made by the 11th of December next." Doubts, however, were entertained, for a time, as to whether viscount Montgomery was entitled to the privilege of compounding at all. On the 24th of January, 1657, there is a memorandum of council to the effect that lord Ardes' report of the value of his estates was not satisfactory as regarded certain alleged mortgages and incumbrances, and it was therefore sent back to be amended. On the 12th of February, 1657, the council ordered that, "on consideration of a report from the auditor-general of the exchequer, the lord Ards be admitted to compound for his real and personal estate for the sum of £3,000, to be paid in four equal gales." For the above extracts from the Council Books preserved in the Birmingham Tower, Dublin Castle, the editor is indebted to the kindness of William Pinkerton, Esq., F.S.A., Hounslow, London.

[25] *Stately capacious house.*—See p. 45, *supra*. "The stately capacious house" of Mellifont was constructed by rebuilding portions of the celebrated old abbey, and thus converting it into a commodious family residence. This was done by sir Edward Moore, the first of the family to whom the abbey and lands were granted by queen Elizabeth, in 1565. The banquetting room at Mellifont House was constructed from the beautiful chapel of St. Bernard, once the pride of the abbey. Mellifont, which is distant about five miles from Drogheda, in the romantic valley of the Mattock, continued to be the principal residence of the Moores until the time of the fifth earl of Drogheda, who was drowned in his passage from England to Dublin, in October, 1758, and who had previously removed his family from Mellifont to Monastereven, now Moore Abbey, in the county of Kildare. The family at Mellifont, whose hospitality was so grateful to the third viscount Montgomery and his household in 1653, consisted of Henry Moore, afterwards first earl of Drogheda, his lady Alice, who was a daughter of William, lord Spencer of Worm Layton, together with their three sons, Charles, Henry, and William, the two former of whom became in succession the second and third earls of Drogheda; and their three daughters, Alice, Mary, and Penelope, who afterwards became, respectively, the countess of Clanbrassil, the countess of Dalhousie, and lady Slane.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 92—108.

his Lo^p up hither, both to take away the comfort of that society and his conveniency of living cheaper and more retired than elsewhere.[26] Likewise, at Newtown (among the disaffected) his Lo^p must not be suffered to stay, with his friends and tenants and former officers dwelling in neighbourhood. That place was too far from their jealous eye and from a ready close lodgings in Dublin Castle. The s^d Newtown was too near Scotland,[27] w^h (about this time) was uneasy to those prevalent usurpers, by reason of Glencairn's,[28] S^r Arthur Forbeses[29] and s^d S^r Geo. Monro's,[30] &c. parties, which stood up for the King a great while in the unpacefied lands.

[26] *Than elsewhere.*—The "governors at Dublin" in 1653 were lieutenant-general Charles Fleetwood, lieutenant-general Edmund Ludlow, Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John Weaver, esqrs., commissioners of government under the parliament.—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. i., part ii., p. 7. Fleetwood was commander-in-chief of the army, besides being thus associated with the others in the civil government. These commissioners declared by proclamation that the rebellion had now been finally quelled and the war in Ireland concluded, thus announcing the cessation of martial law throughout the whole country. The commissioners forthwith commenced to raise money for the purpose of granting pensions to all who had been wounded or disabled in the public service, and also to provide for the widows and children of such as had fallen in battle. The forfeited lands were assigned exclusively to satisfy the full arrears of those soldiers who had served from the time of Cromwell's arrival, in August, 1649. To those who had borne arms prior to that period, no more was assigned than a small portion of lands in Wicklow and the adjacent counties, which was not sufficient to pay more than a quarter of the arrears due to them. This deficiency was supposed to arise from the difficulty experienced by the authorities of 1653 in distinguishing between those of that number of soldiers who were then friendly to the parliament and those who were not.—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. i., part i., p. 71.

[27] *Too near Scotland.*—This remark is the expression of a literal fact; for it was well known that the English government and parliament were always expecting hostile purposes on the part of the Ulster Scots.—See the extract from Parliamentary Debates in 1656, quoted from Burton's *Diary*, at page 65, *supra*.

[28] *Glencairn.*—This was William Cunningham, ninth earl of Glencairn, who had been appointed a colonel of the forces raised in 1644, throughout the counties of Ayr and Renfrew, to place these districts in a posture of defence. He afterwards commanded the royalist forces with great ability in the Highland campaign of 1653–4. Of this campaign, or rather expedition, a minute and interesting account has been preserved by John Graham of Deuchrie, who was one of Glencairn's most active and gallant officers. The reader may see his narrative quoted entire in Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i, pp. 129, 132. In 1661, Glencairn was appointed principal sheriff of Ayrshire, and baillie of Kyle-Stewart for life. At the time of his death, in 1664, he held the appointment of lord chancellor of Scotland.

[29] *Sr Arthur Forbeses.*—Sir Arthur Forbes was grandson of William Forbes of Corse, in Lochiel and Cushnie, Aberdeenshire. The lands of Corse originally came into the possession of the Forbes family in the year 1476, when James III. granted them to his armourbearer, Patrick Forbes, third son of James, second lord Forbes. who, in 1482, obtained a charter, under the great seal, of the barony of O'Neill, comprising the lands of Coul, Kincragy, and le Corss. Patrick Forbes was succeeded in this property by his son David; David by his son Patrick; and Patrick by his son William, who was grandfather of the officer mentioned in the text. The father of sir Arthur Forbes came to Ireland, and settled in the county of Longford, about the year 1622. Soon after his coming he was able to enrich himself by the discovery of several fishings in Ulster, which were supposed rightfully to belong to the crown by forfeiture, and which were afterwards granted to Forbes, together with the sum of £300, as a reward for his becoming informer in this matter. His son zealously espoused the royal cause in Scotland, in conjunction with Glencairn, sir George Monro, and general Middleton. On the failure of their efforts in 1654, he returned to Ireland, and was permitted by the parliament to hold his estates in the counties of Longford and Leitrim, in consideration that he had never opposed the parliamentary authority in Ireland. He was afterwards an active agent in the restoration of Charles II. In 1684 he was created earl of Granard, and died in 1695, leaving a family by his wife, Catharine, a daughter of sir Robert Newcomen of Mosstown, in the county of Longford. This lady had been previously married to sir Alexander Stewart, who was slain at the battle of Dunbar.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland, Aberdeenshire*, pp. 1109–1117; Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 193–5.

[30] *Sir Geo. Monro.*—Sir George was of the family of Fowlis, and was nephew or son-in-law (probably both) to general Robert Monro. He was always a steady royalist, and served with distinction, although generally without success, in Scotland and in Ulster. The author of *The Montgomery Manuscripts* states, p. 191, *supra*, that Monro was blamed for mismanagement at the battle of Lisnastrain. Graham of Deuchrie, has left the following account of a quarrel between sir George Monro and lord Glencairn, at a place called Lochearne, where there was a gathering of Highland royalists, in August, 1653. At a meeting in Glencairn's quarters, the latter, addressing general lord Middleton, said—"My lord general, you see what a gallant army these worthy gentlemen present (viz., Macdonnell of Glengarry, Cameron of Lochiel, Graham of Deuchrie, MacGregor of Invereg, Robertson of Strowan, and Macnachtane of Macnachtane) and I have gathered together, at a time when it could hardly be expected that any member durst meet; these men have come out to serve his majesty at the hazard of their lives, and of all that is dear to them; I hope, therefore, you will give them

When his Lo^p^ had stayed at Dublin a while under their malevolent aspects (especially Forbitt's evil eye)[31] who told his Lo^p^ he hoped to see his head off, allowance was given to his Lo^p^ (for recovering his health, much impaired at Dublin), that he might retire to the L^d^ of Howth's (on his warranty of his being forth-coming when called for). This was his Lo^p's^ next best retreat, he had a full freedom and the delightful and endearing company of (always) his most beloved Lady and sweet children, and of the ladys of the house, they being his kindred by blood;[32] tho' by this re-

all the encouragement to do their duty that lies in your power." On this up started sir Geo. Monro from his seat, and said to lord Glencairn—"By G—, my lord, the men you speak of are nothing but a number of thieves and robbers; and, ere long, I will bring another sort of men to the field." On which, Glengarry started up, thinking himself most concerned; but lord Glencairn desired him to forbear, saying—"Glengarrie, I am more concerned in this affront than you are." Then, addressing himself to Monro, said—"You, sir, are a base liar; for they are neither thieves nor robbers, but gallant gentlemen, and good soldiers." This affair ended in a duel between Glencairn and Monro, in which the latter was vanquished, but not slain. Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., pp. 130, 131. The reader may see notices of this sir George Monro in Mackay's *House and Clan of Mackay*, pp. 296, 325, 368, 385, 392, 460.

[31] *Forbitt's evil eye.*—Forbitt is a misprint for *Corbitt* or *Corbett*. This was Miles Corbett, who was sent to Dublin by Cromwell, in 1653, as a commissioner for the regulation of forfeited estates, in which office he was associated with sir John Temple, grandfather of the first viscount Palmerston. Their duty as commissioners was to consider how the titles to forfeited estates in Ireland, and likewise the delinquencies of their owners, according to their respective claims or qualifications, might be most speedily and exactly adjudicated, without prejudice to the public interest, or injustice to individuals. Corbett was afterwards appointed chief baron, when the Rump parliament resumed its sittings after the death of Cromwell. He assisted also in administering the affairs of the Irish government during the interval between Henry Cromwell's resignation of the lord lieutenancy and the arrival of the three regularly appointed commissioners, Jones, Basill, and Goodwin. On the Restoration in 1660, Corbett, colonel Jones, and general Ludlow were impeached together for treasonable practices in Ireland, but Corbett made his escape, for a time, to the continent. When the royalists, however, got thoroughly settled in their seats of authority, he was treacherously seized, in 1662, by a former associate, and brought to England. On the 12th of March, in that year, Samuel Pepys made the following entry in his *Diary*:—"This morning, we had news from Mr. Coventry that Sir G. Downing, like a perfidious rogue, though the action is good, and of service to the King, yet he cannot with a good conscience do it, hath taken Okey, Corbet, and Barkestead at Delfe, in Holland, and sent them home in the *Blackamore*. Sir W. Pen, talking to me this afternoon of what a strange thing it is for Downing to do this, told me of a speech he (Downing) had made to the Lords States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observance now that he was when he came from the traitor and rebell, Cromwell;—by whom, I am sure, he got all that he hath in the world, and they know it, too." This Downing had been formerly a chaplain to Okey, whom he afterwards betrayed. Through his employer's interest he was sent by Cromwell to Holland as a resident agent there. At the Restoration he became a violent royalist, was knighted, elected M.P. for Morpeth, appointed secretary to the treasury and commissioner of the customs, created baronet of East Heatley in Cambridgeshire, and again sent to Holland as an ambassador from the court of Charles II. On the 19th of April, 1662, Pepys made the following entry:—"This morning I went to Aldgate, and at the corner shop, a draper's, I stood and saw Barkestead, Okey, and Corbet drawne towards the gallows at Tiburne; and there they were hanged and quartered. They all looked very cheerful; but I hear they all died defending what they did to the King to be just, which is very strange.—*Diary*, edited by lord Braybrooke, vol. i. pp. 264, 272. Corbitt's memory is stained by certain arbitrary and cruel acts done by him in Ireland. Among these, was his taking forcible "possession of Malahide castle, six miles northward from Dublin, the ancestral seat of the ancient English family of the Talbots from before the days of King John. The chief baron's house and family, it appears, had been visited by the plague in the summer of 1653; wherefore, he got an order for Malahide castle, then occupied by Mr. John Talbot, ancestor of the present Lord Talbot de Malahide, who was ordered instantly to transplant to Connaught, and the chief baron, at Christmas, took up his residence at Malahide castle."—*Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, new series, vol. iii., p. 172. Corbett's treatment of the Bagnalls of Dunleckney was still more shocking. As one of the government, he authorised the detention of colonel Bagnall, although a hostage, and afterwards sanctioned his execution, which was superintended by Axtell, at Kilkenny, and which occasioned the death of his wife soon afterwards. A John Corbett, nephew (or as some supposed the son) of Miles Corbett, was put into possession of Bagnall's lands of Dunleckney, and soon afterwards married a daughter of the man who had fallen a victim to their heartless policy!—*Ibid*, pp. 71, 73.

[32] *Kindred by blood.*—This relationship arose from the marriage of his grand-uncle, bishop George Montgomery's only child Jane, with Nicholas St. Lawrence, twenty-third lord of Howth. The family at Howth castle at that period consisted of old lady Howth (Jane Montgomery), together with her son William, twenty-fourth baron Howth, and her two unmarried daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret. Her eldest daughter, Susanna, married Michael St. Lawrence, esq., and her third daughter, Frances, had become the third wife of sir James Montgomery of Rosemount. She died in 1648.—Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 201.

e he must make his purse lighter, w^h^ was troublesome for weight, since S^r^ Luis Dives[33] saw him, ing exhausted by the publick service, by his removals, banishm^ts^, and many confinements, as be further s^d^ hereafter.

I do believe the usurpers had it for a necessary maxim to impoverise the Royal Party, pinching a by considerable crooked serpentine ways last spoken of, and by their composition money untolerable taxes on their lands (whereof their rents must answer near to the half, having no ideration of creditors; but that they might take the other half moiety, and so starve the family, also by tying them to all attendancies as afores^d^. This hardship (used to such as his Lo^p^) must, e them to borrow money, w^h^ cou'd not be had but on land and personal collateral security, if any of Oliver's men (who had the baggs) lent. What the other party needed, those huksters , from robbers, were now become usurpers) for sure w^d^ put them to expensive suits at law, as nd in my own case; for Colo. Barrowston[34] (at one and the same time) sued myself and both ail kinsmen severally; or else if any of those pinched Cavaliers (so K. C^h^. the first's party called, as the parliament's were nicknamed Roundheads)[35] had money to spare, they wanted

Sir Luis Dives.—See p. 181, *supra.*

Colo. Barrowston.—Barrowston is a misprint for *w's son.* Colonel Robert Barrow succeeded colonel bles in command of the forces in northern Ulster. 52, the government of the commonwealth let the and house of Rosemount, the author's property, forfeited estate to this colonel Barrow, whose son ards acted in the manner complained of in the text. el Barrow was quite a decided *religionist*, professing ptist principles in opposition to the independents and terians. He signed the order in 1651, for the re- of such presbyterian ministers as could not submit government of the commonwealth. This order was afterwards relaxed; but Adair states that in 1654, Barrow resided in Down (no doubt at Rosemount), as excited against the presbyterians by "the old pal party, who, now when the power was out of own hands, to afflict the Presbytery, did insinuate on who had power, as they did now with the sectaries, ense them against the liberty the ministers had, and t their discipline and public solemnities at com- ons, &c.; besides, suggesting that these their meetings dangerous to the state, and that they had therein ltations for strengthening their own faction. This ought with an Anabaptist governor, Colonel Barrow, county of Down, that he became highly incensed, jealous of these meetings, and resolved to use his vours to obtain an order for suppressing them." , however, goes on to state that an acquaintance rrow having been present at the celebration of the union held by the presbyterians of Portaferry, re- d so favourably of them and their religious services, "Colonel Barrow, being a man pretending to much , and though of Anabaptist principles, yet not of a ious disposition, from this time had more respect to inisters, and used not his interest to suppress their in the country."—*True Narrative*, pp. 180, 207,

Cavaliers—Roundheads.—These terms were invariably oyed by the two parties towards each other in reproach ontempt. The royalists were regarded by their opponents as a crew of atheists, papists, and voluptuaries; whilst the roundheads were believed by the cavaliers to be simply a parcel of knaves, hypocrites, and traitors. The latter were called *roundheads* because they cropped their hair short, "dividing it," says the writer of the *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 100, "into so many little peaks, as was something ridiculous to behold." "The godly of those days," he continues, "when the colonel embraced their party would not allow him to be religious, because his hair was not in their cut, nor his words in their phrase."—Lingard, *History of England*, vol. viii., p. 3, *note.* William Lilly, in his *Monarchy or No Monarchy in England*, part ii., edition of 1651, describes the roundheads thus:—"Most of them were either such as had public spirits, or lived a more religious life than the vulgar, and were usually called Puritans, and had suffered under the tyranny of the bishops. In the general they were very honest men and well-meaning: some particular fools, or others, perhaps, now and then, got in amongst them greatly to the disadvantage of the more sober. They were modest in their apparel, but not in their language; they had the hair of their heads very few of them longer than their ears, whereupon it came to pass that those who usually with their cries attended at Westminster, were by a nickname called Roundheads." The contemptuous names of cavalier and roundhead were first publicly used by the two parties towards each other during the tumults and riots of the 23rd and 24th of December, 1641. "That the word *Cavalier*, not necessarily a term of reproach, was unquestionably used in that sense on the occasion of these tumults (probably to connect its French origin with the un-English character of the defenders of the Queen and her French papist adherents to whom it was chiefly applied), appears from the fact that it is bandied about in declarations alternately issued on the eve of the year by the parliament and the king; the latter speaking of it more than once as a word much in disfavour. And, after the standard on either side was unfurled—nay, when the battle of Edgehill had been fought—Charles elaborately accuses his antagonists, 'pretenders to peace and charity,' he calls them; charging them also with a 'hateful attempt to render

not good will to lend it to their distressed comrades and fellow-sufferers for loyalty: then the disbursing that or any other ways did weaken them all; but these intruding rulers delighted most to see the King's friends worry one another at law, and perhaps they put our 3d Viscᵗ. to the greater hardships that his necessity might force him to sue his brother Moore aforsᵈ.;[36] for they encouraged privately animositys among the loyalists, and publicly let loose upon them all their creditors like fierce mastives, whom the wars had for some years chained up.[37] Our Viscᵗ. had no reason obliging

all persons of honour, courage, and reputation, odious to the common people, under the style of Cavaliers, insomuch as the highways and villages have not been safe for gentlemen to pass through without violence or affront.' Even in the very earliest popular songs on the king's side, the word has not the place it afterwards assumed, and one meets with royalist poets of a comparatively sober vein—

"Who neither love for fashion nor for fear,
As far from Roundhead as from Cavalier."

D'Ewes's earliest uses of the word in his *MS. Journal* I find under dates of Monday, 10th January; and Friday, March 4th, 1641–2; and Friday, 3rd June, 1642. In the first he is speaking of parties who had been seen suspiciously entering the tower; in the second, of the Cavaliers at Whitehall, who wounded the citizens; and in the last, of the king's party in Yorkshire. Of the word *Roundhead*, on the other hand, and the mixed fear and hatred it represented and provoked, decidedly the most characteristic example is furnished by the ever quaint and entertaining bishop Hackett, who (*Scrinia Reserata*, ii., 207,) tells a story of a certain honest and worthy vicar of Hampshire who always (in such manner as to evade the notice of one section of his hearers while he secretly pleased the other) changed one word in the last verse of the *Te Deum*:—O Lord in thee have I trusted, *let me never be a Roundhead.*"—Forster, *Arrest of the Five Members by Charles the First*, pp. 62, 63, *note*. Baxter, *Narrative*, p. 34, accounts for the origin of the name *Roundhead* thus:—"The original of which name is not certainly known. Some say it was because the Puritans then commonly wore short hair, and the king's party long hair. Some say it was because the Queen at Strafford's trial asked who that round-headed man was, meaning Pym, because he spake so strongly." Rushworth, iii., 1247, referring to a violent expression of one captain David Hide, viz., that "heᵈ cut the throats of those round-headed dogs that bawled against bishops," observes that it, "as far as I could ever learn, was the first miniting of that term or compellation of Roundheads which afterwards grew so general." By the word "miniting" in this sentence, Forster thinks that Rushworth meant *minting or coinage*. Hide used the term on the 27th December, but it had been freely used in the riots of the 23rd and the 24th of the same month. See *Arrest of the Five Members*, p. 62, and page 185, *note*. For notices of the cavaliers and roundheads, see also Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i., pp. 101—4.

[36] *Brother Moore aforesᵈ.*—Viscount Montgomery at this period had been reduced to great distress, indeed to absolute want, by the delays of officials in making arrangements about his composition. In April, 1656, he was allowed £4 per week by the council, to relieve his necessities in prison. On October 18, same year, he obtained £100, to be repaid when he could compound, and on 31st January, he was allowed £20 on same terms.—*Council Book in Birmingham Tower, Dublin.* Henry Moore, brother of lady Montgomery, had given bonds of the staple, as security for her marriage dowry, but was unable, from the pressure of weightier debts, to meet viscount Montgomery's claim. Viscount Moore was but a life-renter in his estate, and to add to his embarrassments, the parliament sequestered his property. On his petition, in April, 1653, "he was permitted to enjoy one full third part thereof, and to receive the issues and profits till further order, paying contribution, and other country charges; also upon his further setting forth, that his estate was extended for the satisfaction of a debt to Walter Burrowes and others, and liable to several other burthens, whereby he was reduced, and like to continue in a very sad and distressed condition, without any manner of relief for the support of himself and family; the government, 10 October, 1653, ordered, that his house of Mellefont, the park with the deer therein, and 300 acres of land, in such places next adjoining, and lying close together, as he should chuse, should be exempted from the power of such extents, for the maintenance of himself and family. And further, upon his petition touching a composition for his estate, an order of reference was directed, 10 January, 1654, to the commissioners general of the revenue, requiring them to consider thereof; who returned that the total of his yearly estate did amount to £4087 15s and that the yearly quit-rents payable thereout were £611 3s 6d that he might be admitted to compound for the remainder, being £3476 11s 6d, at two years' purchase, amounting to £6953 3s. And his lordship returning his personal estate to be worth £200 only, he was to pay £20 for that by way of fine, for which he had an order of composition, 5 February, to pay the same as follows, viz. £2000 1 August, 1655, £2000 1 February, 1655, £2000 1 August, 1656, and £973 3s at or before the end of two years from 1 February, 1654."—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 106, 107. See also *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., p. 251.

[37] *Chained up.*—This conduct on the part of government officials was very different from that which Oliver Cromwell would have wished under the circumstances. In 1650, he addressed the following letter to "Collonel Hueson, governor of Dublyn," on behalf of this viscount Moore:—

"Sir,—The Lord Viscount Moore having had passes and protection from me to repaire to Mellifont, in the countie of Louthe, and there to reside during the space of six moneths next ensuing; I desire you that the said Lord Moore during his stay at Mellifont, and if he shall, during the said time, have occasion to repaire to Dublyn, to the Commission[rs] there, that he may be fairly and civilly treated and that no incivility or abuse be offered unto him, by any of the souldiery, either by restrayning of his libertie or otherwise, it being a thing weh I altogether disapprove and dislike, that the souldiers should intermeddle in civil affaires farther than they are lawfully called upon. Your care herein will obleige the said Lord

him to gratify the desires of the Government any way, much less troubling his brother Moore for his Lady's portion money to make their common enemies sport, and he was so far from suing for it that he borrowed from Dr. Colvill[38] £1000, to pay his own composition; and that portion money

in relation to his p-sent condition, and will be well accepted by—
Yr. loving ffriend,
"O. CROMWELL.

"May 22, 1650."

The tone of this letter evidently implies that there must have existed unnecessary harshness, such as the author describes in the text, in the administration of affairs at Dublin. The foregoing letter was published in the *Anthologia Hibernica*, 1793, vol. i., p. 170, being sent by Joseph C. Walker, esq., to whom the original belonged. The MS. had been previously in the possession of Dean Swift, and was endorsed by his own hand thus:—"Letter of Oliver Cromwell, g. me by Mr. J. Grattan, Nov. 14, 1736."

[38] *From Dr. Colvill.*—For this clergyman's appointments, see p. 140, *supra*. Dr. Colville's great wealth rendered him a person of much importance. He was able to lend money to hapless royalists, to give sound advice to parliamentary commissioners, and even to defy certain violent attempts at domination on the part of the presbytery. Adair's account of him, *True Narrative*, pp. 130, 131, is amusing:—"The Presbytery at this time (1646), and awhile before, did use great diligence to convince Dr. Colville of divers unsuitable carriages, both in private discourse with some of their number, and by summoning him before the presbytery, and had witnesses to prove the allegations against him. But he never appeared, except one time, before the commissioners at Belfast, when he would not direct his speech to the Moderator, but to the commissioners. He had also beforehand applied to the commissioners, vindicating himself, and insinuating on them. Upon this, they desired the Presbytery to deal with him as favourably as they could, in regard they had use for the Doctor in reference to their affairs in the country, he being a man knowing that way. The Presbytery had gone so far before the commissioners came over that he was publickly prayed for, in order to excommunication. Yet, thereafter, they found it not convenient to proceed further." Dr. Colville was reported to have been a sorcerer, and to have sold himself to the devil—a report which was probably invented to account for his great wealth. It is not improbable that among his "divers unsuitable carriages" this charge of sorcery would have had due prominence before the presbytery. The members of that body believed in witchcraft as firmly as in their own existence, and it would have been a hazardous matter, therefore, for Colville to have submitted himself to their jurisdiction. For a famous case of witchcraft, in which the rev. James Shaw of Carnmoney, and his wife, were the victims, see MS. *Minutes of the Meeting of Antrim*, from July, 1671, to December, 1691; Adair's *True Narrative*, p. 299; Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., p. 303, note. The rev. Robert Law, in his *Memorials; or, Memorable things, &c., from* 1638 *to* 1684, p. 219, tells a curious and amusing story of a woman who had lived as a servant in the house of Dr. Colville, and who, on her removal afterwards to Scotland, was charged with the crime of sorcery, which she admitted, acknowledging that she had learned the art whilst in his service, it being practised by the rev. doctor himself! This unfortunate witch, on going to Scotland, was employed as a servant in the family of major-general Robert Montgomery, fifth son of the sixth earl of Eglinton, who married the daughter of James Livingstone, first viscount Kilsythe, and resided at Irvine. From this point of the narrative we permit the rev. Robert Law to continue it in his own words, as follows:—"There being some things of silver work stollen in that house from his lady, there is a servant woman of their own they blame for them; the lass, being innocent, takes it ill, and tells them if she should raise the devil she would know who took the things that were missed, which they let pass lightly as a rash word; but she, being resolute, was as good as her word; and on a day goes down to a laich cellar, takes the Bible with her, and draws a circle about her, and turns a riddle on end twice from south to north, or from the right to the left hand, having in her hand nine feathers which she pulled out of the tail of a black cock; and having read the 51st (?) forward, she read backwards chapter ix. verse 19 of the Book of the Revelations, he appears in seaman's cloathing, with a blew cap, and asks what she would; she puts one question to him, and he answers it; and she casts three of the feathers at him, charging him to his place again; then he disappears at this time. He seemed to her to rise out of the earth to the middle body. She read again the same verse backward the second time, and he appears the second time rising out of the ground, with one leg above the ground; she asks a second question, and she casts other three feathers at him, charging him to his place; he again disappears. She reads again the third time the same verse backward, and he appears the third time with his whole body above ground (the last two times in the shape of a grim man in black cloathing, and the last time with a long tail); she asks a third question at him, and casts the last three feathers at him, charging him to his place; and he disappears. The major-general and his lady being above stairs, though not knowing what was a working, were sore affraid, and could give no reason of it, the dogs of the city making a hideous barking round about. This done, the woman, in a gast, and pale as death, comes and tells her lady who had stolen her things she missed, and that they were in such a chest in her house, belonging to some of the servants, which, being searched, was found accordingly. Some of the servants suspecting her to be about this work, tells the major of it, and tells him they saw her go down to the cellar. He lays her up in prison; and she confesses, as is before related, telling them that she had learned it in Dr. Colvin's house in Ireland, who used to practise this. This was a high tempting of God. From this anecdote, and others of a like nature, it would seem that Satan is fond of appearing in blue." See also Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., pp. 81, 82. Dr. Colville is traditionally said to have first settled as a physician in the little village of Galgorm, near Ballymena. He is reported also to have found his vast wealth in the shape of a crock of gold, whilst fishing in the Main water. Another tradition, with more probability, affirms that his riches were derived from the sale of a Scottish estate, bequeathed to him by a wealthy kinsman, who was compelled to leave

was not called for till long after his Lo$^{p's}$ death (by the ex^{rs}) for payment of his debts, which the (by misfortunes) grew up yearly and plentifully like hemlock and thistles in the furrows of his so (a minor) his estate.

This unactive manner of living at Millifont and Howth, and the temptation of a bottle of wi (which in the city was often offered and accepted f^{m} the loyalists to remove heaviness of heart, t forget poverty and to remember misery no more) made his Lo^{p} corpulent and unhealthy; yet th infirmity of his body was not regarded by Corbet and his gang, but his Lo^{p} was enjoyned to prese himself at their council door twice a week, and dance attendance there till word was sent out th he sh^{d} come in or might retire himself; which dancing (without musick) being troublesome a costly, and his Lady falling sickly at Howth, necessitated his Lo^{p} to remove her with his family dwell in Dublin, where (her Lad$^{p's}$ distemper encreasing upon her) she died, and was buried as t times w^{d} allow; and his Lo^{p} expressed his grief and her worth in an excellent elogy of his own co posure, which I have still by me.[39]

After his Lo^{p} had continued some small time in Dublin, and settled his children in Orthodox schools,[40] or had them sent to his mother, &c. After this great misfortune, whither Corbett's malicious maggot bit him, or the council for private reasons thought fit, (perhaps some of the former motives urging it) his Lo^{p} was sent prisoner to Kilkenny, where he fell sick in body (his grief in mind contributing great help to forw^{d} and encrease this disease) and there continued some months, and in long run his Lo^{p} petitioned and had leave to come to Leixlip, and to stay at Madam White's (his Lady's aunt's house) seven miles to Dublin;[41] and his Lo^{p} a little recovering, he was commanded to Dublin (where he being now a single person) was more than formerly watched by spies on his words and actions. Thus they had placed him (without promotion) in slippery places, that he might slide and fall into the pitts they had digged (and in the snares he had laid) wontly for him. Thus his Ld^{p} continued in Dublin (as it were on the brink of perdition) soliciting liberty to attend his affairs in the country, and to provide payment of his composition money. At last, upon bail he was suffered to go home, and so he did;[42] and by the way (as always his custom coming and going

Scotland, and had ended his days under the doctor's roof. See *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. ii., p. 412.

[39] *Which I have still by me.*—The third viscount's first wife, Mary Moore, died in 1655, seven years after their marriage. She was born in 1631, so that at the time of her death she was only in the twenty-fifth year of her age. She left one daughter, Jean, who died at Chester, unmarried, in 1673, and four sons, Charles, Hugh, Henry, and John, the first and last named dying when they were children.

[40] *Orthodox schools.*—By "orthodox schools" the author evidently means places of education considered free from the taint of presbyterian, puritan, or anabaptist doctrines, all which were more or less prevalent at that period in Dublin.

[41] *Seven miles from Dublin.*—This aunt of lady Montgomery was Ursula Moore, her father's eldest sister, who was married to sir Nicholas White of Leixlip, in the county of Kildare.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 100.

[42] *And so he did.*—The Council Books preserved in the Birmingham Tower, Dublin, contain a few entries referring to viscount Montgomery's frequent imprisonments. On the 21st May, 1655, there is the following:—"Touching the petition of Hugh lord Montgomery with his family, he is allowed to go into the county of Down, where his estates are, there to reside, acting nothing to the disturbance of the publick peace or present government under his Highness the Lord Protector." By a memorandum of 15th February, 1656, it appears that viscount Montgomery was imprisoned at Kilkenny; then allowed to go to Naas for his health; then to come to Dublin, being ordered to stay at Leixlip, and not to remove two miles from it. In the same year he was imprisoned in Dublin, but released on account of his health, he engaging not to act in any way prejudicially to the government. All this poverty and imprisonment he had to endure after his return from exile in Holland. The foregoing curious corroborations of the text from the Council Books were kindly supplied by William Pinkerton, Esq., F.S.A., Hounslow, London.

in possession),[48] or it was thought probable, at least, he w^d^ hold and make good his capitulations afores^d^;[49] and we found this change much to our ease and advantage, as we loyalists hoped it w^d^ be; for when Henry Cromwell came L^d^ Deputy into this realm (for the title of kingdom was rejected by former Governors) of Ireland, he had (as I was told) and do believe it, (for I was much then in Dublin about my purchased debenture)[50] secret instructions to manage the reign, and spur tenderly toward the royalists, and to conciliate (as much as he cou'd) friendship or acquiescence from them towards Oliver's government and to his successor (whom he might nominate by virtue of the instrument of Government, w^h^ he swore to observe when he was instated Protector), and this made H. C. civil also to all the fanatick factions, for they were fermenting and designing against his father, both Lambert and Fleetwood secretly contriving parties in the armies for themselves, each of them thinking to fill Oliver's chair when he died.[51] H. C. also cajoled the Presbiterian Ministers; for quiet-

[48] *In possession.*—The revenue arising from these sources was evidently not included in the foregoing statement, and must also have amounted to a very large sum. The government sequestered all episcopal and ecclesiastical revenues, and had thus possession of the entire fund accruing from such sequestration. On the 18th of July, 1649, the council of state ordered a letter to be written to Cromwell, then in Ireland, to inform him that, for supply of the £100,000 required for his military and other expenses, £30,000 would be sent from the excise in the beginning of the following week; and that it had been proposed to the council that the sum of £70,000 may be had out of the dean's and chapter's lands.—Bisset's *Omitted Chapters of the History of England*, vol. i., p. 114.

[49] *Capitulations afores^d^.*—The original capitulations made by viscount Montgomery, Marcus Trevor, and other protestant delinquents with Cromwell himself at Clonmel, in the month of April, 1650. See p. 193, note 59, *supra*.

[50] *Purchased debenture.*—Debenture (from *debeo*) was formerly written *debentur*. This term is used in several acts of parliament to denote a bond or bill by which the Government was charged to pay a creditor, or his assigns, the money due when his account was duly audited. These debentures were the means adopted by the government of the commonwealth to acknowledge its indebtedness for arrears of pay to the officers and soldiers who had been engaged in putting down that Irish rebellion which commenced in 1641 and continued until 1652. These debentures they were to hold until the forfeited lands could be distributed amongst them, in lots, proportioned to the sum in each case due. As soon as the lots could be drawn, all persons who held debentures were required to deliver them up at once to be cancelled, they receiving certificates stating the fact that their debentures had been delivered up, stating also the amount of arrears in each debenture, and the number of acres in each case, that had been set out to satisfy it. See Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 85. The necessities of the soldiers, however, would not permit even the delay required to make arrangements for thus discharging their arrears, but compelled them in most cases to sell their debentures at a great reduction. This unfortunate necessity, and its results, are noticed by Mr. Prendergast, at p. 95, as follows:—"In the interval between the surrender of the principal Irish armies, in 1652, and the perfecting of the scheme for setting out the lands in Ireland, which was not published till Michaelmas, 1653, the distress of the men, and even officers, became very great. To raise moneys for their subsistence, they were found to be selling their debentures, the poor soldiers' dearly earned wages, at inconsiderable sums, thus depriving themselves of a future comfortable subsistence intended for them by those in authority, who would never have given out the lands at such low rates, but in tenderness to the soldiery, and in order to plant the country with those poor creatures whom the Lord had preserved in hardships and dangers, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labour. Debentures were accordingly forbidden to be sold until the soldiers were actually in possession of their several allotments. . . . Often the government were obliged to advance money from the Treasury on security of the debenture as in the case of distressed widows of men or officers whose husbands had been killed in the service, often 'Slaine by the Toreyes,' leaving them a great charge of small children behind, and their distress increased by the great cost of coming to Dublin in hopes of possession of their lands, and long attendance about taking out their husbands' debentures. In such cases small sums were ordered to be paid to enable them to return to their children, the advance to be endorsed on the debenture, so that it might be defalked thereout when lands should be given in satisfaction of the debenture. At last debentures were freely and openly sold; and there were regular debenture brokers, and a market rate, and prohibitions (of course eluded) against buying under eight shillings in the pound. And Dr. Petty prides himself on always buying from the regular debenture brokers, and never at first hand from the necessitous soldier (though trepanners were sent to entrap him into purchasing); while officers were notoriously guilty of buying of their own poor soldiers remaining under their command, 'whom we may well conceive frightable into any bargain, by what awings or other means may be left to consideration.'" Of these debentures, the author, William Montgomery purchased five hundred pounds' worth, borrowing the money for the purpose. This transaction, as we shall see, involved him in much trouble, if not considerable loss.

[51] *When he died.*—In 1657, the year in which Henry Cromwell was made chief governor in Ireland, a conspiracy against his father's life had been detected, and the conspirators punished. The preservation of the Protector's life now became an object for which the parliament was

ness he invited them to send up Commissioners from their Presbyterys, and they had several conferences with the Independants and Anabaptists, and all the doctrinal points or principles of religion wherein they agreed were printed; but to no purpose, for these parties cou'd not be twisted together more than a rope can be made of sand.[52] However, the chief of each sect were closetted

anxious, by some effective means, to provide. Many of Cromwell's adherents were of opinion that his personal safety could be best secured by his consenting to become a king, or, as a member modestly expressed it, "that he would be pleased to take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution. That would put an end to these plots, and fix our liberties and his safety on an old and sure foundation." This announcement took others by surprise, but the discussion it occasioned fully revealed to Cromwell that his own immediate connexions were among the party most strongly opposed to such a project. Its supporters, however, introduced to the house of commons a paper entitled "An humble Address and Remonstrance," which protested against the existing form of government that depended for security on the odious institution of majors-general, and provided that the Protector should assume a higher title, and govern, as had been done in times past, with the advice of two houses of parliament. The house debated on each article in succession, and the project was adopted by a large majority. Its principal opponents were the chief officers, with Lambert at their head, who was the commander of the army, the beloved of the soldiers, and second only to Cromwell in authority. In the opposition was Desborough also, Cromwell's fanatical brother-in-law, who was major-general in five counties; and Fleetwood, who had been lord-deputy of Ireland, and who had married Cromwell's daughter, the widow of Ireton. After the hopes and fears of the nation had been held in suspense for two months, Cromwell declined the honour intended for him by the majority of the parliament, and so the matter ended. To these affairs the author refers in the text, when he speaks of Lambert and Fleetwood as plotting, each with the view of succeeding to Cromwell's position on his death. In Ireland, the quarrels between the various sects of independents, anabaptists, and presbyterians, fomented by their several preachers, had created difficulties in the way of the government, which Henry Cromwell was anxious to remove. The anabaptists appear to have been the most troublesome, and were charged by their opponents, the independents, even with disaffection to the government. The reader may find many curious extracts referring to these sectarian troubles in the notes to Dr. Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., pp. 203, 204. Henry Cromwell was anxious to treat them all, including the episcopalians, kindly; but any favour shown by him to one of the factions, was sure to be regarded with suspicious and hostile feelings by all the others. In undertaking the office of chief governor, he truly expressed his intentions in a letter, as follows:—"I must neither respect persons, nor parties, nor rumours, so as to be thereby diverted from an equal distribution of justice and respect to all; though I hope I shall always have a due care of all (under what form soever) in whom I see the least appearance of godliness."—Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii., p. 191.

[52] *Rope made of sand.*—Adair's account of this attempt on the part of Henry Cromwell is as follows:—"Some time after this, Henry Cromwell endeavoured to have the Church of Ireland, and all ministers who were of a moderate temper, though otherwise of different persuasions as to Episcopacy, Presbytery, or Independency, to come to a right understanding with one another, and so compose matters among themselves as to live peaceably together, though his main end was supposed to be that he might feel their pulse and temper as to the government of himself and his father. In order to this design, he called for a considerable number of ministers, by missive letters, from divers parts of the kingdom, and particularly from the north, directing his letters from himself to those particular ministers that he desired. Yet, the ministers who were sent for, having acquainted their several Presbyteries with these letters, were sent by commission from their brethren, and obliged to give an account of their actings in that meeting upon their return. However, the design came to nought."—*True Narrative*, pp. 223, 224. So far as the northern ministers were concerned, it came to nought, but there arose out of this movement a sort of association, composed of preachers living in and near Dublin, who agreed upon a declaration which they published under the following title:—"The agreement and resolution of the ministers of Christ within the city of Dublin and province of Leinster, whose names are subscribed, in order to their entering into, and walking together in a brotherly association. Had the 22d of February, 1658, at Dublin, for furthering of a real and thorough reformation of persons, families, and congregations in all matters of religion according to the written word of God." These brethren agreed to "decline and abhor" all blasphemy, heresy, and schism; to "disavow" Popery, Prelacy, Arminianism, and Socinianism; to use the *Shorter and Larger Catechisms* of the Westminster Assembly, "unless some particular brother shall think some other Catechism more convenient for his congregation;" and to "hold fast that excellent *Confession of Faith*, compiled by the Assembly of Divines, reserving only to some of us our liberty of judgment about a few expressions touching discipline laid down in that Confession."—Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 219, 220, *note*. The presbyterian ministers from the north who attended this meeting in Dublin, viz., the revs. John Greg of Newtownards, Thomas Hall of Larne, and John Hart of Taughboyne, near Derry, although not joining in the foregoing "agreement," united with seventeen other ministers, anabaptists and independents, in presenting a highly complimentary address to Henry Cromwell, at the conclusion of their meeting. In this address they greatly approve of his anxiety to have them all endowed with respectable salaries, and urge him, as a "nursing-father to the church of Christ to complete the same worke." They also much approve of his anxiety for the conversion of papists; for the healing of breaches among themselves, "that brethren fall not out by the way;" for "the opening the fore-door of ordination, and the back door of ejection; for the planting truth by catechising, watering the truth planted by sacraments, and

apart by H. C. and had favours put upon them. Dr. Owens was the great leader of the Indepe[illegible] dants, and was chief Chaplain to the castle.[53] I do not remember any Presbiterian congregatio[illegible] then in the city.[54] Now H. C. his Excellency (for in what I am now to say he deserved (as he w[illegible] called) that title) was very respective and gracious to the Marchioness of Ormond,[55] and to o[illegible] Vis[t]. (and to myself); for his favour allowed me to try those loose unsatisfied debentures,[56] and

fencing both by discipline," together with other "high concernments" which he had brought specially under their consideration. They conclude this address as follows:—"Wee had formerly (almost) said, Ireland's grief is incurable! But, blessed be the Lord, and your excellency in the name of the Lord, for an harvest of joy in a day of griefe and desperate sorrow. For all which we humbly offer the returne of our thankfulness, duty, and obedience." This was saying more than might have been expected from the presbyterian party at least, who regarded the government administered by Henry Cromwell as a wicked usurpation, or to use Adair's words, p. 225, "knowing that this government, though now flourishing, and pretending some owning of religion, yet was iniquity at the bottom."

[53] *To the castle.*—Dr. John Owen was appointed chaplain to Cromwell, on the 2nd of July, 1649, with the salary of £200 per annum, and an additional sum of £100 to be paid quarterly to his wife and family who remained in England. He only remained six months in Dublin, during which time he resided in the castle.

[54] *Then in the city.*—In 1660, there was a minister named Samuel Cocks, who officiated in St. Catherine's, Dublin, and who, according to Adair, "was counted the surest Presbyterian." Speaking of the convention that assembled in the capital to concert measures for the restoration, Adair adds, at p. 233, "they chose for their chaplain a man reputed the soundest Presbyterian in Dublin, one Mr. Cocks, calling him to their prayers every morning when they began their business." Cocks, or Cox, was then probably a recent importation, as there was evidently no presbyterian congregation or minister known in Dublin at the time (1657–8) to which our author refers in the text.

[55] *Marchioness of Ormond.*—Henry Cromwell's "gracious" conduct to this lady consisted in his urging the government in England to make a liberal arrangement with her for the support of the family. Through his kind offices the marchioness (Elizabeth Preston, see p. 160, note 29, *supra*) obtained an order of parliament, on the 1st of February, 1654, empowering the commissioners for Irish affairs to set apart for the provision of herself and children, *Dunmore House*, near Kilkenny, together with lands of the clear yearly value of £2000. When the lands were assigned to her, however, it was found that they were not so valuable as the parliament had been led to suppose, being charged with a contribution which, in some places amounted to a full half of the rent reserved for her, and in other places bore the proportion of £35 to £50. The marchioness, therefore, obtained a lease in trust, during her lord's life, of all such of her lands as had been let by the commonwealth from year to year, or for three, five, or seven years (permitting the lessees to enjoy their terms, but obliging them to pay rent to her), and of all other the lands assigned her at such rents, as upon a valuation thereof, were found reasonable. This last-mentioned arrangement was made by the governm[illegible] in 1655. "*Dunmore* was an ancient manor of the [illegible] monde family, and became the favourite country reside[illegible] of the first duchess of Ormonde, whose letters, still p[illegible] served at Kilkenny castle, are full of allusions to the wo[illegible] there."—Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. i., p. 7; vol. [illegible] pp. 100, 101. We have the following interesting p[illegible] ticulars of this place in the *Journal of the Kilke[illegible] and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, [illegible] series, vol. iii., pp. 296—298, and *notes*:—"John D[illegible] ton, who saw Dunmore in 1698, when it was in its splendour, thus describes the house:—'I rambled to Dunmore, another seat of the duke of Ormond's, which is the finest house in Ireland. On some of the floors of this house I reckoned twenty-four rooms; the staircase that leads to them are *(sic)* hung with curious landscapes, and it is so large that twenty men might walk abreast; had the house another branch it would be a perfect H; but without this additional beauty, perhaps it may boast of more rooms than are to be found in some whole towns.'—*Some Account of my Conversation in Ireland*, pp. 53, 55. In a *Journey to Kilkenny in the year 1707, from the MS. Notes of Dr. Thomas Molyneaux*, edited by the Rev. James Graves, there is the following short notice of Dunmore house and demesne:—"Munday, 21st. To Dunmore Parke, belonging to the Duke of Ormond; 'tis a well sheltered Parke, with furs, good land, and well divided into pretty small paddocks; here is a good Pheasantry kept, which stocks the whole country about; here was also formerly a handsome Countryhouse belonging to the Duke, called Dunmore House, which is now pulled down, and the furniture and pictures all carried to the castle (at Kilkenny)." *A Tour through Ireland, by Two English Gentlemen* (Dublin, 1748), at p. 195, mentions Dunmore as "a noble proportioned body, falling to the grave with a daily decay," and compares its avenues and rows of lofty trees to the walks from Petersham to Ham, in Surrey, giving the preference to Dunmore, and adding, "in short, such a place formed by nature for grandeur or pleasure is not often found in England." Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., p. 538, states that Cary Dillon, on one occasion, said to the duke, "Your grace has done much here (pointing to Kilkenny), but yonder you have *Done more*." "Alas! Cary," replied the Duke, "it is incredible what that has cost: but my wife has done so much to that house, that she has almost undone me."

[56] *Unsatisfied debentures.*—See note 50, *supra*.—William Montgomery, before being admitted as a compounder for his estate, borrowed money to purchase certain Cromwellian debentures (or adventurers' claims) which were rather loose, unsatisfactory bonds at the best, but with which Henry Cromwell allowed him to purchase back his own lands in the barony of Castlereagh, known as Florida Manor, he paying colonel Barrow, who had a [illegible] of these lands, the sum of £150. At the Restoration, William Montgomery having been restored, as an innocent

m satisfied on my hands in Castlereagh barony, notwithstanding Colo. Barrow (a ringleader nabaptists) had *custodium* thereof, for w^h I paid that Colo.'s son £150.[57] This favour was nths before O. C. died. H. C. (as I was saying) was more favourable to the s^d Lady and d to the L^d Moore,[58] and some few more of the jovial compounders (so Noll's[59] people termed to any of the Papists' nobility or to the rest of the Protestants, and generally gave them les for payment of their composition money, and was mild to them all.[60] Nay, moreover,

, to the possession of all his estates, claimed to l the amount in forfeited lands that he had thus debentures, and had his claim allowed. This complished, however, without much trouble and t appeared from his own representations that, he had been happily restored to his lands, he have retained them, being unable to pay the (for which he tells us, in the memoir of himself, hird viscount was security), and the money given Barrow. In the Record Tower there is a petition iam Montgomery of Rosemount, county of Down, ng that his father, sir James Montgomery, was fly from Ireland for his loyalty; mentioning also sses and sufferings, and praying for a reprisal of of Florida which he had purchased, but was un- ep. By this he meant a reprisal on other for- ds to compensate him for the amount of the de- with which he had repurchased Florida Manor Cromwellian government. The above petition is by a letter from him to the primate of Eng- king his influence; then comes a certificate our from the marquis of Ormond; and, lastly, tter from himself to sir Henry Bennett, dated 3rd 54, promising the latter £100 for his interest, and me particulars of his case, in which the names of llen of New Row, gent., and colonel Barrow are d.—*Reports on the Public Records of Ireland*, 651, 652. The result was that he obtained the proviso in the act of settlement, which will still plain to the reader the nature of these complicated ns:—

VII. And whereas, William Mountgomery of Rose- he county of Down, Esqr., did purchase of several per- debentures, which were due for service done in Ireland th of June, one thousand six hundred and forty-nine, and ame in and upon the purchase of a part of his own estate, own by the name of the mannor of Florida, in the county hen set out or set apart by reason of or upon accompt of e rebellion or war, since which time the said William ry hath, by the commissioners for execution of the said been declared and adjudged an innocent Protestant, and he said mannor of Florida, together with the rest of the e said William Mountgomery, hath been decreed unto son whereof the debentures so purchased and placed s aforesaid, do remain wholly unsatisfied; be it therefore the authority aforesaid, That the commissioners for the this act shall set out, or cause to be set out, unto the Mountgomery, so much forfeited lands as may be suffi- ie the said debentures in like manner and form, and ac- uch rates and proportions, as any other like debentures e rules of this act to be satisfied, as fully and amply as urchaser or assignee of the said debentures ought to have if, in case the same had been placed on the said mannor r decreed as aforesaid."

egoing note we have, to some extent, anticipated cumstances in our author's personal history; but will thus be enabled better to understand future llusions in the narrative to these matters.

[57] *Son £150.*—See note 56, *supra*. A *custodium* was a lease from the government under the exchequer seal, of lands that had been forfeited to the commonwealth, and were assigned to a tenant as custodee or lessee. On every such *custodium* there was a small annual rent reserved to the crown. In the present instance, colonel Barrow's son had obtained the custodium of William Montgomery's estate of Florida, in the barony of Castlereagh. By favour of Henry Cromwell, the author was able to have the *custodium* dissolved, on his paying costs of the necessary law proceedings in the case, which with claims, probably for some improvements, amounted to £150. The reader may find much curious information respecting the *custodium* in Howard's *Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 25—46.

[58] *Ld. Moore.*—See p. 159, *supra*. Among the favours conferred on viscount Moore was an act of the English parliament, in 1657, enabling him to sell part of his lands for payment of composition-money and other demands.—*English Commons Journals*, vol. vii., p. 163.

[59] *Noll.*—Noll, applied to Cromwell, was used probably as a simpler form of his christian name, Oliver.

[60] *Mild to them all.*—Henry Cromwell, as the representative of his father, was mild and even generous, not only to all compounders, but to all religionists who professed any form of protestantism, and were disposed to accept his favours. This is evident from the liberal manner in which he endowed their respective ministers, and the very easy terms on which the state payments were made. The reader may see in Dr. Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., pp. 475—9, a list for the year 1655, with additions from a list of the preceding year, "containing the names of all the ministers throughout Ireland who received salaries from the State, with the sums payable to each." This list of 1655 contains the names of only about a dozen episcopalian and six presbyterian ministers, the remaining one hundred and thirty being independents or baptists. Dr. Reid admits that his "opportunities of research" in connexion with this subject were "limited," and truly says that "little is known of the administration of Irish affairs during the Protectorate."—(vol. ii., p. 198, *note*.) Since his history was written, however, an able Irish archæologist—J. W. Hanna, esq.—has had occasion to make some inquiries into this matter of state endowments, in Ireland, during the Commonwealth, and his labours have brought to light much additional information, as the following lengthened, but highly interesting extract will shew:—

"We have accidentally observed that perhaps a few lay impropriators may have exercised their church patronage during the Commonwealth, and this presumption, so far as Ulster is regarded, is borne out by the following facts, we believe unknown to, or at least left unnoticed by, Dr. Reid or any of our Irish historians. Sometime early in 1655, a petition was presented to Fleetwood and the Irish Privy Council, from the Protestant inhabitants of the Counties

he owned a favour to our Bishops, and allowed them pensions out of the rents of their bishopricks w^h so pleased Maxwell, the diocesan of Kilmore and Ardagh,[61] that he addressed his Excellenc

of Down and Antrim, respecting the subject of lay patronage and the choice of ministers by a congregation, which having been taken into consideration by the Council, on the 5th of May that year, it was amongst other things ordered, that 'Patrons who have not forfeited their right of presentation, be permitted to present the names of ministers, as in and by ordinances (in that case provided as directed) being persons fearing God, and qualified for the work of the ministry, not scandalous in life and conversation, or delinquent to the State, and of a sober and peaceable behaviour; and such ministers shall be forthwith admitted to enjoy their respective living, or otherwise be comfortably and sufficiently provided.' By another part of the order a congregation was permitted to choose a minister, similarly qualified as above, subject, however, to a personal examination and approval of a committee appointed by the Council, whose determination was to be final. These orders were signed by Thomas Herbert, Clerk of the Council, and are to be found in the Council Book in Dublin Castle.

"The names and titles of congregations of the entire ministers who received allowances from the Commonwealth are to be found in the Civil Establishment Entries from 1654 to 1657, among the State Papers in Dublin Castle, with the annual allowances; and extracts from these, but extremely defective, will be found in the appendices to the second volume of Dr. Reid's History. The only ministers whose names he has published, as stationed in the County Down, are the following. We now insert in parentheses the congregational title or parish where omitted:—

Thomas Johnston, Dromore,	£100
Thomas Skelton, Newry,	100
Patrick Duncan, Hillsborough (removed to Drumgooland), £80 made	100
Andrew Wike, Lisnegarvey (should be the united parishes of Donaghcloney and Tullylish),	150
Robert Echlin, Strangford (had been chancellor),	80
Anthony Buckworth, Maheralyn,	60
William Moore, Knock and Breda, £25 made	50
Hugh Graffan, Magheradrill (now Ballynahinch), £25 made	50

"The names of the ministers omitted in this country are 23; and, as we feel assured a complete list will be interesting to the people of this and the adjoining districts, we give it *in extenso*:—

Andrew Law, Dundrum and Kilmore, £50 made £60, and then	£100
James Gordon, Comber,	100
John Drisdale, Portferry,	100
John Gregg, Newtowne,	100
Gilbert Ramsay, Bangor,	100
Thomas Peebles, Kirkdonnell,	100
William Richardson, Killileagh,	100
Andrew Stewart, Donodee,	100
Andrew M'Cormick, Magherally,	100
Gabriel Cornewall, Balliwoollen,	100
Donald Richmond, Hollywood,	100
Barnham West, Kilwarly.	120
Robert Huettson, Rathfriland,	120
Henry Livingstone, Drumboe,	100
David Fearful, Drumkad (now Clough); he was Precentor and Rector of Loughinisland and Drumca, from 15th June, 1657,	50
Francis Redmeston, or Reddington, Upper Iveagh,	100
Anthony Shaw, Ballywalter,	100
Michael Bruce, Killinshy,	100
John Fleming, Ballee,	100
Hugh Sherwood, Doune, since March, 1658,	150
James Cambell, Loughbrickland,	100
Mungo Barnett, or Bennet, Drumaragh, not stated.	
Alexander Hutchinson, Tonachnieve (now Saintfield),	60
"SCHOOLMASTERS.	
John Newcome, Downpatrick,	80
William Halston, Lisnegarvey,	40
John Cornewall, Belfast,	30

[61] An account in Thurloe's State Papers (vol. vi., p. 596) shews the entire amount paid in Ireland for ministers' and schoolmasters' salaries, in the years 1656 and 1657, to have been £34,141 13s 8d; the revenue received in 1656 from tithes and glebes, bishops' and crown lands in the Counties of Down, Antrim, and Armagh, being £3,877 0s 4d. At this time Coll. Henry Markham was receiver of all rents, profits, and revenues from parochial tithes and glebes, at the annual salary of £500.

"Dr. Reid observes that of the list published by him, with the exception of six ministers, who were Presbyterians, and perhaps a dozen Episcopalians, the remaining one hundred and thirty were Independents or Baptists; but however that may be, of the list it is quite certain that many more Presbyterians received allowances, for instance Fleming, of Ballee; Livingstone, of Drumboe; Gregg, of Newtownards; Cornwall, of Balliwoollen; Richardson, of Killyleagh; Hutchinson, of Tonaghnieve; Gordon of Comber; Drisdale, of Portferry; Ramsay, of Bangor; Peebles of Kirkdonnel; Stewart, of Donaghadee; M'Cormick, of Magherally; Campbell, of Loughbrickland; and Bruce, of Killinchy; the latter being considered one of the Fathers of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland; all being ejected by Bishop Taylor for non-conformity in 1661—Bennet, of Dromara; Law, of Dundrum, afterwards Rector of Kilmegan and Vicar of Maghera; Graffan of Ballynahinch, afterwards Vicar of Saintfield, being those who conformed. Considering the change in the value of money, which Dr. Reid estimates as one to ten, making the then allowance of £100 equal to £1,000 at present, we must admit that Cromwell was anything but an illiberal supporter of the ministry."—*Account of the Parish of Inch*, printed in the *Derompate Recorder*.

Appendix M. contains copy of a hitherto unprinted Inquisition of 1675, in which the reader will find much curious and valuable information relating to ecclesiastical matters in the county of Down. The original is in the possession of the right rev. Robert Knox, D. D. bishop of Down and Connor, who kindly permitted it to be transcribed for this work. The copy in the Appendix was carefully made by J. W. Hanna, esq.

[61] *Kilmore and Ardagh.*—This was Robert Maxwell, eldest son of Robert Maxwell and Isabella Seton his wife. Robert Maxwell the elder had come to Ireland in the year 1609, and was, soon after his arrival, appointed chancellor of Connor; in the following year he was promoted to be dean of Armagh. His eldest son, Robert, mentioned in the text, was a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and, in 1622, held the office of chaplain to the lord lieutenant. In 1625, he succeeded his father in the two appointments of chancellor of Connor and dean of Armagh. In 1628, he was advanced by royal presentation to the archdeaconry of Down. Whilst rector of Tynan (to which living he was presented on the 22d November, 1625), he suffered much at the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641, the insurgents having plundered his house and then burned it, together with all his books and papers. On the 22nd of March, 1643, (Cotton, *Fasti*, vol. iii. p. 167), he was appointed to the bishopric of Kilmore, from which during the time of the commonwealth, he received a yearly allowance of £120—equivalent to £1,200 of our money. Henry Leslie, bishop of Down and Connor, received a similar allowance; and John Leslie, bishop of Raphoe, got £100, which was increased, in 1655, to £120, on account of his distressed condition and numerous family. For this liberality on the part of Henry Cromwell, bishop Maxwell expressed his gratitude by means of the Latin poem referred to in the text, in which the lord deputy is truly described as *mitissimus proreæ*. Never, perhaps, did any viceroy better deserve this title. *Delicias humani generis* was a phrase used by the Romans when speaking of their good emperor, Titus Flavius, Sabinus Vespasianus, who reigned from A. D. 79 to 81. He was the worthy successor of his father, Vespasian. During his whole life, Titus displayed a sincere desire for the happiness of his people, doing all in his power to relieve them during any period of

with a printed copy of about ten hexameters and as many pentameters, wherein he stiled him, *Deliciæ humani generis* (as Vespasian was called) and to complete the verse, he added and gave him the title of *Mitissime prorex*, thereby calling him a Deputy King. Our Visc[t] came now (unsent for) to Dublin to salute his Excellency, and was received favourably as afores[d], but was taken with sickness, which did cast him into a deep palsy that seized all one side of him; and being lodged next house to Dr. Ffenell, after many weeks his Lo[p] recovered, and was permitted to go and live in Newtown, as most agreeable to his constitution, where often he enjoyed the company of the Countess of Striveling, his grandmother, and of his mother, sister, brother, and honest kind Major-Gen[l]. Monro, fitter than the other four to converse with his melancholy;[62] myself also, and his other relations and friends visited him often.

public distress. It is told of him, that one evening, recollecting he had done nothing to alleviate suffering during that day, he exclaimed—"My friends, I have lost a day!" Henry Cromwell's timely aid, in many instances, reminded bishop Maxwell of this emperor's beneficence; and it is rather to the prelate's honour that he recorded his appreciation of it in no stinted language. On the 24th of February, 1660, soon after the Restoration, Maxwell was granted the bishoprick of Ardagh *in commendam*, and held it, in conjunction with that of Kilmore, until the time of his death, in 1672.—*Ware's Works*, vol. i., p. 243.

[62] *To converse with his melancholy.*—Monro, on such occasions, no doubt "fought all his battles o'er again," in the garrulous and amusing style by which he had recorded his "Expedition with the worthy Scots regiment, called M[c]Keyes, &c., &c.," see p. 168, note 52, *supra*. Sir W. Scott drew his materials from Monro's book for the character of his celebrated Rittmaster, sometimes making Dugald Dalgetty express himself in Monro's very words. Of Monro's method as a writer, we have the following estimate in Burton's well-known book, entitled *The Scot Abroad*, vol. i., pp. 135, 136:—"The confusion, ambiguity, and verbose prolixity of the narrative, involve the reader in immediate hopelessness, and keep him in perpetual doubt of the period, the persons, and the part of the world to which his attention is called. Far from being the production of an illiterate soldier who despises learning, it is saturated in a mass of irrelevant erudition. But it affords fine clear glimpses here and there of the character and habits of the Scottish cavalier of fortune; and on these Scott has seized with his usual practical sagacity. . . . . Monro has a thorough, and, perhaps, a rather ludicrous sense of the worth of himself and his comrades. He speaks of 'my lord Spynie being present with his regiment, consisting of brave and valorous officers, being all worthy cavaliers of noble descent, and of good families, having action, valour, and breeding, answerable to their charges. And when Stralsund obtains Sir Alexander Leslie for a governor, he (Monro) enlarges on the special blessings bestowed on that community in having obtained a Scotchman for their ruler—'And what a blessing it was to get a good, wise, virtuous, and valiant governor in time of their greatest trouble; which shows that we are governed by a power above us.' And so becoming more eloquent by degrees on the good fortune of Stralsund and the merits of his countrymen, he concludes:—'It is faring, then, with Stralsund as with Sara: she became fruitful when she could not believe it, and they became flourishing, having got a Scots governor to protect them, whom they looked not for, which was a good omen unto them, to get a governor of the nation that was never conquered; which made them the only town in Germany free as yet from the imperial yoke by the valour of our nation, which defended their city in their greatest danger." The author of the *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, quotes several of general Monro's anecdotes, from which we select one or two:—"By this time there is a large cask of beer sent to us from the leaguer; the officers, for haste, causeth to beat out the head of it, that every man might come to it with hat or head-piece; they flocking about the waggon whereon the beer lay, the enemy's canoneer gives a volley to their beer which, by God's providence, though shot amongst the midst of them, did no more harm but blew the cask and beer in the air—the nearest miss I ever did see: for many of them were down to the ground, of whom my brother, captain John Monro of Obistell, of worthy memory, was one." "Being quartered a mile from Luvenburg, we sent our suttler, John Matheson, to that town for a supply of provisions. In his absence our boys made use of his rug to cover their faces in drowning of bee-hives; the rug being rough, lodged a number of bees; the suttler coming home late, went to rest, and putting off his clothes, drew his rug to cover him; but as soon as the bees found the warmness of his skin, they began so to punish him for his long stay, that he was forced, roaring like a madman, to rise and throw off his rug, not knowing, though well he felt the smart of his enemies. We, being in bed, called to him, asking if he was mad? He made no answer, but cried the devil had bewitched him, till a candle was lighted, and seeing the bees, he threw his rug into a draw-well." "Here I did remark as wonderful, that, in the very moment when our ship did break on ground, there was a sergeant's wife on board, who, without any help, was delivered of a boy, which all the time of the tempest she carefully did preserve; and being come ashore the next day, she marched near four miles with her child in her arms; and he was baptized the next Sunday afternoon, being the day of our thanksgiving for our deliverance, by our preacher, Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie, a worthy and religious young man."—*History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, pp. 225, 226, 236, *notes*. It may well be supposed that Monro's conversation, although sometimes prosy, had attractions for any one in viscount Montgomery's circumstances. Monro, like many others who had started as covenanters, died a staunch royalist.

CHAPTER XIII.

WITHIN a few months after this, viz. Augst 1658, O. C. finding by his sickness (wh was concealed carefully) that he must go off the stage of the three kingdoms, (because he had played all the mad pranks he had to act thereon)[1] he therefore made his testament, wherein he declared his eldest son, Richard, to succeed him as Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and he was proclaimed accordingly.[2] I saw it done in Dublin with great concourse of the people (but not by armed men, save those of Henry Cromwell's guard, who attended

[1] *To act thereon.*—Cromwell's health gave way rapidly in the interval between the death of his favourite daughter, Elizabeth (Mrs. Claypole), on the 6th of August, 1658, and the 3rd of September following, the day on which he followed her to the grave. The 30th of August happened to be a tempestuous day, and, during the night, the wind blew a hurricane, unroofing houses and uprooting trees in all directions. The miserable cavaliers, who had waited anxiously to hear of his death, persuaded themselves that it was to happen during the continuance of the storm, announcing that the "powers of the air" hovered over Whitehall in readiness to pounce upon the Protector's luckless spirit at the moment it would separate from his body. They were disappointed that he did not die on the night of the 30th of August; but a staunch republican, named Dennis Bond, having died that day, the cavaliers punningly consoled themselves by affirming that as Cromwell was not then ready to go, the devil had taken *Bond* for his future speedy appearing. The Protector's friends, on the other hand, gave out that God would not remove so great a man from this world without previously warning the nation of its approaching loss, and when, at last, he departed on the 3rd of September, they derived comfort from the reflection that as he had conquered the Scots on that day at Dunbar, in 1650, and the royalists at Worcester, in 1651, so he was destined on the same fortunate date in 1658, to overcome his spiritual enemies, and receive the crown of victory in heaven! Whilst these various opinions and sentiments were being expressed respecting the Protector, he was engaged in prayer, and appears to have formed a pretty accurate estimate of the motives influencing his enemies, as well as his friends "Lord," said he, "this people would fain have me live; they think it will be best for them, and that it will redound much to Thy glory. All the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die. Lord, pardon them, and pardon Thy foolish people; forgive their sins, and do not forsake them; but love, and bless, and give them rest; and bring them to a consistency; and give me rest for Jesus Christ's sake, to whom, with Thyself, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory."—Granger's *Biographical History of England*, vol. ii., p. 153; Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv., pp. 574, 575; Lingard's *History of England*, vol. viii., pp. 267, 268.

[2] *Proclaimed accordingly.*—Richard Cromwell, the Protector's third son, but the eldest that survived him, was born at Huntingdon, on the 4th of October, 1626. A remarkable contrast was observed between the two brothers, Richard and Henry Cromwell, for whilst the former associated with cavaliers, and spent his time in licentious gaiety, the latter repaired to his father's quarters, and at the age of twenty held the commission of a captain in the regiment of guards belonging to Fairfax. The moment their father expired, the council of state assembled, and issued an order to proclaim Richard Cromwell as protector, on the ground that he had been nominated to that dignity by his father. Many supposed that they proclaimed him on other grounds; and Ludlow, the sternly honest republican, tells us in his *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 613, that the dignity was conferred upon Richard, "in hopes that he, who, by following his pleasures had rendered himself unfit for public business, would not fail to place the administration of government in the hands of those who were most powerful in the army." Richard's nomination by his father has been reasonably enough doubted. "Thurloe, indeed (vol. vii., p. 372), informs Henry Cromwell that his father named Richard to succeed. But his letter was written after the proclamation of Richard, and its contents are irreconcilable with the letters written before it. We have one from lord Falconberg, dated on Monday, saying that no nomination had been made, and that Thurloe had promised to suggest it, but probably would not perform his promise, p. 365; and another from Thurloe himself to Henry Cromwell, stating the same thing as to the nomination, p. 364. It may, perhaps, be said that Richard was named on the Monday after the letters were written; but there is a second letter from Thurloe, dated on the Tuesday, stating that the Protector was still incapable of public business, and that matters would, he feared, remain till the death of his highness in the same state as he described them, in his letter of Monday, p. 366. It was afterwards said that the nomination took place on the night before the Protector's death, in the presence of four of the council (Thurloe, 375, 415),

im) who made great huzzas and throwing up of hats; the fanaticks did not expect their white devil wou'd die so soon, and were surprised with amazement at the proclam. wherein all joined but themselves.[3] But how soon they found a soft part in Richard's head and little courage in his heart! Fleetwood, his brother-in-law, and Lambert, &c. agreeing (like Herod and Pilate), got themselves and their partisans chosen members in that Parliament w^h^ Richard had called,[4] and also they held a grand council of officers of the army at Wallingford-house (within a pit and strides length of Whitehall) under this new mean-spirited Protector's nose, and in view of his long gallery,[5]

but many doubt whether it ever took place at all."—Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii., p. 372, *note*.

[3] *Joined but themselves.*—The scene here described by the author, and which he had himself witnessed, took place on the 10th of September, a week after Oliver Cromwell's death. Before this sudden change in the government, the position occupied by Henry Cromwell, in Dublin, had become so irksome to him that his letters may be described as containing a succession of complaints and offers of resignation. This had arisen from the impossibility of procuring money from England, and the limitations of his power by the parliament, which occasioned the most serious limitations of his usefulness. When Richard became protector, the council in London, over which he was able to exercise no control, still further contracted the powers of Henry Cromwell in Ireland; but, as the influence possessed by the latter over the army, and his popularity throughout the country, could not be dispensed with, he was, in exchange for the title of deputy, permitted to assume that of lord lieutenant, which was but a poor recompense for his lost authority.

[4] *Richard had called.*—Richard Cromwell, about three months after being proclaimed protector, issued writs for a parliament to commence on the 27th of January following. On its meeting, Mr. Chute was chosen speaker, a private fast in the house was appointed, a committee for elections and privileges chosen, and then the meeting adjourned until the 31st January. On the 1st of February, a bill was introduced by the secretary of state, under the pretence of acknowledging the new protector, but in reality intended to confer upon the latter the full powers and prerogatives of the former kings and house of lords. The second reading of this measure, on the 7th of February, brought on the debate between the court party and the friends of the commonwealth,—the former pleading the *Petition and Advice* as the foundation of Richard Cromwell's title to such powers and prerogatives, and the latter denying the *Petition and Advice* to be binding at all—1st, because of its inconsistency, and insufficiency; and 2nd, because the assembly that put it forward was no parliament, but a faction. The members of that assembly, it was farther urged, had never been permitted to meet, Cromwell who had created it, excluding all such members as he suspected would oppose the execution of his own purposes. Of 460 chosen, there had been only 104 in the house, of whom 51 were against adopting the *Petition and Advice*, which was carried only by the votes of Scotch and Irish members, who had no right to sit, and were usurpers in the making of laws for England. The debates on this matter continued through eight days, during which, friends of the commonwealth complained that Cromwell's party in Whitehall had written eighty letters for the making of members of Parliament, most of which letters had produced the results desired by their writers. Mr. Howard, a papist, and brother to the earl of Arundel, boasted, that at the instance of the Protector and secretary, he had sent twenty-four members to parliament. It was also shown that several tables were kept at Whitehall, at a great expense to the nation, on purpose to corrupt and *deboist* members by great entertainments. The right also of the sixty Irish and Scotch members to vote was debated fourteen days, and this being decided affirmatively, the Protector's party was able in some measure, to triumph by the aid of these votes. The report of the committee concerning the accounts of the government was then submitted. It appeared that several offices had been created to serve particular persons, and such had been the grievous mismanagement of affairs, that the nation instead of being, as was supposed, financially prosperous, was found to be in debt to the extent of nearly two millions and a half. This state of affairs gave occasion for lengthened and stormy debates, which continued with more or less fury until the 23rd of April, when Richard dissolved the assembly by proclamation. See a review of these proceedings in a letter written by *Slingsby Bethell*, esq., and printed in lord Somers's *Tracts*, first series, pp. 524—533. Of this parliament, it was estimated that about one-half were protectorists, or supporters of the court party, with Richard Cromwell at its head. Of the republican party proper not more than fifty members were returned, but their ranks contained several men of great energy and eloquence, such as Vane, Hazlerig, Lambert, Ludlow, Nevil, Bradshaw, and Scott. The remainder were members who wavered between the two former parties, sometimes supporting the one and sometimes the other; but of these many were concealed cavaliers who, in obedience to the command of Charles, had obtained seats in the house, with the design of embarrassing the government, and acting in whatever manner might appear to them most likely to promote the interests of that faithless exile. The *Clarendon Papers* (p. 440) state that there were forty-seven republicans; from one hundred to one hundred and forty counterfeit republicans and neuters; seventy two lawyers, and above one hundred placemen. Burton's *Diary*, under Feb. 4, informs us that the members commenced operations with a day of fasting and humiliation, four preachers performing in the house from nine o'clock in the morning till six o'clock p.m.—Lingard's *History of England*, vol. vii., p. 276.

[5] *His long gallery.*—Whitehall was Richard's residence, and Wallingford House the residence of his brother-in-law, but opponent, Fleetwood. The present Admiralty buildings occupy the site of Wallingford House. The Cockpit and Tennis Court, founded by Henry VIII., have given

and they sent Richard frequent messages (mixed with their saint-like canting) and civil hypo
cal menaces, w^h^ with promises to take care of him and of his debts for his father's too sumpt
funeral and of his families welfare, obliged his newly erected highness to demitt and render up
place and the instrument (that fiddle (as it was called) on w^h^ his father, Oliver, play'd any tim
pleased) to his Parliament, w^h^ he did (cap in hand) confessing his inability,[6] &c. And so the
authority of the three nations (as they called the kingdoms) rolled into so many forms (in a
short time) as one would think impossible—that I will not disturb this narrative (w^h^ is spec
with the history of those general revolutions, which may be briefly read in Hobb's Behemoth,
book in octavo.[7] Richard, for this womanish condescending, got the name of Queen Dick; and

place to the Treasury and the offices of the secretaries of state.—Knight, *Cyclopædia of London*, p. 52. At several secret meetings held among the officers of the army previously to the meeting of the new parliament, doubts were expressed of the nomination of Richard by his father, and a sentiment fostered among the military, that as the commonwealth was the work of the army, so the chief office in the commonwealth, instead of being held by one who had never drawn a sword in the cause, ought to belong to the commander of the army. These complaints were encouraged by Fleetwood and his friends, and formed the grounds of controversy between the parties warring with each other from Whitehall and Wallingford House. Richard Cromwell, in the course of these violent disputes, cast off the party that had been mainly instrumental in securing his interests as protector, and joined himself with those whose characters and habits were more congenial to his own. Of these,—the leaders of the Whitehall party,—the best known were colonels Ingoldsby, Gough, Whalley, Howard, Goodrich, and lieutenant-colonel Keins. The leaders of the Wallingford House or Army party were lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonels Desborough, Sydenham, Clark, Kelsey, and Berry, major Haines, and treasurer Blackwell. The various movements and counter-movements of the Whitehall and Wallingford House parties are minutely detailed in Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., pp. 631–640. In these meetings lord Broghill took a leading part, inducing Richard Cromwell to dissolve the council of officers—a step which led directly to the weak protector's own dismissal, or resignation. Broghill supplied Richard with the speech by which he dissolved the council, and soon afterwards made a hurried retreat from London, and came to take a leading part in the important movements at Dublin immediately preceding the Restoration. See Orrery's *State Letters*, vol. i., pp. 54–59.

[6] *Confessing his inability.*—Richard proved quite unable to withstand the combined influence of Lambert and Fleetwood; but the parliament, seeing the republican party about to triumph, passed a vote that no future council of officers should be permitted to assemble without the protector's consent. This brought the rupture to a crisis. The army demanded the dissolution of the parliament, and Richard had not the resolution to resist this demand, although the dissolution was equivalent to his own dethronement. Desborough, in the name of the officers, bluntly told him that the crisis had come, and that the parliament must be dissolved either by the civil authority or by the power of the sword. He might make his election. If he chose the first, and dissolved the parliament, the army would provide for his dignity and support; if he did not, he would be abandoned to his fate. The parliament was dissolved, and Richard signed his own demission in due form, on the 22d of April, 1659. He was burdened with debts, among which was an item of £28,000 he had to pay for his father's pompous funeral, an expense which was forced upon him by the general determination that Oliver Cromwell's obsequies should exceed in magnificence those of any former sovereign. Somerset House was the place selected for this grand funereal exhibition, which lasted for the space of eight weeks. The black cloth alone used therein as drapery cost the sum of £6,926 6s. 5d. To assist Richard in meeting these difficulties, the revived 'Rump' parliament voted him £20,000, annexing as a condition that he should depart from the palace of Whitehall, in which he had continued to reside after his deposition. He then retired for a time to Hampton Court; but only a small portion of the £20,000 was actually paid to him, and, to avoid his creditors he was obliged to leave England. For several years he continued to reside on the continent, sometimes at Paris, and occasionally at Geneva; but, eventually, he returned to England under a feigned name, and settled at Cheshunt, near London, where he died in 1712, at the age of 86. It is recorded of him that he once, during the latter part of his life, had the curiosity to visit the house of lords, whilst some grand pageant was being enacted there. As he gazed intently at the scene, a stranger, probably attracted by something in his expression, asked him if he had ever been present on any similar occasion, to which he quickly replied—"Never, since I sat in that chair"—pointing to the throne. See Noble's *Continuation of Granger's Biographical History of England*, vol. i., p. 176.

[7] *Hobb's Behemoth, a book in octavo.*—The author here refers to the well-known work of Thomas Hobbes, entitled *Behemoth: the History of the Civill Wars of England from* 1640 to 1660; 8vo, London, 1679. The following is a summary of the *revolutions* referred to in the text, as they are recorded in the above-named book:—From 1640 to 1648, the supreme authority in the State was disputed between Charles I. and the parliament. From 1648 to 1653, it rested with that part of the parliament which had deposed and executed the king, and declared itself without king or house of lords. From April 20, 1653, until the 4th of the following July, the sovereignty was held by a council, which was dismissed by Cromwell. From July 4, until December 12, 1653, it rested in a body of representatives known as the Bare-

for the confusions which followed on this dimission of his sceptre, he was called Tumbledown Dick.[8]

Among the turns of state (wherein Lambert and Fleetwood cou'd not agree w^h^ should be uppermost) it happened the Rump to strike into the Comm^ns^ House of Parliament.[9] H. C. had fair offers to stand for himself, and might have prospered (as Monck did) and played the game w^h^ Orrory and Coote won, but he was schooled by Dr. Owen and his Lady's tears, that he gave way to Commissioners sent by the Rump, and went to England.[10] Our Visc^t^. was at home, S^r^ Geo.

bones' Parliament, from the name of one of its leading members. From December 12, 1653, to September 3, 1658, the supreme power was held by Cromwell as lord protector. From September 3, 1658, to April 25, 1659, it rested in the hands of Richard Cromwell, as successor to his father. From April 25, 1659, until the 7th of May, the supreme authority of the State was nowhere, if not to be found in the keeping of Lambert or Fleetwood. From the 7th of May, 1659, the 'Rump,' or remnant of the Long Parliament (dissolved in 1653), recovered the supreme authority once more, and held it until the restoration of Charles II., in 1660.—Hobbes's *Works*, fol. edit. of 1750, pp. 583, 584. Hobbes, who was born in 1588, was remarkably constituted. Although a clear-minded and nobly-endowed man, he had his weaknesses. One was a slavish fear of resistance or rebellion, under any circumstance. In his Latin Autobiography this ignoble feeling is admitted, and expressed as follows:—

"*Atque metum tantum concepit tunc mea mater,*
Ut pareret geminos, meque metumque simul."

He feared resistance because it implied war, and in this great philosopher's mind war meant all that could be imagined as most dreaded and to be detested—"no arts, no letters, no society, and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death."—*Leviathan*, part i., chap. 13, as quoted in Bisset's *Commonwealth*, vol. ii., p. 110, note.

[8] *Tumbledown Dick.*—Although the 'confusions' mentioned in the text passed off without bloodshed, yet their suddenness produced general consternation in the public mind. All parties were glad to have done with Richard Cromwell, but feared that such a sudden fall might be followed by woful results. On the 25th of April, 1659—the day on which he was forced to sign his dimission—Evelyn made the following entry in his *Memoirs*:—"A wonderfull suddaine change in ye face of publiq; ye new protector Richard slighted; severall pretenders and parties strive for ye government: all anarchy and confusion; Lord have mercy on us."—Vol. i., p. 316. So soon as the danger feared from his fall no longer threatened, poor Richard became the butt of many a doggrel satirist. The author of *Hudibras* appears to have been the only man of mark who joined in the rout of ballad-mongers on this occasion. In canto ii., part 3, we have the following allusion to Richard Cromwell's fall:—

"Next him his son and heir apparent,
Succeeded, though a lame vicegerent,
Who first laid by the parliament,
The only cruch on which he leant;
And then sunk underneath the State
That rode him above horseman's weight."

The same idea, and almost the same words, occur again in Butler's *Remains*. We meet with the following in his tale of the *Cobbler and Vicar of Bray*:—

"What's worse, old Noll is marching off,
And Dick, his heir apparent,
Succeeds him in the government,
A very lame vicegerent."

The fate of Richard Cromwell is satirised as follows in a *Collection of Loyal Songs*, reprinted in 1731, vol. ii., p. 231:—

"*Tumble Down Dick.*

"But Noll, a rank rider, gets first in the saddle,
And made her show tricks and curvate and rebound,
She quickly perceived that he rode widdle-waddle,
And, like his coach horse,* threw his Highness to ground.

"Then Dick, being lame, rode, holding the pummel,
Not having the wit to get hold of the rein;
But the jade did so snort at the sight of a Cromwell,
That poor Dick and his kindred turned footmen again."

Many signboards throughout England had the motto, "Tumble-Down-Dick," written upon them, originally in derision of Richard Cromwell. There is still a signboard known as *Soldier Dick*, near Disley, Stockport; and another as *Happy Dick*, at Abingdon. There was also a popular dance named *Tumble-Down-Dick*. See Larwood and Hotten's *History of Signboards*, pp. 264, 265. 316. Mrs. Hutchinson, in her *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 376, says:—"Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous—a meek, temperate, and quiet man, and became not greatness."

[9] *Comm^ns^ House of Parliament.*—In the confusion consequent on the deposition of Richard Cromwell, the cavaliers and presbyterians exerted themselves in the interests of the exiled king. The officers invited the Long Parliament to re-assemble, and in a short time forty-two members were collected into the Painted Chamber, under the speakership of Lenthal. They soon increased to the number of seventy, and although ridiculed as the Rump revived, they proceeded energetically to work, appointing a committee of safety and a council of state, notifying to foreign ministers their restoration to power, and promising, by a printed declaration, to establish a form of government which should secure the blessing of civil and religious liberty.

[10] *Went to England.*—Among other arrangements, the Parliament forthwith appointed commissioners to come to Ireland and assume the government here, whilst Henry Cromwell was summoned to appear before the council of state to render up an account of his administration, and of Irish affairs generally. The author truly says that, had Henry Cromwell possessed the astuteness of others whom he here names, he might have held Ireland for himself or

* In October, 1654, Oliver Cromwell's coach horses ran away in Hyde Park, and the Protector was severely hurt.

Booth[11] was up in Lancashire, Colo. Cromwell[12] (afterwards Earle of Arglass) and Colo. Tre-

for the king, as it had pleased him. The commissioners sent to replace him were Edmund Ludlow, John Jones, Matthew Tomlinson, and William Bury, appointed by patent, on the 7th of May, 1659. Whilst Henry Cromwell hesitated how he would act in this crisis, some of his officers professed their attachment to the cause of the commonwealth, others expressed a determination not to separate their cause from that of their comrades in England, and these arguments, especially when backed by his lady's tears and the teachings of Dr. Owen, decided him to give up the reins without further struggle. "The order," says Ludlow, "requiring Col. Cromwell to come over from Ireland, and to give an account of his affairs there, being signified to him, he retired to a house called the Phœnix, belonging to the chief governor of Ireland, leaving Col. Thomas Long in the castle of Dublin; whether with an intention of keeping it, I am not assured: but the commissioners, suspecting the worst, and being very desirous to be possessed of it, imployed Sir Hardress Waller to surprise the place, who, finding the power of Col. Cromwell to decline, and that of the parliament to increase, was very willing to attempt it, and being ready to enter by a postern into the castle, the place was immediately surrendered to him."—*Memoirs*, vol. ii., pp. 677, 678. Henry Cromwell had declared to Fleetwood, that "although he could not promise so much affection to the late changes, as others very honestly might, because he could not promote anything which inferred a diminution of his late father's honours and merits; yet he had that regard for the public peace as to acquiesce under [the present government; therefore, to prevent those fears and jealousies which might interrupt its tranquillity, he thought it his duty to resign his charge to any one whom parliament should send to receive it." He had conducted the government with such disregard to his private enolument, that it is said he could not at once command even what means were necessary to defray the expense of his return to England. In 1653 he had married a daughter of sir Francis Russell of Chippenham, in Cambridgeshire, the lady whose tears had such influence, as our author informs us, in deciding her husband's course. On leaving Dublin he and she returned to Chippenham, where they resided during six years, and afterwards removed to his estate at Soham, in the same county. Here Henry Cromwell spent the remainder of his life, dying in 1673-4, aged 46 years.

[11] *Sir Geo. Booth.*—The rising of royalists and presbyterians in Lancashire under the leadership of sir George Booth was but part of a wide-spread arrangement for the restoration of Charles II. In consequence of mismanagement or treachery on the part of some of the plotters, the government was soon in possession of the whole plans, and numerous arrests were instantly made in London and throughout the country. A small party, not knowing of the general failure in their arrangements, unfurled the royal standard in Lancashire, and marched on Chester, having as leaders sir George Booth, sir Thomas Middleton, lord Kilmorey, and the earl of Derby. The insurgents increased to four thousand; and on the 6th of August, 1659, Lambert was sent against them at the head of six regiments of cavalry and infantry. He soon dispersed them, taking three hundred prisoners. The earl of Derby was taken in the disguise of a servant. Booth, dressed as a female, and riding on a pillion, took the road for London, but was caught at Newton-Pagnell, his awkwardness in alighting from the horse having betrayed him. Middleton fled to Chirk Castle, where he soon afterwards capitulated.—Ludlow, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., pp. 693, 694; Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii., p. 286.

[12] *Colo. Cromwell.*—This was Vere Essex Cromwell, who, on the death of his nephew, Oliver, in 1668, became fourth and last earl of Ardglass. Their father, Thomas Cromwell, first earl of Ardglass, was son of Edward, baron Okeham, who died in 1607. The latter is described in patents of James I. as "governor of Lecale, the Castle of Dondrome, and other partes adjoyninge," to whom "Phelimy M'Arton sold the thirde parte of all that his countrie called Killanarte, or in Watertirrye, or elsewhere, in Co. Downe." These lands were "sett oute in such severall partes as to the lord Crumwell seemed most convenient," and with the lands went all the "woodes, underwoddes, profittes, and appurtenances to them belonginge," except the "chief seate or house of the said Phelomy and the neere demeasnes thereunto adjoynynge." Cromwell purchased these lands from M'Artane for ever, for a "certene somme of money," and in consideration of the purchase "takinge into his keepynge and bringinge upp Patrick M'Carton, the eldest sonne of said Phelomy, and undertakinge to educate, instructe, apparrell, and provide all other necessaries for his education in a gentlemanlike sorte; and, also, in consideration of divers other gratuyties, costes, troubles, and imployments, in and aboute the said Phelomy M'Carton and his affayres, by the said lord Crumwell hereafter to be done and executed." This deed contains the following covenant:—"Where the allotment of a thirde parte of the landes aforesaid is not to be made before the next feast of St. John, lord Crumwell may, in the meane tyme, sell, cutt down, and carrie awaye for his necessarie use, all manner of wood, tymber-trees, or underwoode, growinge upon any the landes of said Phelomy, or to make coles or other necessaries uppon same, without lett or contradiction." This deed of sale was made in 1605, and confirmed to Cromwell by grant from the crown.—Erck's *Patent Rolls of James I.*, pp. 191, 192. This Edward Cromwell inherited from Cromwell, earl of Essex, an estate in Devonshire, which he exchanged with Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, for the Downpatrick estate, consisting of the abbey-lands of Down, Inch, and Saul, granted to the latter for his great services to the crown in the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion. Harris, in his *Account of the Antient and Present State of the County of Down*, pp. 34, 35, says:—"On a rising ground, at the entrance into this town (Downpatrick), formerly stood a noble house of the Right Hon. the lord Cromwell, burned down by the Irish rebels in 1641. This gentleman came over into Ireland in the reign of King James I., and was captain of an independent troop at Down, where he built this House, some of the ruins whereof yet appear, and in which he lived with great hospitality and credit. . . . . He died here, and was buried in the middle of the old Cathedral, near the East end, and on his grave-stone is this inscription:—

"HERE LIETH INTERRED THE BODY OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDWARD CROMWELL, BARON OF OKEHAM, DECEASED 24TH OF DECEMBER, 1607. ALSO THE BODY OF THE HONOURABLE OLIVER CROM-

vor[13] were secretly consulting with our Visct. what to do to advance the King's cause. The Anabaptists bore the greatest sway in the Council at Dublin, and they ordered Colonel Cooper,[14] Governor of Ulster (then in Carrickf[s]) to send up our Visct. prisoner. His Lo[p] had some sickness and recovered health in Dublin, where I was when the council was surprised and seized,[15] in w[h] his Lo[p] was covertly active, for tho' he staid in his lodgings, he sent myself and his servants in messinges, and allowed his horses and mine to a friend, called Geo. Wilton,[16] who mounted himself and others on them, joining Theo[s]. Jones, who was in the action of that surprise, in scouring the streets hindering the Anabaptists to get to a body. I will not here relate that S[r] Theo[s]. Jones (my kinsman and great friend in usurping times) and the persons who surprised the Council Chamber and Castle (both at one time) made a rendezvous on Oxmondtown green;[17] declared to restore the secluded members

WELL, SON TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS, EARL OF ARDGLASS, AND GRANDSON TO THE SAID EDWARD, DECEASED 19TH OF OCTOBER, 1668."

On the 7th of August, 1617, the king granted to Thomas, lord Cromwell, the castle, lordship, manor, and town of Dundrum, in or near the territory of Lecale, and seven townlands adjoining the castle,—— the site of the abbey of Inche, with a castle and other buildings, a cemetery, and ½ car. in the island of the Inch, and all the demesne lands of the said abbey,—— the site of the house of the monks of Down, with all the lands thereto belonging; the site of the priory of canons of St. John in Down, with the lands of said priory; the site of the priory of St. John and St. Thomas of Down, and eight acres within its precinct, together with all the other lands belonging to the said priory; the site of the monastery of Sawle, and two ruinous castles, and a garden within its precinct, two castles and three townlands of Sawle, with the several other landed possessions of said monastery; Hollingrainge, parcel of the possessions of the late dissolved monastery of Hore Abbey, otherwise Leigh, or Jugo Dei in the Ardes; Corbally, parcel of the possessions of the late monastery of Bangor in Down county; the site of the monastery of Friars Minors of Down, with a chamber, hall, and other buildings, a cemetery, garden, and orchard within the precinct, together with the several other possessions of the said monastery; the site of the monastery of St. Patrick of Down, with a dormitory, a close, and other edifices, and a garden within its precinct, together with very extensive landed possessions belonging to the said monastery, including the water of Loughcoyne, flowing into the river or bay of Strangford, in which vessels of ten tons can pass to the port of Strangford; half of the territory or country commonly called M'Cartan's country; a ferry from the town of Down to the Inch, and another ferry from the castle and towne of Coyle to Fanabroge, for which he is to be paid by passengers at the usual rates; the whole river and water of Loughcon or Loughcoyne, and all other rivers and waters flowing into the river and bay of Strangford, as far as any of them flow near lord Cromwell's lands, with the fishings thereof. The whole is created into a manor, called the manor of Downpatrick, with 1,000 acres in demesne; power to create tenures; to hold courts leet and baron; to hold a Saturday market at Downpatrick, and two fairs, one on the feast of St. Luke the evangelist, and the other on the feast of St. Patrick; with courts of pie-powder and the usual tolls; lord Cromwell and his heirs to be clerks of the market, to have free warren and chace; and to enjoy all waifs and strays. The territory of Killenarten to be held at the yearly rent of £2 13s 4d. To hold for ever, the Killenlarten lands in capite, by the service of one knight's fee; and all the remainder in common socage.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.*, pp. 336, 337.

[13] *Colo. Trevor.*—This was Marcus Trevor, a son of sir Edward. See p. 132, *supra*.

[14] *Colonel Cooper.*—Colonel Thomas Cooper was a steady and trusted servant of the commonwealth, and succeeded colonel Robert Barrow as commander at Carrickfergus, the violent anabaptist sentiments of the latter unfitting him, in Cromwell's opinion, for the duties of that position. The latter, writing to his son Henry, in November, 1656, says:—"I am alsoe thinkinge of sending over to you a fitt person who may command the North of Ireland, which I believe stands in great need of one." Cooper soon afterwards relieved Barrow at Carrickfergus, where he resided until the close of 1658. He died at London in 1659, before the breaking up of the commonwealth.—Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 204, *note*.

[15] *Council surprised and seized.*—The commissioners who took charge of the government on the removal of Henry Cromwell appear to have held office only for one month, as their successors were appointed on the 7th of June, 1659. The names of the latter were colonel John Jones; William Steele, serjeant-at-law; Robert Goodwin, esq.; colonel Matthew Tomlinson; and Miles Corbet, serjeant-at-law. On the 13th of December, the castle of Dublin was surprised by sir Charles Coote and sir Hardress Waller, in the interests of the parliament, and three of the above-named commissioners, viz., Jones, Tomlinson, and Corbett, were seized with several others, and sent prisoners to England.

[16] *Geo. Wilton.*—The first viscount Montgomery's younger daughter, Jean, married to Patrick Savage, left two daughters. The second, named Elizabeth, married George Wilton; their son, also named George, an officer in the army, was the person here mentioned by the author.

[17] *Oxmondtown green.*—Ludlow's account of this movement, carried forward by Coote, Jones, and others, ostensibly in the cause of a free parliament, but really in connivance with Monk to bring about the Restoration, is as follows:—"It was a matter of amazement

of the Long Parliament to sitt with those now in the Com^ns^ House at Westminster,[18] and nor how they made S^r^ Hardress Waller[19] their Major-General, for the L^d^ Burhill[20] and Coote were not yet appearing in Dublin;[21] nor will I write what they declared for more than afores^d^, nor how K^t^ Waller

that such a Declaration should be published by men who pretended to act by the authority of the Parliament; but it was not procured without opposition; for when Sir Charles Coote and Col. Theophilus Jones, who were the principal confidants of Monk on that side, had prepared their paper, and a party to back it; Sir Hardress Waller, who had been one of the late king's judges, fearing the consequence of such practices, moved that the Council of War might be adjourned into the Castle; But not being able to carry that point, he communicated his design to as many as he thought fit, and making an excuse to go out of the room, he hastened away and retired into the Castle. Major Stanley, Lieut.-Col. Warren, and some others went immediately and joined themselves to him; and amongst them it was resolved to send out a party to seize Sir Charles Coote and his adherents. But he having notice of their intentions, had a party of his creatures ready; and being accompanied by Col. Theophilus Jones, mounted on horseback at the head of them, riding up and down the streets of Dublin, and declaring for a free Parliament, which language was by that time sufficiently understood to be for the King. They were followed by a great rabble of people, and thereby so encouraged, that they formed a design against the Castle; and having posted their guards upon all the avenues, they sent a summons to Sir Hardress Waller to deliver the place into their hands. . . . . By the expulsion of Sir Hardress Waller out of the army, two regiments fell into the hands of those who had seized the government of Ireland, for which Sir Charles Coote had some difficulty to find Colonels, having already disposed of two to himself; one to his brother, Richard Coote, another to his brother Chudleigh Coote, a fifth to his brother Thomas Coote, and a sixth to his cousin, Sir George."—*Memoirs*, vol. ii., pp. 837–9.

[18] *At Westminster.*—On the day following the seizure of the castle, the principal officers in Dublin published a paper entitled—"*A Declaration of several officers of the Army in Ireland, on behalf of themselves and those under their commands, holding forth their steadfast resolutions to adhere to the Parliament in defence of its privileges, and the just rights and libertyes of the people of these nations as men and christians.*" This declaration was signed by sir Hardress Waller and twenty-one others; not in support of the Rump parliament, as Dr. Reid supposes (vol. ii., p. 226, *note*), but in support of the right of the members excluded from the Long parliament to resume their seats in the house.

[19] *Sr Hardress Waller.*—The Wallers of Castletown are descended from an old Kent family, a member or members of which were distinguished at the battle of Agincourt. To the same stock belonged William Waller, a distinguished parliamentary general, and Edward Waller, the well-known poet. George Waller, who was chief of his name, married a lady of the ancient family of Hardress, and was father of sir Hardress mentioned in the text. The latter warmly espoused the side of the commonwealth, whilst his mother's family were as decidedly royalist. By his marriage with a daughter of sir John Dowdall of Kilfenny, sir Hardress became proprietor of the Castletown estate. He was appointed major-general of the horse, and was a member of parliament for the city of Limerick. He also acquired large estates by grant from the government, during the commonwealth, but having been one of the judges who presided at the trial of Charles I., he was brought to account at the Restoration. He had powerful friends among the royalists, and having pleaded guilty at his trial, his life was spared, and he was permitted to live in Ireland, but all the lands granted to him under the commonwealth were forfeited. These lands, with the estates of other regicides, were handed over to the duke of York (afterwards James II.), and at the Revolution were forfeited again, and sold in lots, principally to the Hollow Sword Blade Company. Lady Waller, however, was not deprived of the Castletown estate, which had descended to her through a long line of ancestors, her family always secretly favouring the royal cause during the civil war. To this fact, as well as to the influence of his three sons-in-law, sir Hardress Waller was indebted for his life. His daughter Elizabeth, married the celebrated sir William Petty; Bridget married Mr. Cadogan, and became the mother of the first earl of Cadogan, well-known as a gallant general; and Anne, the youngest, married sir Henry Ingoldsby, who became an active instrument in the restoration of Charles II.—Lenihan's *Limerick; its History and Antiquities*, p. 175, *note*.

[20] *Burhill.*—Burhill is a misprint for *Broghill*, the title borne by Roger Boyle, afterwards earl of Orrery.

[21] *Appearing in Dublin.*—Lord Broghill, sir Charles Coote, and major William Bury, were appointed commissioners by the parliament, in January, 1659–60, soon after the seizure and removal of their predecessors. Broghill and Coote, who had rendered eminent services to Cromwell and the commonwealth, seeing clearly the turn affairs were then taking in England, entered into an engagement with each other for the restoration of Charles II. Broghill sent his brother, lord Shannon, to inform the king, then at Brussels, of their project, whilst Coote dispatched sir Arthur Forbes on the same errand to Ormond, who was then staying with the king. Charles wrote to Coote in reply to his message, and among other confidential revelations, expresses himself as follows:—"I will not enlarge concerning yourself, the great services you can do me, the great confidence I have in view, and your great merit towards your country, as well as towards me, will all secure you, that I will do what becomes me towards the gratifying and obliging such a servant." The king closed his letter by an offer to make Coote an earl at once, to give him just such a command as he should please to accept, and to take all the young Cootes into his royal and especial care. For Coote's services, the king was afterwards indeed generous, but entirely at the expense of the hapless Roman Catholics forfeited in Ireland. In addition to the grants given by Charles I. to "old sir Charles" (see p. 188, *supra*), the son was now put into possession of extensive lands in the counties of Roscommon and Westmeath. He was appointed keeper of the castle of Athlone; governor of the county, town, and citadel of

relinquished his promise to help to restore the s[d] secluded members; nor how he was (by siege) obliged to surrender up the Castle of Dublin, wherein he had nested himself for the Rump,[22] nor of any other occurrences consequent thereupon, because it is not my business:[23] and I stayed no longer in the city to see them, but went home and surprised by artifice (without siege) my house of Rosemount[24] and castle of Quinlinbay (als. dict. Collinsbay)[25] in one day, and keeping possession

Galway; advanced to the earldom of Mountrath; constituted one of the three lords-justices, to whom a grant was passed of £10,000 to be equally divided among them. Sir Charles also received £6,000 as arrears due for his services before the 5th of June, 1649.—Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 75, 76.

[22] *For the Rump.*—The Rump parliament ceased to exist in 1653, but the nickname is here used to designate the Assembly that sat until the Restoration. It would appear, from our author's statement, that, although sir Hardress Waller declared at first in favour of restoring the sequestered and excluded members of the Long parliament, he afterwards clung more especially to the cause of the 'Rump.' After a siege of five days, however, he was obliged to surrender the castle of Dublin to Coote, who now suddenly abandoned the cause he had formerly espoused so warmly, and not only so, but endeavoured to establish hmself in favour with the royalists by the betrayal and robbery of his former friends. "That rapacious time-server had, during the power of the republicans and the usurpation of Cromwell, used his influence with the government to enrich himself at the expense of the royal party. But no sooner did the prospect of a revolution in favour of the banished family begin to open than he was among the first of the deserters, and employed the power he had in Ireland to the double advantage of wiping off old scores with the new government by a zealous attention to the purposes of their revenge, and to the enlarging of his ill-gotten possessions with the plunder of his old friends."—*Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.*, vol. i., p. 105. Ludlow had reason to congratulate himself in having escaped the 'clutches' of Coote, and tells the following story of the latter's rapacity:—"During this time, I had sent orders to my bailiff in Ireland, to sell my stock, which in sheep, black cattle, corn, and horses, might amount to about fifteen hundred pounds, and to collect the rents that were due to me from my tenants. But he being negligent, I made over my stock to my brother-in-law, Colonel Kempson, for satisfaction of my sister's portion, pressing him to send some person forthwith to take possession; which, not being done with the expedition that was requisite in such a juncture, Sir Charles Coote, without any order or pretence of authority from Parliament, made seizure of all; forcing my tenants to pay my rent to him, and commanding my servant not to dispose of any part of my stock but by his order; only four stone horses which I had bred, and were then in my stable, were taken away by Colonel Theophilus Jones; these men who had engaged in the same cause, outdoing our enemies in rage and cruelty to us."—*Memoirs*, vol. iii., pp, 9, 10.

[23] *Not my business.*—The author was evidently of opinion that the motives of the leading actors would not bear any very rigid scrutiny. The following passage from Dr. French's *Settlement and Sale of Ireland*, pp. 79, 80, will serve to illustrate the movements in Dublin immediately preceding the Restoration:—"Broghil and Coot having by several Emissaries sent into England, felt the pulse of the English Nation, and finding the people generally inclined to concur with the loyal and successful endeavours of the Lord General Monk, in order to the Restauration of his sacred Majesty, convoqued a Convention in Dublin of persons merely interested in that Kingdom, to consult upon the best and safest course that might be taken to prevent the restoring of the Irish Cavaliers to those estates which the Conventionists and their partisans enjoyed by the Usurper's (Cromwell's) bounty, and which they had great reason to believe would be immediately restored to their ancient proprietors upon his Majesty's re-establishment. In order to this resolution, it was agreed upon that all the gentlemen of Ireland should be committed to close prison, to render them incapable of contributing to his Majestie's Restauration, in case his Majesty should choose to pursue his Royal Right by dint of Sword, rather than to condescend to such disadvantageous conditions, as the Conventionists did hope, and were fully perswaded would be imposed upon him by the Parliament of England. It was also concluded, that a man of parts and faction among the Presbyterian party, should be employed into England, to prepossess the people there with the dangers and inconveniences which the restoring of the Irish Natives to their ancient estates would infallibly bring upon the new English interest in that Kingdom. In pursuance to these resolutions, all the prisons in Ireland were filled with the Nobility and Gentry of that Nation, whom no imbecillity of age nor indisposition of body could excuse, nor any offered security answer for. Sir John Clotworthy, a man famous for plundering Somerset House, murdering the king's subjects, and committing many other treasons and horrid crimes, was dispatched into England." It was mainly (according to the same writer) through Clotworthy's representations, backed up by the influence of such men as Broghill, Annesley, and Mervyn, that the Act of Oblivion did not extend to the natives of Ireland, and that his majesty's Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland by wholesale confiscation, was concocted and eventually carried out.

[24] *Rosemount.*—In the author's memoirs of himself, he gives a full and somewhat curious account of the manner in which he recovered Rosemount. See *infra*.

[25] *Quinlinbay, (als. dict. Collinsbay).*—Quinlinbay is a misprint for *Quintin Bay*, and Collinsbay for *Cottins Bay*. This part of Strangford Lough was called Quintin Bay from a castle of that name which stood above it on a headland, about two miles south from the town of Portaferry. The castle had been originally a fortress of the Savages, and was so called, no doubt, from some chieftain of that family, whose Christian name was Quintin, which is the English form for Cooey.—See Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 25. *Cottins* Bay was simply *cot*, or *boat*

of them.—Tho' Colo. George (in his circuit to cajole the Presbet[n] Ministers)[26] came to view the pretended forcible entry, but he did not disturb me. This was done by me on the 12th Feb[r]. 1659, four months (bate fifteen days) before the K. came to Whitehall, and was wonderfully and happily restored by God to his people on the 29th May (his birth-day) 1660, without bloodshed.[27] And

bay, from the Irish *cot*, meaning a small boat. Boate, in his *Ireland's Natural History*, p. 64, says:—"They call in Ireland *cots* things like boats, but very unshapely, being nothing but square pieces of timber made hollow." In William Montgomery's *Description of the Ards* (p. 304 of volume printed in 1830), we have the following account of his estate at this place:—"There is likewise on the eastern shore, one league from ye said Bar, Cottins Bay, als. Quintin Bay Castle, which commands ye Bay, that is capable to receive a bark of forty tunns burthen. Sir James Montgomery of Rosemount purchased the same, and lands adjoining therunto, from Dualtagh Smith, a depender on ye Savages of Portneferry, in whose mannor it is: and ye said sir James roofed and floored ye castle, and made free-stone window cases, &c., therin: and built ye baron, and flankers, and kitchen walls contiguous; all which, W. Montgomery, Esq., and his son James (joyning in ye sale) sold unto Mr. George Ross, who lives at Carney, part of ye premises." We have not been able to ascertain who had *custodium* of this property during the commonwealth, but most probably it was held by either colonel Barrow or his son. The author got into possession again without waiting for any official formalities, and some months before the replacing of other sequestered royalists.

[26] *The Presbet[n]. ministers.*—Whoever "Colo. George" may have been, who was sent round by Broghill and Coote to cajole the presbyterian ministers, he appears to have performed the duties of his exalted mission admirably well. His first object was to secure the co-operation of these ministers, or at least to prevent any opposition from them, at a convention to be held soon afterwards in Dublin, for the purpose of carrying out the objects then specially aimed at by Broghill and Coote. For an account of this cajoling process from first to last, see Adair's *Narrative*, pp. 231, 233, 234, 241. These ministers foolishly persuaded themselves that they were now to be formally recognised by the State, and their hopes were greatly elated when the Convention appointed as its chaplain a presbyterian minister named Cocks. *Adair*, who was himself the only deputy summoned from the north, records this little matter *twice* in his *Narrative*, at pages 231 and 233. The fact of the Convention calling "the soundest presbyterian in Dublin, one Mr. Cocks, to their prayers every morning when they began their business," appears to have compensated for much subsequent disappointment. Mr. Adair, on receiving an order from the Convention to attend its sittings, forthwith summoned a meeting of his brethren at Belfast, from whom he received instructions "how to carry," or, in other words, how most truly to represent their sentiments and expectations. They instructed him to "promove the work of reformation," to "guard against Episcopal courses on the one hand, and Sectarian (or Independent) on the other," and, as a matter of course, to attempt the owning and renewing of the Covenant. Adair, with about half a dozen other ministers, members of the Convention, agreed in private consultations to introduce the question of the Covenant, but, when this project became known, Sir James Barry, chairman of the Convention, declared that, if the *covenant* was made a subject of deliberation, he would leave the chair and protest against it. "Whereupon," says Adair, "the rest of his party did applaud him; and those of the Convention who favoured it (the Covenant) were of the fewest number; others were indifferent, and so that design was crushed in the bud." But behind this there was another "design" of more practical import, which, although not "crushed in the bud," was never permitted to develop. It is thus explained by *Adair*, page 235—"However, these ministers had power to recommend all honest able men to the Convention, that such only should be capable of maintenance; and were charged to recommend none who were of Anabaptistical principles, who refused ordination by orthodox ministers, or were scandalous in their lives. Accordingly, they drew up a list of the ministers then in Ireland, who were judged sober orthodox men, to the number of near an hundred, besides those belonging to the Presbytery in the North, upwards of sixty. They declared those who, to their knowldge or information, were scandalous in life, or Anabaptistical, or not orthodox in their principles; all whom they approved were allowed of the Convention to receive a legal right to the tithes of the parishes where they severally were; and, in order to that, they were to receive inductions into the churches by such neighbouring ministers as were appointed for that effect." This arrangement, by which their heretical brethren were "left out in the cold," would have been satisfactory to the presbyterians, even although it would have entirely precluded the possibility of carrying out their covenanting oath for the extirpation of prelacy. But the Convention had no authority whatever to make any such arrangement as here stated, and the "warrants" solemnly delivered to the "cajoled" on that occasion were not worth the paper on which they were written. Neither had the commissioners, Broghill, Coote, and Bury, or Barry, who seem to have acquiesced in this arrangement, any valid authority for so doing. The result of this movement, so hopefully regarded by presbyterians in the north, is thus described by Adair:—"After Mr. Adair's return home from Dublin, there was held a Synod at Ballymena, where all the brethren in the North were present. He gave them such an account of his keeping their instructions and of the state of the times as he could. He also brought every one of them a warrant for the tithes of their respective parishes, so far as was in the power of the commissioners in Dublin," p. 241. The holders of these "warrants" were soon doomed to see their hopes of rectories and glebe-lands vanish into thin air.

[27] *Without bloodshed.*—"To Monk belongs the merit of having, by his foresight and caution, effected this desirable object without bloodshed or violence; but to his dispense it must also be recorded that he effected it without any previous stipulation on the part of the exiled monarch. Never had so fair an opportunity been offered of establish-

now, having mentioned myself, I must not forget our third Visct. whom I left in Dublin, where he stayed but a few days; wherein he understood from Theo[s] Jones (who was released with him from the Irish as afores[d])[28] what was designed for the King's restoration; and now his was free from attendances, therefore he hasted home, and by the way went in at Millifont, and concerted with his brother Moore their councils for the King, not doubting that the confusion and stirs wou'd all end for his Majesty's and his kingdom's welfare; they wishing that the several parties of Oliver's army might overturn and governments till the King (whose right it was) should come and rule us. And now every party minded their own knitting, to work the best for themselves respectively. Then our Visc[t]. came to Newtown, and sent messages to C[h] Cromwell,[29] Colo. Tre-

ing a compact between the sovereign and the people, of determining, by mutual consent, the legal rights of the crown, and of securing from future encroachments the freedom of the people. . . . . It was found that, by the perfidy or negligence of Monk, a door had been left open to the recurrence of dissension between the crown and the people; and that very circumstance which Charles had hailed as the consummation of his good fortune, served only to prepare the way for a second revolution, which ended in the permanent exclusion of his family from the government of these kingdoms."—Lingard, *History of England*, vol. viii., p. 304. The restoration, as it happened, did not much improve the condition even of the royalists themselves, although the re-establishment of something like order and peace was a blessing to the country in general. The thousands, however, who had mortgaged their estates to redeem their sequestrations, and who could barely scrape together as much as paid the interest of the borrowed money, and their taxes for the king, were wholly forgotten by Charles in the company of his worthless associates. "'Twas rather a madness than jollity," says Coke, "that all sorts of people expressed in the king's passage from Dover to Whitehall. The nation was never so fine in cloaths, even the poor cavaliers will be as fine as the best, tho' they never live to pay their taylors; nor shall the king take any care of them, his favourites being of another stamp than those who served his father."—*Detection of the Court and State of England*, vol. ii., p. 102. Under date 25th May, 1660, Pepys has the following reference to the landing of Charles at Dover:—"Infinite the crowd of people, and the gallantry of the horsemen, citizens, and noblemen of all sorts. The mayor of the town come and give him his white staff, the badge of his place, which the king did give him again. The mayor also presented him from the town a very rich Bible, which he took, and said it was the thing that he loved above all things in the world." Before his entrance into London, "Dover's maidens, in behalf of themselves and others, presented a petition to the lord mayor, wherein they pray his lordship to grant them leeve and liberty to meet his majesty on the day of his passing through the city; and if their petition be granted that they will all be clad in white waistcoats and crimson petticoats, and other ornaments of triumph and rejoicing."—Rugge's *Diurnal*, May, 1660. Evelyn has the following entry under the 9th of May, 1660:—"This day his Majistie Charles the Second came to London after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering both of the king & church, being 17 yeares. This was also his birthday, and with a triumph of about 20,000 horse and foote, brandishing their swordes and shouting with inexpressible joy, the wayes strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapistry, fountains running with wine; the Maior, aldermen, and all the companies in their liveries, chaines of gold, and banners; lords and nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet; the windowes and balconies all set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the citty, even from 2 in ye afternoone till 9 at night. . . . The eagerness of men, women and children to see his Majistie and kisse his hands was so greate that he had scarce leisure to eate for some dayes, coming as they did from all partes of the nation; and the king being as willing to give them that satisfaction." Charles had soon to enter on the performance of acts on behalf of certain of his subjects which probably took him by surprise. On the 6th of June, not a month after the restoration, Evelyn has the following:—"His Majistie began first *to touch for ye evil*, accordinge to custome, thus: His Majestie sitting under his state in ye Banquetting House, the chirurgions cause the sick to be brought or led up to the throne, where they kneeling, ye King strokes their faces or cheekes with both his hands at once, at which instant a chaplaine in his formalities says—*He put his hands upon them and healed them.* This is said to every one in particular. When they have been all touched, they come up againe in the same order, and the other chaplaine kneeling, and having angel gold (pieces of money so called from having the figure of an angel on them) strung on white ribbon on his arme, delivers them one by one to his Majestie, who puts them about the necks of the touched as they passe, whilst the chaplaine repeats—*That is ye true light who came into the world.* Then follows an epistle (as at first a gospell), with the Liturgy, prayers for the sick, with some alteration, lastly, ye blessing; and then the lord chamberlaine and comptroller of the household bring a basin, ewer and towell for his Majestie to wash."—*Memoirs*, vol. i., pp. 323, 324.

[28] *Irish as afores[d].*—See pp. 164, 167, *supra.*

[29] *Ch. Cromwell.*—See p. 228, *supra.*—Colonel Cromwell's father, the first earl of Ardglass, who died in 1653, had sold all the Kinelarty estate, in 1636, to Matthew Forde, for the sum of £8,000. These lands, as already explained, had been acquired, on various grounds, from Phelomy Mac Artan, by Edward Cromwell, father of Thomas, and grandfather of the Colonel Cromwell mentioned in the text. Mr. Forde obtained a grant from the crown in July, 1637, of these lands, including Loghnewie, *alias* Loughanboy, *alias* Laraty, now absorbed in

vor afores[d] (afterw[ds] he was L[d] Dungannon)[30] and communed also with the Earle of Clanbrassil's friends (for himself was dead)[31] whom he thought true loyalists, and with his own friends and followers, whom he knew best of all and trusted most. Whilst these matters were under consultation, Cap[t] Campbell[32] going with instructions from Coote to Gen[l] Monk to Scotland, and Colo. Clifford, Gov[r] of Edinborough Castle, coming from his Excell[cy] Gen[l] Monk[33] and to Broghill and Coote, now in Dublin. The s[d] Cap[t]. and Colo. as they came and went communicated their business privately to our Visc[t]. at Newtown, and his Lo[p] gave them (at each meeting) steadable advice, incouragement and furtherance, and imparted to them what he was doing, for they were both enjoyned to apply themselves to his Lo[p], whose interest and abilitys (fit for the present purpose) Monk and Coote well knew by experience; and Theo[s]. Jones found private means as (his Lo[p] and he had agreed at parting) to send his Lo[p] intelligence and advice how to demean himself, and by what steps to proceed, as S[r] Art[r] Forbes (afterwards Earle of Granard) had in Dublin informed his Lo[p] on what message he went from Coote to the K.[34] I am sure I write not by guess or

Seaforde demesne (*Laithreac-teagh*, 'the house of the old ruins,' but afterwards translated, in allusion to the proprietor's name, 'Seaforde House,' as if derived from *Lar-ath-reagh*), Dromlistenan, Dromedikilly, Castlenavell, Tawnagh-Castlenavell, Comber, Magheratimpany, Dromorode, Dunturke, Tievenadarragh, Dromonquoyly, Ardtovanagh, Scribie, Donanerney, Teaghconnot, Edenmackeonan, Clerigh, Ichin, Comraine, Murvaghclogagh, Syvockan, Drumguolan, Cloughvallie, Tollincree, and Dromenessy.—See *Hanna's Account of Clough*, in the *Downpatrick Recorder*. Colonel Vere Essex Cromwell, the fourth and last earl of Ardglass, married Catherine Hamilton, daughter of James Hamilton of Newcastle, in the Ards, and by her left one daughter, who became the wife of Edward Southwell, principal secretary of state for Ireland, the Downpatrick estate thus passing into the Southwell family.

[30] *Lord Dungannon.*—In the *Irish Commons' Journals*, vol. ii., p. 171, it is stated that "on the 12th of September, 1662, Mr. Speaker informed the House that his Majesty had been pleased, by his writ, to call a member of this House, lately col. Marcus Trevor, and now the lord viscount Dungannon, into a higher sphere, the House of Lords, and would that, according to ancient precedents, he might be accompanied to the House of Lords, and there presented to their lordships." Sir Marcus Trevor was created viscount Dungannon, principally because of his having wounded Oliver Cromwell at the battle of Long-Marston Moor, Two letters of this viscount Dungannon addressed to sir George Rawdon, in 1666, are printed in the *Rawdon Papers*, pp. 217, 222.

[31] *Himself was dead.*—The first earl of Clanbrassill had died in 1659, only a short time before these changes.

[32] *Capt. Campbell.*—This captain Campbell was second cousin of the third viscount Montgomery, their grandmothers, Elizabeth and Marian Shaw, being sisters. See Crawford's *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, p. 125. Ludlow, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p, 798, thus refers to Campbell's mission to Monk:—"Whilst these things were doing, Sir Charles Coote, Col. Theophilus Jones, and the rest of the cabal at Dublin, sent one Captain Campbell to Col. Monk, to acquaint him with the progress they had made, upon which he caused the cannon at Berwick to be fired in testimony of his joy."

[33] *Gen. Monk.*—See pp. 169, 170, *supra*. After Monk had dispersed the royalist forces under sir George Monro and lords Middleton and Glencairn, in the Highlands, in 1654, he resided at Dalkeith Palace as governor and commander in Scotland, under Cromwell, until the death of the latter in September, 1658. Although serving Cromwell, Monk was supposed always to retain his original royalist principles. Under this impression, Charles II. wrote to him in the following terms, in August, 1655, from Colen :—

"One, who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well, assures me, that notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affections to me, and resolve to express it upon the first seasonable opportunity; which is as much as I look for from you. We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect: when it is, let it find you ready; and, in the mean time, have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture, and can never but suspect your affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards yours, &c.,

"CHARLES REX."

Although Monk promptly disclosed to the Protector all royalist movements that came to his knowledge, and even sent to him the foregoing letter, as evidence of his republican fidelity, Cromwell saw through his disguises. In writing to Monk, Cromwell added the following remarkable postscript :—"There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart; I pray you, use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me." Monk's movements afterwards, including the negotiations mentioned in the text between him and the Irish royalists, go to prove the truth of Cromwell's postscript. See Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. xxii., p. 238.

[34] *Coote to the K.*—So soon as the Restoration was concerted between Broghill and Coote, the latter sent sir Arthur Forbes to assure Charles II. that if he would come to Ireland, the whole kingdom would declare for him; but the king, knowing that Ireland must wait upon the fate of England, sent sir Arthur back again, but with such letters and commissions as the leading royalists in this country wished for, and had solicited. To reward sir Arthur's services, the king conferred upon him two grants, in April and July, 1661, including very extensive landed property

bare hearsays, for I was admitted to the wine that the Capt. (who came fm Dublin first to us) and the Colo. had in Newtown, publickly with his Lop, tho' I was not private at their opening their instructions afores[d]; but when they were gone, his Lop imparted the secrets to me, having the honour then to be one of his cabinet council and confidents, as formerly I had been his solicitor both in Whitehall and Dublin (in his absence from those places), and as having embarked my life as well as my late purchase, and surprised houses and lands in the cause of his Majesty's restoration; and therefore my relation touching his Lop shall now again begin fm that the happy epocha. Having accounted our former passages from many dismal hours, because they were most remarkable and best inhering in memory, rendered the narrative the more certain; but before I enter on that delightful theme, the reader may please to peruse a reflection I had on Colo. Cooper, his taking and sending his Lop prisoner as afores[d]. It was in Decr. 1659, and the last of his hardships fs the usurpers.[35] When I ruminated on the many bad usages wh my dearest Ld Montgomery had, and the noble serenity of spirit wherewith he endured them, I did not doubt but confidently immagine, that his good God (in whom he trusted always) supported him with assured hopes of particular deliverys and supplies in all his streights, and with a full persuasion of his Maj[ty's] restoration, for which his Lop waited with omnt Christian patience, and often advised him to take his carriage for an example. Yet all the experiences his enemys had of his Lop's candour and veracity, cou'd not make them secure of his quiet living according to the promises they too often extorted from him by force, and therefore, knowing their doings to be unlawfull, (both in spirit and military courts) they dreaded he wou'd break those exacted engagements. In this contemplation, I was at first and on the sudden a little amazed, to think that men cou'd be so stupid and blinded, that they cou'd not confess that they perceived his Lop's honour (wh he always reserved unsullyed and entire to all men) obliged him more than all the bonds that tyed him; and yet, to such sordid, covetous men (as the Rump officers and O. C.'s generals were) me thinks it had been argument and pawn enough to trust his Lop's single parole without suretys, because that (on the least forfeiture of his word) they cou'd levie his rents and his houses goods; his dear mother (who nursed him) his sisters, his brother, his children, and (more than all these) they had (for some years) his entirely beloved, loving Lady in their autched claws,[36] they being like harpys regarding nothing secret; for nevertheless of their fast holds, they were still jealous and affraid (without cause given on his Lop's part) their guilty consciences telling them that retaliative justice was due to themselves. This does solve the riddle, and dissipates my wonder, because, (after all the promises proved often) gross ignorance did not, but only fear and malice prompted and actuated them to perpetrate the barbarity wh his Lop suffered, (alas too many) whereof they had not the grace (tho' they all pretended to walk by the spirit of God) as to relent; nor had they human nature enough as to be ashamed or blush for their enormitys. This anatomys (on which I have lectured) please me not; their scent is un-

in the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Wexford. These grants were in addition to those bestowed on his father, and inherited by himself.—Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 143, 144, *note*. See p. 188, *supra*.

[35] *From the usurpers.*—See p. 219, *supra*.

[36] *Autched claws.*—*Autched* is probably a misprint for *auchted*. *Auchted claws* would mean hands full of property or plunder, *Aucht*, property, being derived from the Anglo-Saxon root *agan*, to own; hence *achta*, possession.—Boucher's *Glossary*. Or, *auchted* in the text might be a misprint for *clutched*.

savery, and therefore I return to my proper duty of relating his Lo^yp^s better fortunes. Our third Visc^t. went cheerfully to see his Majesty and to kiss his hand at Whitehall, where he also joyfully met with the Duke of Ormond[37] (the friend to his father and himself) who was then steward to the King's household, and saw many other friends, but ere he inwent his Lo^p made his betam^t[38] relative to his former settlement, the will bears date in May, 1660.[39] There was no enmity (now) or strangeness between Monk (D. of Albemarle) and our Visc^t.[40] The K. had forgiven all persons

[37] *Ormond.*—Ormond had maintained the royal cause with almost unparalleled tenacity throughout his long public career, but Charles II. repaid his fidelity with ingratitude and even treachery. Ormond's character and popularity excited the hatred of the royal favourite, Buckingham, who actually instigated the well-known desperado, Blood, to murder him. Blood confessed his crime when afterwards taken prisoner for an attempt to rob the Tower of the *Regalia*. He was pardoned by the king for this offence, and Charles also sent an explicit command to Ormond, prohibiting him from prosecuting Blood for attempting his assassination. Lord Arlington brought this injunction from Charles, and Ormond only replied, "If the king hath forgiven his (Blood's) design of stealing the crown, he may easily forgive the attempt upon my life." Various despicable expedients were employed by Charles and his associates to degrade Ormond, but they found that his popularity in Ireland was so great that they could not want his services. There are a few brief references to these unworthy attempts against Ormond in the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys. Under date November 6, 1667, is the following entry:—"He (Sir H. Cholmly) tells me he do verily believe that there will come in an impeachment for High Treason against my Lord of Ormond; among other things for ordering the quartering of soldiers in Ireland on free quarters, which, it seems, is High Treason in that country, and was one of the things that lost the Lord Strafford his head, and the law is not yet repealed; which, he says, was a mighty oversight of him not to have it repealed, which he might with ease have done, or have justified himself by an Act." On the 4th Nov., 1668, Pepys says:—"This day also I hear that my Lord is to be declared in Council no more Deputy Governor of Ireland, his Commission being expired; and the King is prevailed with to take it out of his hands, which people do mightily admire, saying that he is the greatest subject of any prince in Christendome, and hath more acres of land than any, and hath done more for his prince than any ever yet did. But all will not do; he must down, it seems, the duke of Buckingham carrying all before him." On the 25th of the same month there is the following entry:—"And, for instance of their (Buckingham and Arlington's) little progress, he tells me that my Lord Ormond is like yet to carry it, and to continue in his command in the land; at least they cannot get the better of him yet." Ormond held his high position at court, and was regularly in his place at the council-table to the last, comparing himself to "an old clock cast into a corner, but sometimes pointing right."

[38] *His betam^t.*—Betamp^t. is evidently a misprint for *testament.*

[39] *May*, 1660.—This will of the third viscount, which is preserved in the court of probate, Henrietta Street, Dublin, was drawn out before his leaving for England, and intended to confirm a prior arrangement of his affairs. His eldest son, Hugh Montgomery, succeeded to the family estates; his second son, Henry, is liberally provided for; and to his only daughter Jane, or Jean, he bequeathed only £100 yearly. This lady died, unmarried, at Chester, in the year 1673. The following is the introductory sentence of this document:—"I, Hugh, Lord Viscount of the Ards, being in my full strength and memory, but being now upon a journey into England, and desirous to settle my estate, doe make my last will and testament. First, I bequeath my soull to the Holy and Undivided Trinitie, trusting in the alone meritts of Christ Jesus my Lord, who came into the world to save sinners, whereof I acknowledge myself to be the greatest; and my body to be decently interred, as my executors and overseers, or the greater part of them, shall thinke most fitting my degree and present condition."

[40] *Our Visc^t.*—The enmity, if any, existed between them when Monk was the parliamentary leader in Ulster, and drove viscount Montgomery into an alliance with the covenanters, which proved so disagreeable to both parties in the end. Although Monk had been a traitor, first to the king, and finally to the people, his cunning enabled him to seize the lion's share in the end. Charles II., on landing at Dover, embraced him, and kissed him, and the country loaded him with wealth and honours. He became forthwith a knight of the garter, a privy councillor, master of the horse, a gentleman of the bed chamber, first lord of the treasury, baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees, earl of Torrington, and duke of Albemarle. He was voted £20,000 in hand, together with an estate worth at that time the enormous sum of £7,000 per annum.—Chalmers, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol xxii., p. 239. Monk, like some other great men, made rather a remarkable choice in the selection of his wife. Of this lady there are certain curious circumstances on record, which would never have been generally known, had they not been revealed by a family dispute. A correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says:—

"I have in my possession minutes of a trial upon an action of trespass between William Sherwin, plaintiff, and Sir Walter Clarges, Bart., and others, defendants, at the King's Bench Bar, at Westminster, 15th November, 1700. The plaintiff, as heir and representative of Thomas Monk, Esq., elder brother of George Duke of Albemarle, claimed the manor of Sutton, in county York, and other lands in Newton, Eaton Bridge, and Shipton, as heir-at-law to the said duke, against the defendant, devised under the will of Duke Christopher, his only child, who died in 1689, S.P. (i.e., *Sine Prole*, without issue). Upon this trial some very curious particulars came out, respecting the family of Anne, wife of George, created Duke of Albemarle. It appeared that she was daughter of John Clarges, a farrier in the Savoy, and farrier to General Monk. In 1632, she was married in the church of St. Laurence Pountney, to Thomas Batford, son of Thomas Batford, late a farrier, servant to Prince Charles, and resident in the Mews. She had a daughter who was born in 1634, and died in 1638. Her husband and she lived at the *Three Spanish Gipsies*, in the New Exchange, and sold washballs, powder, gloves, and such things, and she taught girls plain work. About 1647, she being a sempstress to Colonel Monk, used

but the regicides, whom the Lord Earle[41] (to vindicate the kingdom's honour) wou'd not forgive, but capitally punished them as paracides,[42] according to the law. And then the affairs of Ireland falling soon under consideration, there issued a commission for putting in execution his Majesty's gracious declaration at Breda,[43] and our Visc^{t}. was named among the chiefs of the commissioners.[44]

to carry him linen. In 1648, her father and mother died. In 1649, she and her husband fell out and parted. But no certificate from any parish register appears reciting his burial. In 1652, she was married in the church of St. George, Southwark, to General George Monk, and in the following year was delivered of a son, Christopher (afterwards the second and last Duke of Albemarle above mentioned), who was suckled by Honours Mills, who sold apples, herbs, oisters, &c. One of the plaintiff's witnesses swore that 'a little before the sickness (*i.e.*, the plague), Thomas Batford demanded and received of him the sum of twenty shillings; that his wife saw Batford again after the sickness, and a second time after the duke and duchess were dead.' A woman swore that she saw him the day his wife, then called Duchess of Albemarle, was put in her coffin, which was after the death of the Duke, her second husband, who died 3rd January, 1669-70. And a third witness swore that he saw Batford about July, 1660. In the opposition to this evidence, it was alleged that all along during the lives of the Duke George and Duke Christopher this matter was never questioned, and that the latter was universally received as only son of the former; and that this matter had been thrice before tried at the Bar of the King's Bench, and the defendant had had three verdicts. A witness swore that he owed Batford five or six pounds, which he had never demanded. And a man who had married a cousin of the Duke of Albemarle, had been told by his wife that Batford died five or six years before the duke married. Lord Chief Justice Holt told the jury, 'If you are certain that Duke Christopher was borne while Thomas Batford was living, you must find for the plaintiff. If you believe that he was born after Batford was dead, or that nothing appears what become of him after Duke George married his wife, you must find for the defendant. A verdict was given for the defendant, who was only son to Sir Thomas Clarges, Knt., brother to the illustrious duchess in question; was created a baronet, October 30th, 1647, and was ancestor to the baronets of his name."—*Gentleman's Magazine for October*, 1793, vol. lxiii., p. 886.

It is stated in the same periodical, for January, 1792, that a maypole which stood at the north end of Little Drury, was erected by John Clarges, the smith and farrier, to commemorate his daughter's good fortune in having married general Monk, and thus, at the Restoration, becoming duchess of Albemarle. A letter written by a Dr. Thomas Clarges, brother of the lady, is printed in the *Harodon Papers*, pp. 179, 180. See also Soane's *New Curiosities of Literature and Book of the Months*, vol. i., pp. 257-59.

[41] *The lord Earle.*—This personage was Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon.

[42] *Paracides.*—The term *parricide* is not exclusively applied to the murderer of a father or mother. It was often used to denote one who destroys any person whom he ought to reverence, such as his patron, or king. Sir James Ware speaks (*Works*, vol. i., p. 209) of the execution of Charles I. as "the horrid parricide of that excellent monarch." Of the persons actually concerned in the trial and execution of Charles I., twenty-five had died, sixteen had escaped to various places on the Continent, and three to New England in America. Beside these, there remained twenty-nine in England, all of whom were tried and sentenced to death; but the execution of such as had surrendered themselves was postponed for future consideration. The regicides selected for execution were Harrison, Scot, Carew, Jones, Clements and Scroop, who had signed the warrant for the king's death; Coke, who acted as solicitor on the trial; Axtele and Hacker, who guarded the prisoner; and Hugh Peters, an eloquent but intemperate preacher. These men, with the exceptions of Harrison and Peters, belonged to families of the old English gentry, were educated generally at the Universities, owned landed estates, and served in parliament—the majority being members of the council of state. One, Axtele, was governor of Kilkenny for a time; and another, Jones, served as one of the five commissioners appointed for the government of Ireland. Harrison had risen from the ranks to be a major-general. During his trial, the executioner, bearing a halter, was placed beside him, and so barbarously was his sentence inflicted, that he was cut down while alive, and actually saw his entrails flung into the fire.—Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., pp. 33—103; Pepys's *Diary*, edited by Lord Braybrooke, vol. i., pp, 113—115, 129, 146, 251, 271; vol. ii., p. 23; vol. iv., p. 330. Other executions followed in due course; but until they could be arranged, royalist revenge was gratified by the strange and revolting spectacle of inflicting the last penalties of the law on the remains of dead regicides. By an order of the two houses of parliament, approved by the king, the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton were raised from their graves, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn, hung and decapitated, the heads being fixed on the front of Westminster Hall, and the trunks flung into a pit at the place of execution.—Lingard's *Hist. of England*, vol. ix., p. 8; *Pepys*, vol. i., pp. 129, 148, 149. George Fox, the Quaker, in his diary writes—"When we came to Charing Cross multitudes of people were gathered together to see the burning of the bowels of some of the old King's judges, who had been hung, drawn, and quartered." Evelyn, noticing the same occurrence, has the following comment:—"Scot, Scroope, Cook, and Jones suffered for reward of their iniquities at Charing Cross, in sight of the place where they put to death their natural prince, and, *in the presence of the King, his son.* I saw not their execution, but met their quarters mangled and cut, and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on a hurdle. O the miraculous providence of God!" See Amos on the *English Constitution in the Reign of Charles II.*, p. 36.

[43] *Declaration of Breda.*—This declaration granted a pardon to all persons but such as might afterwards be excepted by the parliament, liberty in religious matters to tender consciences so far as compatible with the peace of society, the promise to discharge all arrears due to the army, and to leave the settlement of all disputes about lands to the wisdom of the legislature. This, in a few words, was the 'Declaration,' in which there was no mention of Ireland or Scotland, but which would have been 'gracious' enough, had its promises been carried out impartially in every part of the three kingdoms.

[44] *Of the Commissioners.*—The commissioners appointed for carrying the king's declaration into effect were Richard, earl of Cork, lord high treasurer of Ireland; Edward, lord viscount Conway and Kilulta; Arthur, lord viscount Valentia, vice-treasurer and general receiver; Hugh, lord viscount Montgomery of the Ards, master of ordnance;

I saw him and them sit in court at the inns of law in Dublin, where were determined many clai[illegible]ns of adventurers[45] soldiers[46] (who shared in the benefit thereof) and many innocent Papists and a[illegible]so Protestants restored to their estates.[47] At the insuing the first com[n] for justices of peace, I w[illegible]as named one for the county of Downe, and his Lo[p] was Custos Rotulorum Pacis, and he (unrequeste[illegible]d) made me his deputy in that office. His Lo[p] was also Privy Council[r] and his name (as other Pri[illegible]vy Councillors are) was inserted in all the commissions of the peace, and so his warrants cou'd r[illegible]n through every county of Ireland. Then also our third Visc[t]. had his patent of honour for bei[illegible]ng

John, lord viscount Massareene; Francis, lord Angier; John, lord Kingston; Richard, lord baron of Colooney; sir James Barry, knight, lord chief justice of the court of chief place; James Donnellan, esq., lord chief justice of the court of common pleas; John Bysse, esq., lord chief baron of the court of exchequer; sir Henry Tichburn, knight; sir Robert Forth, knight; sir James Ware, knight; Thomas Pigot, esq., master of the court of wards and liveries; colonel Arthur Hill; colonel Marcus Trevor; sir Francis Hamilton, knight and baronet; sir Arthur Forbes, baronet; sir Oliver St. George, knight and baronet; sir John Cole, baronet; sir Richard Lane, baronet; sir Paul Davis, knight; sir George Lane, knight; sir John Stephens, knight; sir William Domville, knight, attorney general; sir Allen Broderick, knight, surveyor general; sir Audley Mervyn knight, chief serjeant at law; John Temple, esq., solicitor general; colonel John Ponsonby; Henry Warren, esq.; Dudley Cooley, esq.; serjeant major George Rawden; Dr. William Petty; James Cuffe, esq.; and Thomas Browne, esq. The above commissioners were appointed by privy signet, dated Whitehall, 19th February, 1660, patent of commission dated 19th of March following. On the 24th of May, 1661, Edward Lucas, Theophilus Eaton, Robert Woods, Watkin Sands, Robert Pue, Thomas Elliott, and Arthur Freake were appointed sub-commissioners, for the more orderly and effectual execution of the king's declaration for the settlement of Ireland. And on the 4th of Sept. following, further sub-commissioners were appointed.—*Fifteenth Report on the Public Records of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 31, *note*. These commissioners were required to perform the difficult task of reconciling all the various and opposing claims to estates in Ireland. The adventurers came forward first to demand royal confirmation of the titles by which they held the lands they had received as compensation for their money advanced to sustain the government. Their demands were opposed by petitioners, among whom were officers, who had served in the royal army prior to 1649; protestants, whose property had been confiscated under the commonwealth; catholics, who had never been active confederates; and heirs, whose estates had been forfeited before they were old enough to take part in the rebellion of 1641.—Lingard's *History of England*, vol. ix., p. 27.

[45] *Adventurers.*—See p. 161, *supra*.

[46] *Soldiers.*—By an ordinance made in the year 1653, for the satisfaction of adventurers and soldiers, the forfeited lands in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford, in the province of Munster; of King's, and Queen's counties, and East and West Meath, in the province of Leinster; and of Down, Antrim, and Armagh in the province of Ulster, were to be charged with the sums due to the adventurers and soldiers, and to be divided amongst them by lot. The act of settlement confirmed the lan[illegible]ds thus allotted to the soldiers and possessed by th[illegible]m before the 7th of May, 1659, excepting church lan[illegible]s, or such as had been fraudulently obtained, or u[illegible]n-fairly measured, or had been decreed by the court of cha[illegible]ncery or exchequer to other parties. When the original owne[illegible]rs, however, were restored to estates thus occupied by soldie[illegible]rs, the latter were immediately *reprised*, or compensated by the possession of lands equally valuable in some other district.—Howard's *Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 190, 193. On the 31st January, 1661, the following persons were appointed commissioners to ascertain the true value of such lands as were set out to adventurers and soldiers, viz., Roger, earl of Orrery; Arthur, earl of Anglesey; John, viscount Massareene; sir James Ware, knight, auditor-general; John Bysse, esq.; sir John Percival, Bart.; sir George Lane, knight; and sir Audley Mervin, knight. These commissioners were reappointed, after the passing of the act of settlement, their patent being dated 13th January, 1662.—*Fifteenth Irish Record Commission Report*, vol. iii., p. 32, *note*.

[47] *Restored to their estates.*—Innocent papists and protestants were simply those who had never adhered either to the confederates or the parliament. The list of the qualifications of innocence was so drawn up as to exclude from the benefit of this plea the greatest possible number of Roman catholics. In restoring 'innocents' to their estates, the commissioners were required to observe the following rules—viz., not to restore any person as an innocent papist, who, at or before the cessation made on the 15th of September, 1643, was of the rebel party; nor any, who, being of full age and sound memory, enjoyed his estate real and personal in the rebel quarters; nor any person who had entered into the Roman catholic confederacy, at any time before the articles of peace concluded in 1648; nor any one who adhered to the nuncio's or clergy's party, in opposition to the king's authority; nor any that had been excommunicated for adhering to the king's authority, and afterwards owning his offences, was restored; nor any who derived his title to his estates from another who had died guilty of any of the aforesaid crimes; nor any person who had sat in Roman catholic assemblies or councils, or acted upon any commissions of power derived from them, prior to the peaces in 1646 and 1648; nor any person who had empowered agents or commissioners to treat with any foreign papal power beyond seas, for bringing into Ireland foreign forces; nor any who had been a wood-kern or tory before the marquis of Clanrickard's leaving the government of Ireland (in 1649). "Eleven qualifications," says Dr. French, "were ordered for their trial, and those so rigid and severe, that Clotworthy and his companions (who had the wording of

Earle, dated 1661,[48] and might have had the precedency of date before his brother Moore;[49] it was offered to his Lo^p^ to be, but he declined that compliment (that might raise envy) which brotherly concession was ill requitted, when the trial about S^t^. Wolstan's[50] came to be heard. His Lo^p^ assumed the title of M^t^. Alexander, in honour of his descent by his mother, from the family of Alexanders, Earles of Strivling,[51] in Scotland, and his Lo^p^ (in the patent) had this epithet gave him, viz. *Qui nec Regem nec Religionem reliquit.* Whereas, in those troublesome turning times many

them) did verily believe there could not be a man found in all Ireland that should pass untoucht through so many pikes."—*Narrative of the Earl of Clarendon's Settlement and Sale of Ireland*, p. 85. 'Innocents,' whether papist or protestant, were obliged to make out their qualifications of innocence; but that done, they were not required to take out any new patents for their estates, because they were not to derive any new title from the king, but were remitted to their old title to such lands as they previously owned.—Howard's *Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 197, 204.

[48] *Dated* 1661.—The third viscount Montgomery was created earl of Mount-Alexander, by privy seal, Whitehall, June 20; patent, Dublin, July 18, 1661.—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. i., part i., p. 9.

[49] *Brother Moore.*—Henry Moore, third viscount Drogheda, was created earl of Drogheda, by patent, dated 14th June, 1661.—*Ibid.*

[50] *The trial about St. Wolstan's.*—Whilst the third viscount Montgomery was permitted to rusticate at Leixlip, see p. 206, *supra*, he appears to have obtained such a knowledge of the beautiful and extensive estate of the Allens of St. Wolstan's as afterwards induced him to make strenuous efforts for its possession. When the settlement of Ireland was in progress immediately after the restoration, he had influence sufficient to get the following clause introduced into the "Instructions" accompanying the Act of Settlement:—"LXVII. And in case the manor, castle, town, and lands of St. Wolstan's, *alias* Allen's Court, in the county of Kildare, and county of Dublin, or either of them, formerly the inheritance of Sir Thomas Allen, knight, deceased, or now belonging to the Lady Allen, his wife, for term of life, or years yet to come, and the remainder or remainders thereof unto Robert Allen, John Allen, William Allen, and James Allen, some or one of them, shall, upon inquiry, be found to be forfeited, you are hereby required to cause the same to be delivered unto our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Hugh, earl of Mount-Alexander, his heirs and assigns, for ever, subject, nevertheless, to the payment of the like rents and services as the adventurers for lands in the province of Leinster are subject unto, and with the like benefit of reprisal in case of restitution, as any adventurers, their heirs and assigns, have, or ought to have, and also with benefit of reprisal in case any adventurer be intituled to the same, or any part thereof. Provided always, that whensoever we shall declare under our great seal of England or Ireland, our will and pleasure to revoke the estate hereby granted, in all or any part of the premises, that then, and immediately from and after such declaration, the estate so revoked shall cease and determine, and remain subject unto the rules and ends of this declaration, as if this grant had not been made." In pursuance of the above clause, the king granted the estate of St. Wolstan's to the earl of Mount-Alexander. The following is a copy of the patent conveying this grant:—

"Charles the 2nd, by the grace of God, &c.—

"Whereas, Sir Thomas Allen, deceased, was in his life-time seized in his Demesne as of fee or of some other estate of Inheritance of and in the Manor, Castle, Town, and Lands of St. Wolstan's, otherwise called Allenscourt, in the Co. of Kildare, with several other Castles, Manors, Towns, and Lands, Advowsons, & Heredit^s^. in the Co. of Kildare and Co. of Dublin. After whose death the premises came to Lady Allen, his wife, who became seized of the premises for term of her life, or possessed for a certain term of years still to come, and not expired, under payment of a rent of 40 shillings per Ann. sterling. And whereas Lady Allen is still surviving, and the reversion and remainder of and in all and singular the premises after her death, or after the determination of any other estate or interest of which she is possessed descended or came to Robert Allen, John Allen, William Allen, and James Allen, or to some or one of them, who all (or some of them) were outlawed or indicted of High Treason, by reason of which the premises are in our gift and disposition. And whereas we retain a sense of the great and constant services and things done and sustained for our father of Blessed Memory and us, And that the said Hugh may be in some measure remunerated for the services and things by him sustained, of whose allegiance and fidelity we are satisfied, Know ye, therefore, that we, of our special favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion, with the advice and consent of our well-beloved Sir Maurice Eustace, Knight, Lord Chancellor of our s^d^. Kgm. of Ireland, and of our well-beloved and faithful cousin and Councellor Roger, Earl of Orrery, our justices of the s^d^. Kgm. of Ireland—and also according to the tenor and effect of certain letters of ours signed with our hand, and sealed with our Privy Seal, bearing date at our Court of Whitehall, the 19th day of Oct^r^., in the year of our Lord, 1661, and in the 13th y^r^. of our reign, and now enrolled in the rolls of our Chancery of our s^d^. Kingm. of Ireland. We have given, granted, & to the aforesaid Hugh, Earl of Mount Alexander, and Viscount Montgomery of Ardes, all those Manors, Castles, Towns, Lands, Tenements, Advowsons, and Heredit^s^. of Donaghcomfer, 187a. 3r. 34p. of Profitable Land; Also, all the Towns, Lands, Tenements, & Heredit^s^. of St. Wolstan's, otherwise Allen's Court, with the Appurtenances, containing 217a. 3r. 32p. of Profitable Lands. Also, the Town, Lands, & Heredit^s^. of Parson's Court, with the appurtenances containing 62a. 3r. 24p. of Profitable Land. Also [And so through the whole of the Allen Estate, as in the schedule, to the decree of Innocence, in James Allen's case—], saving the right, title, claim, and interest of all Adventurers, their heirs and assigns to the premises, or any part thereof. And, further, we give and grant for us and our successors if it should chance that any of the premisses should belong to any Adventurer that Reprisals of as great value, worth, and purchase, shall be delivered and confirmed to the af^d^. Hugh, Earl of Mount-Alexander, his heirs and assigns.

"To have, enjoy, occupy, and hold all and singular the premises to the af^d^. Hugh, Earl of Mount Alexander, and Viscount Montgomery of Ardes, his heirs and assigns to the sole use of the af^d^. Hugh, his heirs and assigns for ever. Rendering yearly to us and our heirs such rents as were heretofore paid, therefor or thereout to us. In testimony, whereof, &c. 12 June, in the 14th year of our Reign.

"Entered & Examined, 25 June, 1662."

For copy of the above grant, the editor is indebted to the kindness of John P. Prendergast, Esq., author of *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.*

[51] *Earles of Strivling.*—Mount-Alexander was also the name of the family residence adjoining the town of Comber, which had been prepared for the second viscount,

men deserted both, nor wanted he temptations to shake the foundation of loyalty (which were laid at Oxford as afores[d])[52] but neither promises nor threats, nor the sufferings (w[h] you have partly heard of) nor the frequent danger of death (hoped for and therefore intended by Corbet)[53] cou'd divert him f[m] deserving the s[d] short character, or a better one. Before or about this time, our s[d] Earle was made Master of the Ordinance and Military Stores in all Ireland, w[h] is (in campaigns) the 3[d] post of honour in the army, and he had foot, &c. allowed to attend the train of artillery, with waggons, &c. besides a troop of horse to himself.[54] After this, our s[d] Earle married a very good lady, the widow of S[r] Will[m] Parsons, B[rt]. named Cath[r] Jones[55] (daughter of Arthur L[d] Visc[t] Ranelaugh); by her he had one son (who died in his early infancy) and the Ladies Cath[r] and Eliza, whose pictures (drawn when children) now are in M[t] Alexander house, and show their comliness. They both married after the death of her Lad[p]. who survived his Lo[p]. and died his widow A°. D. 1675.[56] The Lady Cath[r] married (with her brother's consent) S[r] Fra[s] Hamilton,[57] Bar[t]. and had a daughter, w[h] died an infant, and her La[p] departed this life soon after it; in her sickness, recomm[s] to her husband's choice his cousin-german (A. Hamilton, a good and pretty one) to whom he was married

on his marriage with Jean Alexander, and named in honour of the bride. In the patent for his estates taken out by the second viscount, in 1637, the lands surrounding this residence constituted the manor of Comber or Mount-Alexander.

[52] *Oxford as aforesaid.*—See p. 152, *supra*.

[53] *Corbet.*—See p. 202, *supra*.

[54] *Horse to himself.*—The earl of Mount-Alexander was appointed master of the ordnance for life, his patent being dated Westminster, September 12, 1660. He succeeded sir John Borlace in this office, who had resigned to occupy another position, and who survived until the month of February, 1675.—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. i., part ii., p. 102.

[55] *Cath[r]. Jones.*—This lady was a daughter of Arthur Jones, second viscount Ranelagh, and widow of sir William Parsons of Bellamont, county of Dublin, who died in 1658. By lord Ranelagh's will, dated December, 1669, he appointed sir John Cole executor in trust for his three daughters, to each of whom he bequeathed £2,000—his daughter, Mount-Alexander, to be paid first, and Elizabeth and Frances to have their portions, on condition that they married with consent of their sister, Mount-Alexander, his son, sir John Cole, or any two of them.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iv., p. 203.

[56] *Ao. D.* 1675.—"In 1672, Catharine, Countess of Mount Alexander, obtained a lease for twenty-one years of the rectory of Templeoge and Glassnimicky, *alias* Glassmucky, *alias* Templesauntan; also the tithes of Knockbeline, Ballycroghan, the Hill of Rowanstown, Glassmockey, Old Court, Tagony, Ballynalife, and Freeresland; saving a messuage and one hundred acres demesne land, belonging to the rectory or chapel of Templeoge and Templesauntan, for 6*l.* per annum rent, and 20*l.* fine. On the same day the chapter appointed her their attorney toward the recovery of the latter, and confirmed all lawful acts and proceedings, which she should take, for that purpose. She was, likewise, to have the land at half the yearly value, for twenty-one years, if recovered." The church of Kilmesantan is situated in a romantic, but deserted glin called Glasnamucky, which runs up into the the mountains, and is environed by them on all sides, except at its entrance, near Oldbawn."—Mason's *History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 74, *note*. The following is an extract from the will of the countess of Mount-Alexander:—

"I bequeath my body to be buried, with Christian burial, in Sir William Parsons his Vault in St. Patrick's Church, desiring to be buried neither vainly nor contemptuously, and I desire the house and church may be hung with black. And, as for my worldly estate, I dispose of it in manner and form following:—I give and bequeath to my beloved son, Richard Parsons, all bills, bonds, debts, gould, money, plate, goods, and all my possessions whatsoever, providing that he shall pay unto each of my beloved daughters, Katherine and Elizabeth, the full and just sum of £2,000 a piece, which foresaid sum shall be paid when aforesaid Katherine and Elizabeth shall arrive at the age of 16, or marriage, and in the mean time the interest shall be paid them for their present sustenance. *Item*, I desire that all my debts shall be paid. I doe appoint five Trustees, viz., the Earl of Corke, my Lord Ranelagh, Captain Robert Fitzgerald, Sir Joshua, and Mr. Basill. *Item*, if one of my daughters shall dye, I desire that the other may have her portion. *Item*, I will and desire my mother, Lady Ranelagh, be executor of this my Will and Testament.

"Dated—set my hand unto on 4th October, 1677."

Sir Richard Parsons above-named was son of the countess by her first husband. He was great grandson of the well-known sir William Parsons, surveyor-general of Ireland. Sir Richard became first earl of Ross.

[57] *S[r] Fra[s] Hamilton.*—This knight's residence was Killeshandra, in the county of Cavan. His father, also named sir Francis, obtained a grant from the crown, in 1631, of lands which he had previously occupied as an undertaker, consisting of three proportions called Clonkine, Corrotubber, and Clonyne, *alias* Taghleigh, each containing 1,000 acres, the half pole of Gortmardoris, and the advowson of the vicarage of Killeshandra, *alias* Killetawna. These lands were erected into a manor called Castlekeylaghe, the owner having power to create tenures, hold court leet and court baron, establish two fairs at Killeshandra—one on the feast of St. Simon and Jude, the other on the feast of St. Barnaby; also a market on every Saturday, and two fairs at Screvagh—one on Ascension Day, and the other on the feast of Andrew the

before A°. 1695. The Lady Eliz. (so called for her aunt[58] of Rosemount's sake) married Mr. Hunt[59] (a gen[t]. of a good estate) and dying, left him no issue. Both these young ladies were as well humoured and bred and dutiful to their husbands, and loving to their kindred, as an honest heart can wish.

About the time of our Earle's marriage a Parl[t] sat in Dublin, wherein I was burgess for Newtown afores[d],[60] and then was passed the act for settlement of adventurers soldiers and others in Ireland.[61] This was done in pursuance of the gracious declaration afores[d], and another commission

Apostle.—Morrin's *Calendar of Patent Rolls of Charles I.*, p. 582.

[58] *Her aunt.*—Her aunt was Elizabeth, daughter of the second viscount, and wife of the author.

[59] *Mr. Hunt.*—This was Raphael Hunt, esq., of Dulhardstown, county of Kildare.

[60] *For Newtown afores[d].*—The author's election as member of parliament for Newtown took place on the 18th April, 1661, his colleague being Charles Campbell, esq., of Donaghadee. The parliament here mentioned was convened to remove a great difficulty which had arisen in the settlement of Ireland. The commissioners appointed to carry into effect the king's declaration on this great national work, assembled in Dublin, and caused proclamation to be made requiring every adventurer to deliver to the commissioners, in writing, a certificate of the houses and lands possessed by him, together with the number of acres both profitable and unprofitable, as the same had been admeasured to him. Such of the adventurers and soldiers as had taken a survey of their lands were required by this proclamation to bring in such surveys to the commissioners at a certain day, or duplicates thereof, together with the field books. The commissioners were first to ascertain whether such surveys were correct, and if so, they were next to make out statements of what was due to each adventurer and soldier, to ascertain the possession of such as had lands assigned to them, stating the name of the former proprietor, the number of acres, the townland, the parish, barony, and province in which the lands were situated. When it appeared that any adventurer had possession of more lands in one place than were sufficient to satisfy his debenture, and less in another locality, or had purchased the right of any deficient adventurer, the overplus in one place was to answer the deficiency in another.—Howard's *Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 195. These and other important instructions the commissioners had commenced to carry out, but they had not proceeded far when it was discovered that there was no law to warrant their acts. The king's declaration was only an act of state, and had not sufficient authority to order the disposing of men's estates. Measures were immediately taken, therefore, to convene a parliament for the purpose of removing this objection, by carrying the king's declaration into legal execution. This parliament met at Chichester house, on the 8th of May, 1661. "In the House of Peers, the Lords having taken their places, John Bramhall, the English Primate of all Ireland, seated on the woolsack, delivered the King's commission constituting him speaker; the Lords Justices, Sir Maurice Eustace, Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, and Charles Coote, Earl of Mountrath, took their seats in chairs set on an elevation under the cloth of state,—Lord Baltinglass bearing the sword, Viscount Montgomery carrying the cap of maintenance, and the Earl of Kildare holding the robe. The House of Commons was composed almost exclusively of Protestant English settlers, with the exceptions of one Catholic and one Anabaptist, both returned for Tuam, whence their speaker, Sir Audley Mervyn, in his official address to the Lords Justices, observed :—'I may warrantably say, since Ireland was happy under an English Government, there was never so choice a collection of Protestant fruit that ever grew within the walls of the Commons' House. Your Lordships have piped in your summons to this Parliament, and the Irish have danced. How many have voted for and signed to the returns of Protestant elections? So that we may hope for, as we pray, that Japhet may be persuaded to dwell in the tent of Shem.' Among the members of the Commons were the famous Sir William Temple, Sir James Ware, Sir William Petty, and the learned Dr. Dudley Loftus."—Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, vol. iii., p. 60. Prior to the year 1641, Parliaments used generally to meet in Dublin Castle, but after this date, they assembled at Chichester House, so called from sir Arthur Chichester. This building, which consisted originally of a large mansion, with gate-house, garden, and plantations adjoining, was built towards the close of the sixteenth century, by sir George Carew, for an hospital, and at a cost of £4000. From him it passed in succession to sir Thomas Ridgeway, sir Arthur Basset, and sir Arthur Chichester, being sold at the death of the latter, by his brother, to assist in defraying debts owed by sir Arthur, one of which amounted to £10,000. The meetings of Parliament continued to be held at Chichester House until the year 1729, when it assembled at the Blue-Coat Hospital, a new Parliament House being then in course of erection on the site of Chichester House. This building, which cost £40,000, was first occupied by the Parliament on the 5th of October, 1731, and is now used as a Bank.—*Rawdon Papers*, p. 172, *note;* Gilbert, *History of the City of Dublin*, vol. iii., p. 60.

[61] *And others in Ireland.*—The Act of Settlement, with its accompanying Act of Explanation, was described by sir Audley Mervyn, then speaker of the house of commons, as the *Magna Charta Hiberniæ*, and has been since regarded by high authorities as the legislative title deed of Ireland. The grantees of the crown, adventurers, soldiers, and 1649 officers, had good reason to be well pleased with its provisions, but the native Irish, although some of them were restored by its operation, always looked on this act as a measure of unparalleled oppression and wrong. "Its injustice," says Lingard, *History of England*, vol. ix., p. 31, "could not be denied; and the only apology offered in its behalf, was the stern necessity of quieting

was granted,[62] wherein I was adjudged as an innocent Protestant restorable to my father's estate;[63] and I procured the Papists, under whom (as thro' my father's purchase f^m them) I claimed a right to part of Quintinbay lands, to be also declared innocent;[64] and so I was confirmed in my paternal estate.[65] In this Parliament, there was a recognition and address made to the K. and our Earle was one of the commissioners for the Lords House, and he went to Westminster, taking his Countess with him.[66] And the commissioners having spedd their business, they returned to attend the Parliam^t, w^h (before they went) had made a recess by adjournment. The Earle had obtained a grant of the lands of S^t Wolstan[67] afores^d, but by the favour of the Court of

the fears and jealousies of the Cromwellian settlers, and of establishing on a permanent basis the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland." The profitable lands forfeited in Ireland under the commonwealth amounted to 7,708,237 statute acres, leaving undisturbed about 8,500,000 acres belonging to protestants, to Irish who had been constantly loyal, to the church, and the crown, besides some lands never seized or surveyed. Of the forfeited lands, 4,560,037 acres were granted to the English, and only 2,323,809 acres to the Irish. Of the latter, some were restored as 'innocent' papists; others, because circumstances required that provisoes should be made in their favour; others, as nominees, or persons named by the king to be restored to their mansion-houses, and, in each case, two thousand acres of land adjoining; and others, as transplanters, or persons whom Cromwell had forced from their own lands and settled in Connaught.—*Memoirs of the Grace Family*, pp. 37–9, as quoted by Lingard, *History of England*, vol. ix., p. 31, *note*.

[62] *Commission was granted.*—There were several commissions granted in connexion with this important business. The object of the first commission was to carry out the king's declaration at Breda. The second was appointed to execute the Act of Settlement, its members being Henry Coventry, esq.; sir Edward Deering, bart; sir Richard Rainsford, sir Thomas Beverley, sir Edward Smith, knights; Edward Cooke, and Winston Churchill, esquires. These commissioners were appointed by privy signet, dated 18th July, 1662. Again, on the 1st of January, 1665, a third commission was appointed for putting into execution the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. The commissioners were sir Edward Smith, chief justice of the court of common pleas; sir Edward Deering, bart.; sir Allen Broderick; sir Winston Churchill; and Edward Cooke, esq. There was also a commission to ascertain the value of lands set out to adventurers and soldiers; a commission to ascertain the value of each estate restored or reprised; a commission to review and rectify the decrees for lands in Connaught and Clare; a commission to inquire into the value of lands granted to protestants; a commission to ascertain the value of lands held by the 1649 officers; a commission for abatements of quit-rents; and a commission to inquire into the state of transplanted persons. "Amongst the great collection of national documents preserved in the Record Tower of His Majesty's castle of Dublin, are nine large folio volumes, relating principally to the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and the various transactions connected with them. These volumes, which are considered highly valuable, contain, in general, entries of petitions, reports, orders of council, statements of individual rights and interests, remonstrances, letters patent, cases, letters of the king and privy council, and numerous other documents, during the reign of Charles the Second, which throw considerable light on the civil affairs of Ireland throughout that eventful period of its history."—*Fifteenth Report on Irish Records, Reports*, vol. ii., p. 33, *mutatis*.

[63] *My father's estate.*—The author was an innocent Protestant, having neither joined the confederates nor taken the side of the parliament, and hence pronounced "restorable" by the Act of Settlement.

[64] *Declared innocent.*—Sir James Montgomery had purchased his lands at Quintinbay from a Roman catholic family named Smith, and the fact of the latter being innocent papists facilitated the re-possession of this property by the author.

[65] *My paternal estate.*—Although the author had taken possession of Rosemount and Quintin Bay estates (see p. 221, *supra*), he had no regular title until the passing of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.

[66] *Countess with him.*—The other three commissioners from the lords appointed with the earl of Mount-Alexander, were the earl of Kildare, the bishop of Elphin, and lord Kingston. The lord primate wrote to sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state, announcing the appointment of these commissioners, as follows:—

"HONOURABLE SIR,—I am commanded by the House of Peers to make known unto your honor, that they have named four of their members to be their agents, to attend his sacred majesty in England, for the good of this church and kingdom, to continue there so long as his Majesty shall license them, and the House shall judge expedient, which they do, therefore, represent, that no other persons or persons may pretend themselves to be qualified as agent or agents to negotiate public affairs in the name of this kingdom, except such others as shall be employed into England for that purpose, by the Right Honourable the Lords Justices and Council, the House of Convocation, and the House of Commons, in their several and distinct capacities; which being all that is commanded me by the House, I crave leave to subscribe, your Honor's most humble and obedient Servant,

"Dublin, July the 10th, 1661."

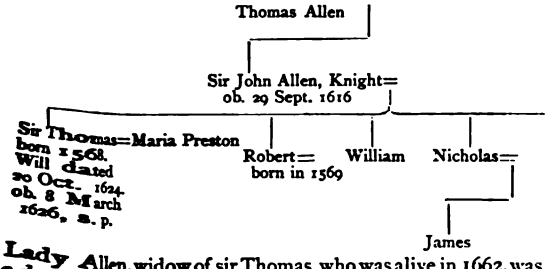
"JO. ARMACHANUS.

—*Rawdon Papers*, pp. 147, 148.

[67] *St. Wolstan.*—See p. 229, *supra*. Sir Thomas Allen of St. Wolstan's died in 1626, leaving no family. He had been created a baronet in the year 1622, by patent setting forth that the honour was conferred, among other reasons, in consideration of the great services that had been rendered to the state by archbishop Allen, lord chancellor of Ireland. Thomas Allen of Killheale, Killhill (the name by which the principal part of the family estate was early known), left a son, John, who styled of Allen's Court, als. St. Wolstan's, and who on the 29th of September, 1616. At the date of death, his son, Thomas, was fifty years of age and

Claims[68] and knavery of his Lo^ps Papists' witnesses, and the cunning cheatry of a supposed friend,

married.—*Inquisitions*, Kildare, No. 20, Jac. I. King's letter creating Thomas Allen of St. Wolstan's a baronet, with remainder to his heirs male, 12th May, 1622.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 546b. Grant creating Thomas Allen of St. Wolstan's, descended from the brother of John Allen, late lord chancellor, a baronet, with remainder to his heirs male, 1622.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.*, p. 588b. Sir Thomas Allen is described as great-nephew of John Allen, the well-known archbishop and lord chancellor, murdered in 1534. See *Liber Hiberniæ*, part i., p. 73. Thomas Allen died on the 8th of March, 1626.—*Inquisitions, Dublin, no.* 89, *Car. I.*


Thomas Allen
Sir John Allen, Knight= ob. 29 Sept. 1616
Sir Thomas=Maria Preston born 1568. Will dated 30 Oct. 1624. ob. 8 March 1626, s. p.
Robert= born in 1569
William
Nicholas=
James

Lady Allen, widow of sir Thomas, who was alive in 1662, was a daughter of the fifth viscount Gormanstown. The property known as St. Wolstan's, or Allen's Court, was inherited by the sons of Nicholas—a younger brother of sir Thomas—some of whom had been outlawed as rebels, and all of whom, with the exception of James, the youngest, had died prior to the year 1666. The estate about which there arose such a determined contest between James Allen and the earl of Mount-Alexander, was one of the most beautiful and extensive in the neighbourhood of Dublin, situated principally by the Salmon Leap at Leixlip. For the following schedule of the property, as attached to James Allen's claim on which the decree of innocence was made, the editor is indebted to the kindness of John P. Prendergast, esq., author of *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*:—

COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

Newcastle Barony.

	Engl. measure. A.	R.	P.
Blackstowne, ...	466	2	2
Nethercross Barony.			
Sanderstowne and Haggardmore, ...	425	1	25
Uppercross Barony.			
In Tassaggard, per Est^te, ...	218	2	29
In Rathcool, per Est^te, ...	19	1	4
Newcastle Barony.			
The Town and Lands of Brittas, per Est^te, ..	194	1	21
In Lucan, per Est^te, ...	19	1	30
In Adderrigg, by Est^te, ...	40	1	29
Liberties of Dublin.			
In the Town of Grange Gorman, per Est^te, ..	24	1	8

COUNTY OF WICKLOW.

Temade, ...	851	0	0
Kilbride, ...	5,151	0	0

COUNTY OF MEATH.

Dunleek Barony.

The Castle, Town, and Lands of Lagher, with the fishing Weares in the River Boyne, ..	447	1	28
The Lands of Balgeeth, ...	205	0	0
Kells Barony.			
The Lands of Kilbegg, with a Water Mill, ..	500	0	0

COUNTY OF KILDARE.

Salt Barony.

Cooldrina, ...	232	0	0
In Castle Dillon, ...	9	0	0
Donagh Comper, ...	85	0	0
The Castle, Town, and Lands of St Wolstans, *alias* Allen's Court, with two Water Mills, ..	235	1	8
Parsonstown, with a ruinous house and two Water Mills, ...	262	3	4
The Castle, &c., of Keane, ...	75	3	0
Priorstown, ...	126	0	0
Six Acres in Castle de Lane, *alias* Tristel de Lane, ...	6	0	0
One Messuage and 16 A. in the town of Kildrought, ...	16	2	0
In the town of Shealstown, ...	47	2	16
Two Messuages and four Cottages in the town and fields of Ardresse, ...	120	2	2
Corbally, ...	78	0	34
Ballym^cKelly, ...	100	0	26
Ballyknockane, ...	73	1	36
The Hall Castle in the town of Killadowan, ..	7	2	0
A Messuage in the town of Streffan, ...	5	2	0
A Messuage in Irishtown, ...	4	0	0
Three Messuages and four Cottages in the town of Leixlip, ...	121	0	0
One Messuage and Garden, with Common of Pasture in the town of Stacumney, ..	24	0	0
In Tipperstown, ...	201	1	12
Senghlandstown, ...	193	3	33
Coolefich, ...	38	0	8
Mayestown, Symonstown, Galbristown, ..	186	3	16
In Kilmacredock part, ...	2	0	0
Est. Killhill, ...	1,438	2	24
Naass Barony.			
Four Messuages, Six Cottages, 11 A. with Common of Pasture in Naass, ...	212	3	12
One Messuage in Sherlockstown, ...	6	0	0
In Rathmore, one Messuage, ...	5	0	0
A little Chapel in Edestown, ...	5	0	0
In the town of Walshestown, with Common of Pasture, ...	120	0	0

Reduced to the Crown Rents.

The Rectory of Donaghcomper, Stracumney, and Killadowan; Possextown, Donaghmor, and all the tithes.

[68] *Court of Claims.*—The commissioners, originally appointed to put into execution the Act of Settlement, constituted the Court of Claims, but they were, in fairness, disqualified for such a trust, being nearly all interested in the party of adventurers and soldiers. Some of them, even, were actually in possession of those lands which the rightful claimants sued for before them. Thus, the judges in the Court of Claims were themselves both parties and witnesses in most of the causes. These scandalous proceedings, however, soon brought their own remedy. The original commissioners were superseded by seven others of good reputation, and the work of settlement went on, with at least a greater appearance of justice to the Irish, than before. The following passage from Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., p. 230, explains the character of this court as originally constituted:—"Another of the Lords' instructions related to a scandalous practice of the Court of Claims then sitting in Dublin. Sir A. (Audley) Mervyn, a vain selfish man, who cajoled all parties, and promised every body, yet meant nothing all the while but his own interest, and who (if the common fame of that time did not belye him) was guilty of shameful bribery and corruption, governed that Court at his pleasure, and was the mouth of it upon all occasions. He was the most partial man on earth, and in the many and sudden changes of sides and principles which he had made,

who tore the lease, where was Allin's name, out of the record that was made of rebels' actions.[69] That nigrum theta[70] (w^h w^d have cond^d his claim) cou'd not be found. So by virtue of £2000 bribe and Colo. Talbot[71] (afterwards D. of Tireconnell) his close agency (for which he was well rewarded) the s^d Allin was declared innocent Papist, and our Earl defeated of the King's grant afores^d.[72] Nevertheless,

never knew what it was to be ashamed of anything. So that is no wonder a Court under his direction should furnish all the world with occasions of complaint, and make them wish for the coming over of the Commissioners of Appeals. The streets of Dublin were thronged with a multitude of widows who had entered claims for the jointures secured to them by their marriage articles; and though there was scarce any difficulty in most of their cases, Sir M. Eustace could not but observe, to the reproach of that Court, that not one of these was restored by them, but kept there in a fruitless and expensive attendance, which enhanced their misfortunes. When the Lords Justices, in obedience to his Majesty's Letters, had ordered the restitution of the Earls of Westmeath, and Fingal, and a few others, the Commissioners (of Court of Claims) refused to give an order for the possession of their estates, under pretence that there were no reprizals to be had for the Adventurers settled upon those estates. The meaning of this was that they had granted out all the lands appointed for *reprizals*, to their own friends, under the notion of *cautionary reprizals*, or reprizals *de bene Esse*. No practice could be more unwarrantable and irregular; for there was not a word about cautionary reprizals in the Declaration; and yet under this palpable fraud, manifestly designed to obstruct justice, the whole stock of reprizable lands became vested in half a dozen persons. Thus, the Earl of Mountrath, and the Lords Massarene and Kingston had got into their hands most of the lands in the counties of Dublin, Louth, and Kildare, and the barony of Barrymore. Hence the Lords Justices, to stop the clamours of the Earl of Fingall and others, who were not restored according to their orders, were forced to give them pensions out of the Exchequer, which just enabled them to subsist. The House of Lords thought it necessary to put a stop to such scandalous abuse of power, and to direct their agents to beseech his Majesty to revoke and annul all such cautionary and previous reprizals, that his Declaration might be more duly and better executed; which was accordingly done in the October following."

[69] *Of rebels' actions.*—The 'supposed friend' here referred to was probably a member of the family of White at Leixlip. The author states, p. 229, *supra*, that the earl of Mount-Alexander might have had precedency of his brother-in-law, Henry Moore, in the date of his earldom, "but declined that compliment (that might raise envy) which brotherly concession was ill requited, when the trial of St. Wolstan's came to be heard." Mrs. White of Leixlip was aunt of Henry Moore, first earl of Drogheda. The Whites and Allens had intermarried, and the former were doubtless anxious for the restoration of James Allen to his ancestral estate. Probably the earl of Drogheda, through the Whites, was also desirous of this result, and used his influence in Allen's behalf.

[70] *Nigrum theta.*—As among the Romans, A and C were termed the "literæ salutaris et tristis," because, when attached to sentences, they respectively denoted *acquittal* or *condemnation*, so among the Greeks the letter Θ (theta), being the initial of θάνατος, 'death,' was indicative of condemnation. Hence the Latin writers described it as *nigrum*, and we find Persius thus using the term

"Et potis es vitio nigrum præfigere theta."

—Sat. iv., 13; see also Martial, vii. epigr., 36. 2.

[71] *Colo. Talbot.*—This was Richard Talbot, afterwards so notorious as duke of Tyrconnell. He was the youngest son of sir William Talbot, an eminent lawyer. Richard's eldest brother, sir Robert Talbot, who inherited the family estate, was always regarded as a peace-loving member of society, but was driven, it is said, reluctantly into the rebellion by oppressive treatment received at the hands of the lords justices. Richard's second brother, Peter Talbot, was a Jesuit, in the secret of the king's real religious sentiments, and an especial favourite with the Spanish ambassador at the English court. Richard himself was strongly suspected of acting as a sort of spy for Cromwell's government during a part of his career, and he afterwards took great pains to explain away whatever in his conduct had given rise to these suspicions. He left England in 1656, going to Holland, where he soon became a great favourite with the duke of York, afterwards James II., whom he met in the Low Countries as an exile. On their return together at the Restoration, Talbot was able to get the appointment of lieutenant-colonel in the duke's regiment, although it rightfully belonged to colonel Muskerry, and although the duke of Ormond used all his efforts with the king to procure it for the latter. Talbot continued to be such an especial favourite with the duke, that he came to be considered the most influential person to forward the interests of the Irish Roman catholics at court, during the debates in London about the Act of Settlement. His vanity and love of money induced him to undertake this business; and coming to Ireland during the summer of 1663, "he carried back with him to London," says Carte, "no less than £18,000 in statutes staple, bonds, and other securities, for procuring distressed gentlemen their estates. The Bill of Explanation being transmitted soon after, he took occasion to write to his brother Peter in Ireland, that the king had resolved in council not to leave the obliging of his subjects to any minister, and that the lord-lieutenant only proposed to restore about thirty of their nation. His credit and power with the duke of York were well known, and it was generally believed in Ireland that he had a mighty interest at court. That notion, and these insinuations, procured him an infinite number of clients, who applied to him as their great patron and sollicitor; so that he had the bonds of hundreds, to be paid on their restitution by his means and procurement."—*Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., pp. 295, 296.

[72] *King's grant aforesd.*—The following is the king's revocation of his grant to viscount Montgomery, on the establishment of Allen's claim as an innocent papist:—

"CHARLES REX,—

"Having taken into consideration the Petition of James Allen, of St. Wolstan's, wherein is set forth—That he being entitled by a settlement made by his grandfather, J. Allen, of St.

Our Earl was well enough to pass, and had contrived his debts to be paid by gales out of his rents, w^h w^d have cleared him of them all in five years, for he was to have took out of his estate but £500 per annum to maintain his daughter and his two sons (by the first venter[73]) at boarding-schools in Dublin, over w^h his Lady had a motherly, careful, kind eye and heart, tho' they were not lodged in the house with her; and his Lo^ps table, w^h was publick and free to gentl. was furnished by his Lady out of her jointure, and his pay supplied him in cloaths and coaches, (w^h were very splendid) and in attendants and spending money, and a round yearly sum to spare,[74] besides accidental profits arising f^m his office, but these last his Lo^p applied to some poor friends' and servants' behoof; and in this manner his Lo^p lived in grandeur, highly esteemed and respected by all, and for his ripe judgment appearing when he spoke in the House of Lords or at the Council Board, where he was revered by understanding persons, and his conversation (for the obliging gentility thereof) much commended and coveted by both sexes. His Lo^p. (amidst these felicities and dearest earthly enjoyments he cou'd desire) had fallen into a discentery, w^h lay sore upon him, changing its complexion twice or thrice. It was very dangerous, his body being grown unwieldy and bulksome; but, by God's blessing, (on Dr. Fennell's endeavours) he recovered and was but weakly well mended, for that flux had bro^t him low too suddenly, by evacuating a great abundance of humours and fatt, by which he was become formerly uneasy to himself. Yet his Lo^p (not fearing a relapse or other disease) was earnest to go into the country to finish his private business afores^d, but chiefly to serve the country and his King.

Wolstans, uncle, deceased, of his collateral heirs males of their bodies, To Have and To Hold to him and the heirs males of his body, the Manor of St. Wolstan's, and other the Lands in the said Settlement mentioned.

Sir Thomas Allen, of St. Wolstans, in the county of Kildare, long before the Rebellion in Ireland, and by the decease

"And that being so entitled, the Earl of Mount-Alexander did obtain our grant of the Manor and Lands upon some undue suggestions, that the same were forfeited to us for some treason or defection of the Petitioner, or some of his kinsmen formerly interested therein. Also, that, in the Act of Settlement for that our Kingdom, a Proviso is contained in favour of the said Earl of Mount-Alexander, whereby the Petitioner will be foreclosed of his rights, unless the same, as also the said grant, be revoked or altered, according to another proviso in the said Act specified. We, therefore, out of our regard to justice, and of the Petitioner's merit, are graciously pleased that the said grant and Proviso touching the settling of the said Estate unto y^e Earl of Mount-Alexander, be altered and revoked by Letters Patent, or otherwise, so that the said Petitioner shall not be in any sort prejudiced or debarred by the said Proviso or grant, but be forthwith restored to the said Estate.

"[*Endorsed*—'Lord Lieutenant and Council to alter the same. And to give order to the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement, to proceed therein according to such alterations as you shall make touching the premises.]'

"Whitehall, the [ ] Sep., in the 14th yer of our Reign."

—*Carte Papers*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. xlvi., p. 3.

The king had the power, according to the concluding clause in the Act of Settlement, thus to withdraw his own grant when it was deemed necessary or expedient to do so. Soon after the withdrawal of this grant, letters from Talbot were intercepted, from which Montgomery supposed that a charge of fraud and perjury might be got up against his opponents. He wrote the following letter to the duchess of Ormond, requesting her influence to assist him in obtaining a re-hearing of the case:—

"MADAME,—It may seem a greate presumptione in me to give your grace the least trouble, whose favours have so highly obliged me and my family. But, an opertunity being now ofered by seasonable interception of some letters which came from Colonel Talbott to his Brother and Sir Bryan O'Neale, wherein the fraude, corruptione, and perjury of that Decree obtained by the late Allen of St. Wolston's, is, in some measure, discovered, the originall letters being sent to my Lord Lieutenant by my Lord Deputie, who has been honorably pleased to minde his grace of mine and my family's distressed condition, I presume to take the confidence to implore the continuance of your grace's favour in my behalf, that His Majesty may be moved that that decree may receive a rehearing, as in the case of my Lord Massarene and Sir George Cane, or put in such other way as your grace shall think fit, to which end my cosin Montgomerie will atend your grace, all my friends here being satisfied that the coruptione of that proceeding will evidently appeare, and herein your grace will eternally oblige, Madame, your grace's most humbly devoted servant,

"The 11th of January, 1661. "MOUNT-ALEXANDER.

"To Her Grace the Duchess of Ormond. London.

[Endorsed by Ormond]

"The Earl of Mount-Alexander to my wife.

"11 January.

"Recd. 25th."

—*Carte Papers*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. xxxiv., p. 7.

The earl of Mount-Alexander failed in his attempts to have the case reheard, Allen having made over his right in part of the lands to Talbot, and Talbot having the duke of York's influence with the king to prevent the latter from further serving his "well-beloved cousin and counsellor."

[73] *By the first venter.*—In other words, his children by the first lady.

[74] *Yearly sum to spare.*—The earl's means were somewhat improved at this period by his receiving payment of his arrears as a 1649 officer. These arrears, in his case, amounted to £1,853 16s 8d, but he, with captain Hugh Montgomery, had purchased up '49 arrear debentures, so as that their joint arrears amounted to the large sum of £12,115 17s 4d, making the 65th lot of arrears. In lieu

For upon a design of surprising the Duke of Ormond and the castle of Dublin, one Maj[r] Blood,[75] who was in the plott) went through the North of Ireland privately, and in like manner conferring divers Presbeterian Ministers to engage them and to learn what assistance they w[d] lend to a cause on foot for God's glory (so he called the rebellion he was hatching) and their profit, they being now ejected by the B[ps] and not suffered to preach.[76] Our Earl had some small notice of

of this sum, they obtained the 51st lot of security which entitled them to the possession of 6,319a. 3r. 12p. of land in the baronies of Carrigallen and Dromahaire, county of Leitrim.—*MS. Notes of John P. Prendergast, esq.*

[75] *One Majr. Blood.*—Major Blood, from whom this conspiracy has taken its name, was the same person that afterwards attempted to murder the duke of Ormond, and steal the regalia from the Tower. Adair's account of him is that "he had for some time been an officer in the King's army against the first Parliament, and was a true Cavalier. Thereafter, he had come to Ireland, where he had some interest in land near Dublin; and, falling into much acquaintance with one Mr. Lecky, his brother-in-law, a minister of the Presbyterian persuasion, and a man of good discourse and learning, he was drawn to own the Presbyterian principles. Thereafter, by the instigation of Lecky and others, he was persuaded to engage as the principal actor in this plot, being a person singularly fitted for such a design, in regard of courage, subtilty, strength of body, and great spirit, and who had experience in martial affairs. This man, with his associates, having had many consultations among themselves, thought it fit to try if they could draw in the Presbyterians of the North to join with them, they pretending the ends of the covenant with them. Accordingly, Blood and Lecky, by the advice and consent of the rest, came to the North to try the ministers and best of the people there."—*Narrative*, &c., p. 271. Evelyn, *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 437, has the following notice of Blood:—

"May 10, 1671.—Dined at Mr. Treasrs., where dined Monsr. De Gramont and severall French noblemen, and one Blood, that impudent bold fellow who had not long before attempted to steale the imperial crowne itselfe out of the Tower, pretending onely curiositie of seeing the regalia there, when, stabbing the keeper, tho' not mortally, he boldly went away with it thro' all the guards, taken onely by the accident of his horse falling down. How he came to be pardoned, and even received into favour, not onely after this, but severall other exploits almost as daring, both in Ireland and here, I could never come to understand. Some believed he became a spy of severall parties, being well with the Sectaries and Enthusiasts, and did his Ma[ty] services in that way, which none alive could do so well as he; but it was certainly as the boldest attempt, so the onely treason of this sort that was ever pardond. This man had not only a daring but a villainous unmercifull looke, a false countenance, but very well spoken and dangerously insinuating."

Colonel Blood having vowed revenge against the duke of Ormond for driving him from Ireland, attacked the coach of the latter, as it drove along St. James's Street in London, and took possession of Ormond's person. Blood might have easily murdered his victim at once, but he had arranged in his own mind to inflict a refined vengeance. With this view he bound the duke and mounted him behind one of his associates, intending to hang his grace at Tyburn. The latter struggled furiously, falling off the horse, and bringing with him the assassin to whom he was fastened. As they struggled together in the field over which they rode, Ormond's servants, who had fortunately got tidings of his capture, came suddenly to the rescue, compelling Blood and his companions to scamper off on their horses, after firing their pistols, without effect, at the duke. For this crime and the attempt afterwards to carry off the crown and state jewels from the Tower, Blood was pardoned by Charles II.,—and not only pardoned but encouraged by the king to remain at court, receiving an estate worth £500 a year. There is an account of Blood in *Remarks on the Life and Death of the famed Mr. Blood*, &c., fol., London, 1680; reprinted in Somers' *Tracts*, second collection, vol. iii., p. 219. See, for the fullest account of his remarkable career, Kippis' *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii., p. 361.

[76] *Suffered to preach.*—The Presbyterian ministers were sadly disappointed by certain results of the Restoration, among which may be enumerated the burning of their covenant by the common hangman, the dispersion of the meetings of their presbytery as illegal, and the expulsion of their ministers from such churches and parishes as they had occupied since the advent of Monro in 1642. The following letter, from Lord Orrery (Roger Boyle) to Ormond, explains the painful position in which the presbyterian ministers were placed, so suddenly after the elevation of their hopes in the convention already referred to at p. 222, *supra*:—

"We have had these two days four ministers before us, which were sent from the several presbyteries in Ulster to the lords justices and council, desiring liberty to exercise their ministry in their respective parishes, according to the way they have hitherto exercised it in; and expressing their great sorrow to find themselves numbered with papists and fanatics in our late proclamation, which prohibited unlawful assemblies.

"After many debates upon several proposals how to answer them, we resolved on this answer:—That we neither could or would allow any discipline to be exercised in church affairs, but what was warranted and commanded by the laws of the land. That they were punishable for having exercised any other. That we would not take any advantage against them for what was past, if they would comport themselves conformably for the time to come. That if they were dispensed withal, by pleading a submission thereunto was against their consciences, papists and fanatics would expect the like indulgence from the like plea, which we knew their own practice as well as judgments led them to disallow of. That we took it very ill divers of those, which had sent them, had not observed the time set apart for humbling themselves for the barbarous murther of his late majesty, a sin which no honest man could avoid being sorry for. That some of their number had preached seditiously, in crying up the Covenant (the seeds of all our miseries), in lamenting his majesty's breach of it, as setting up episcopacy as introductive to popery, which they had not punished in exercising any of their pretended discipline over such notorious offenders. And lastly, that if they conformed themselves to the discipline of this church, they should want no fitting countenance and encouragement in carrying on their ministry; so if they continued refractory, they must expect the penalties the laws did prescribe.

"To all which they answered, that as far as their consciences would permit them, they would comply, and what it would not, they would patiently suffer. That it was their religion to obey a lawful authority (and such they owned his majesty was) either actively or passively. That if any of their Judgment had preached sedition, they left them to themselves, and disowned them; and if they had the exercising of their discipline, they would punish severely all such. That many of them had, according to the proclamation, kept the fast for the king's murther, which they heartily detested, and for the doing thereof in the usurper's government

this, but no description of the man. The Duke had more perfect intelligence, and sent for his Lo^p giving him a character of Blood, and where and with whom he had been, and desired to have him apprehended; his Lo^p, therefore, sent Mr. Hugh Savage[71] (one of the Gents. of his troop) called commonly old Rock (because it is supposed he is descended of the family of Rock Savage) and with him the Duke's warrants and his own order to take such and such out of his s^d troop, which then lay at Newtown, and to search for Blood, who escaped very narrowly. But this sad plott for surprizall afores^d being fully discovered by seizing the body of Thomas Boyd[72] (designed treasurer at war) Col. Warner, Col. Jephson, Col. Shapeot, a lawyer, and Lecky, a Scotish Minister, &c.[73] his Lo^p thought it a fit time to be at Newtown, and to send for the Presbeterian Ministers

many of them had been imprisoned and sequestred; and that to the last of their lives they would continue loyal to his majesty. And lest they might offend against our proclamation, they desired to know what was meant by unlawful assemblies, because some were so severe as to interpret their meetings to pray and preach on the Lord's day to come under that head. To which we told them, that by unlawful meetings was only meant such assemblies, as were to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which were not warranted by the laws of the kingdom, and not to hinder their meetings in performing parochial duties in those benefices, of which they were possessed legally or illegally.

"They seemed much comforted with the last assurance; so that having again exhorted them to conformity, and promised them therein all encouragement, we dismissed them to try what this usage and the admonition will produce. I have had several private discourses with them, and I leave no honest means unessayed to gain them."—Orrery's *State Letters*, vol. i., pp. 29—31.

The above statement was enclosed in Orrery's letter, dated Ballymallo, January 2, 1660, and contains an apparently candid account of this interview. There is no evidence, however, that more than three presbyterian ministers were implicated in Blood's plot, although the reticence and waywardness of others, when examined as to their knowledge of that affair, naturally brought suspicion on the whole body, and involved many of them in much unmerited odium and suffering. "The noise of the plot becoming great," says Adair, *Narrative*, p. 276, "the duke [Ormond] and those about him, could not lay aside their jealousies of the Scotch. Therefore, within three weeks after its breaking up, the whole ministers of Down and Antrim who could be found were, in one day, apprehended, in the middle of June, 1663." There must have been an interval of nearly a year and half between the capture of the first and last of the ministers imprisoned for alleged complicity in this plot.

[71] *Hugh Savage.*—Knockdoo, or Knockdhue ("Black hill"), otherwise Rock-Savage, in the townland of Ballygalget, and parish of Witter, Upper Ards, was for a long period the residence of a family of this surname—a branch, no doubt, of the Ballygalget Savages. The gentleman mentioned in the text was probably father-in-law of colonel Hugh Cochran, as stated at p. 163, *supra*. Hugh Savage was one of the 'innocent' proprietors restored to their estates after the Revolution of 1688. The decree restoring him is dated February 27, 1701. See Appendix (B) annexed to W. H. Hardinge's Paper on Surveys in Ireland in *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv., part iii., p. 294. When William Montgomery wrote his *Incidental Remembrances of the two Ancient Families of the Savages*, he sent a copy to *Patrick* of Portaferry, the then representative of that branch, and a copy to captain Hugh Savage, the representative of the Ardkeen branch. The manuscript copy sent to Patrick Savage is now in the possession of Mrs. Sinclair, the author's great-great-great granddaughter, and on it Wm. Montgomery has made the following entry, at the end:—"The like of y^e s^d Remembrances is sent to Capt^n Hugh Savadge of Ardkin transcribed by Abraham Holm—lett all this be printed." Hugh Savage was son of John, who was only surviving son of Henry Savage of Ardkeen, the first gentleman named on the list of those who attended the funeral of the first viscount Montgomery, in 1636. See p. 131, *supra*.

[72] *Thomas Boyd.*—See p. 139, *supra*.—This Thomas Boyd, who is described as a merchant in Dublin, was elected member of Parliament for Bangor, with William Conyngham, esq., in 1651. He is supposed to have been a connexion of the Kilmarnock family. In 1683 he married Mary, fourth daughter of Sir Adam Loftus, of Rathfarnham, and by her left one daughter, Letitia, his other children dying in infancy. In 1682 Letitia Boyd was married to the second earl of Kilmarnock. She was grandmother to the fourth earl, whose engagement in the rebellion of 1745 brought him to the scaffold. Besides William Boyd, the third earl, Letitia Boyd left a second son, the hon. Thomas Boyd, who became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1710, and married Eleanora, daughter of Sir Thomas Nicholson of Carnock, in Stirlingshire.—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 180; *Hamilton Manuscripts*, p. lxxviii., *note*. Thomas Boyd of Dublin was expelled from the house in 1663, for complicity in Blood's plot, and died in 1696. A bill was introduced in the Irish house of commons on the 11th August, 1697, to enable the right honourable Lettice, countess dowager of Kilmarnock, in the kingdom of Scotland, sole daughter and heir of Thomas Boyd, late of the city of Dublin, esq., deceased, to charge the real and personal estate of the said Thomas Boyd with the sum of four thousand pounds for payment of the debts of the said Thomas Boyd, and for the several other purposes therein expressed, by mortgaging or selling the same, or any part thereof, which was received, and eventually passed.—*Irish Commons Journals*, vol. ii., pp. 852, 952, 957. Thomas Boyd's son, also named Thomas, was buried in the Loftus vault, in the chancel of St. Patrick's Cathedral, on the 1st of August, 1657.—Mason's *History of the Cathedral of St. Patrick*, *notes*, p. lvii.

[73] *Scottish Minister, &c.*—This conspiracy was hatched among a party who hated the Roman catholics, and were jealous of the slightest relaxation in the rigour with which Irish lands had been confiscated. The authorities in Dublin castle had already begun to show some symptoms

(his quondam backsliding friends) when he sh[d] please, and to receive the addresses of such as came (unbidden) to him voluntarily. His Lo[p] meant to try all their pulses and to mind them of their duty as subjects. So his Lo[p], at the desire of the D. and by his own inclinations to see his friends and to his private business, took journey the sooner (for he might not be long f[m] the Government, nor f[m] his post and family) and came to Millifont, now a table visit, for his Lo[p], and the beginning of that lethargy w[h] killed him. His Lo[p] being come to Mount Alexander and Newtown, and having visited his sister and me at Rosemount, his drowsy distemper grew fast upon him, that in a fortnight he was much indisposed to write (with his own hand) the dispatches w[h] he was obliged to send to the D.; his cl[k] (Loftus)[74] doing the ordinary affairs. Yet by his directions his Lo[p] first of all laboured at the publick business with the Presbeterian Ministers, many of them (on discovery of this plott) had been taken (at one time) and sent to Carlingford[75] (and other places) under confinement, because they were suspected, and would have kept possession of the churches and glebes

of a desire to restore many Roman catholics to their estates, and certain decisions by the Court of Claims had created considerable alarm. Blood's plot was caused not only by fanatical zeal, but by fear among the plotters of losing their lands. Besides the persons here named, the following also were seized, viz. :—Mr. Bond, a native of Scotland; colonel Thomas Scott, M.P.; colonel Edward Warren; major Henry Jones; captain John Chambers, M.P.; major Richard Thompson, deputy provost-marshal of Leinster; John Foulk, son to the former governor of Drogheda; James Tanner, clerk to Henry Cromwell's private secretary; and about fourteen others. On the 26th of May, a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of £100 for the apprehension of colonel Blood, colonel Gibby Car, who had recently come over to Dublin from Scotland; lieut.-col. Abel Warren, M.P.; the Rev. Andrew M'Cormick, and the Rev. Robert Chambers [Dublin], non-conformist ministers, who had succeeded in making their escape.—Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., p. 275, *note*. "On the second of July, colonel Alexander Jephson was tried in the court of king's bench, Dublin, and found guilty; and, on the two following days, major Richard Thompson, and colonel Edward Warren, were also found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to die as traitors. On the 15th of July, these three conspirators were executed at the Gallows Green, near Dublin, and the heads of Warren and Thompson were set upon poles on two of the towers of the castle. At the re-assembling of parliament, in November, 1665, the house of commons suspended, and afterwards expelled, the following members for having been concerned in this plot—viz., John Ruxton and John Chambers, members for Ardee; Thomas Scott for the county of Wexford; Abel Warren for the city of Kilkenny; Robert Shapcote for the town of Wicklow; Alexander Staples for Strabane; and Thomas Boyd for Bangor."—Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., pp. 275, 281, *notes*; see also Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., p. 269; *Commons Journals*, vol. ii., p. 340; Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 131, *note*. The following extract of a letter from Edward Conway, viscount Conway and Killulta, afterwards earl Conway, to his brother-in-law, George Rawdon, dated Lisburne, 18 Nov. 1663, shows how anxious Ormond must have been to get hold of Lecky, already mentioned in a preceding note as one of the chief conspirators :—

"DEAR BROTHER,—This last post I received a letter from my Lord Lieutenant concerning Lackey, and, because I have nothing fit to trouble his grace with, I desire you to give him this account of his commands. It was late on Monday before the post came in; the ill weather, which I fear accompanied you in your journey, kept him back till 4 in the afternoon. I set out guards immediately upon all the avenues near this place, into the counties of Down and Antrim, where they have since continued night and day, and because the next was our market-day, which gave Blood the opportunity of passing by us. I sent the same instant to Col. Hill to keep a good guard at Hillsborough, and I raised the country that night to keep watch upon all the ways through Killuta into the county of Armagh. Next morning I sent to have spoken with Leviston the Minister, who is Lackey's acquaintance, and whom I thought the favour he hath had would have engaged to be serviceable herein, but he was gone into Scotland a week before, not to return till Christmas. Then I sent to our intelligencer, and desired him to make it his work to find out where he hid himself, and as much else as he could concerning his escape, which I hope he may do, though Lackey should be concealed in Dublin. . . . I spake to Moses Hill, and desired him to help us, because part of the ways lie very conveniently to his troop; he said he would if I would command it. I told him I would not take upon me to do that which I thought did not belong to me; but I shewed him my Lord Lieutenant's letter, and told him I thought it would be very fit for him, but he doth not do it."—*Rawdon Papers*, pp. 202, 203.

Lecky, who had escaped from Newgate in his wife's clothes, was unable, from feeble health, to leave Dublin, where he was re-taken on the day after his escape, and executed on the 12th of December, 1663, at Ormanton Green. Adair states that Lecky was "a near kinsman" of lord Massereene, and that he was offered a pardon on condition that he would accuse that nobleman of being an accomplice in Blood's plot.—See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., pp. 281, 282, *note*.

[74] *His clk. Loftus*.—This gentleman was son of the well-known Dr. Dudley Loftus, so learned in the civil law, and who was promoted successively to be a master in chancery, vicar-general of Armagh, and judge of the prerogative court. His family consisted of two sons and five daughters, who all died young or unmarried. The person named in the text was Dudley, his elder son.—See Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. vii., p. 261.

[75] *Sent to Carlingford*.—The following is Adair's account of the ministers' sojourn in this place :—"They were sent to the King's castle at Carlingford, being seven in number, viz., Messrs. John Drysdale, John Greg, Andrew

f^m the re-established and legal preachers; and practised clandestine meetings, and resorted to the people, met by their appointment in bye places, on mountain sides, and in dry turf bogs;[76] which was suspicious and dangerous to the peace in those times, when all the sects were plotting to unhinge the Government in church and state (as appeared by the intended surprize afores^d); yet his Lo^p had procured leases for many of them, upon bonds of peaceable living, and his Lo^p had pass'd his word for his mother's chaplain, Gordon, and for Mr. And^w Stewart,[77] a good, loyal man, and a moderate Minister (in covenanting times.) So they were not troubled, and therefore the obliged and relaised came to pay their thanks unto his Lo^p (who was then, as heretofore, the most regarded

Stewart, Alex. Hutchinson, William Richardson, Gilbert Kennedy, and James Gordon. They at first were put, or pounded, in a narrow room at the top of the house, far from friends or acquaintances, where they were in danger of starving, but that God stirred up the heart of a woman in the place, a stranger called Mrs. Clark, to supply them with necessaries. They were for a fortnight kept very close, till they were advised by Mr. Francis Hamilton, an officer of the company there, to write to my Lord Dungannon, who procured them the liberty of the town in the daytime; they returning to their narrow room at night, lying on the floor, four or five of them, as it were, in one bed. . . . But the ministers' fears were, within a little, greatly alarmed, upon occasion of that passage, mentioned before, of Mr. Boyd's discovering the coming of Blood and Leckcy to the North, and speaking to Mr. Greg and Mr. Stewart about the plot. When this was known, about the midst of July, 1663, orders were immediately sent to the Governor of Carlingford to send these men to Dublin with a guard, and that in their coming thither, they should have no access to one another, which was accordingly done. For, after a month's imprisonment in Carlingford, where their mutual society much sweetened their hard lot, these two worthy brethren were taken from the rest, and separately, without any intimation of anything to them, were sent by two guards that same day to Dublin, and committed immediately to very close prisons, among those who were truly upon the plot, without, at first, any accommodation. They did not see one another by the way coming, nor in the prison till April following. After a few days they were examined in the prison by the Earl of Mountalexander and the Lord Dungannon, as to what access they had to the plot."—*True Narrative*, pp. 277, 278. In this examination Mr. Stewart freely confessed what had passed between them and Blood at Newtown, being warned by lord Massereene, through Adair himself, that a candid confession would be the safer course. Mr. Greg, who had not got the same advice, resolutely denied that he had known anything of the plot, and was more severely dealt with, by being kept in prison until the month of March, 1664. Dr. Reid thinks (vol. ii., p. 279, *note*) that the name of Gilbert Kennedy, in the foregoing extract, is a mistake for Gilbert *Ramsay*, the then minister at Bangor. In *Presbyterian Loyalty*, p. 381, Mr. Ramsay's name is inserted where that of Mr. Kennedy is here introduced by Adair.

[76] *Dry turf-bogs.*—At this time Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor, wrote several letters to the duke of Ormond, about the movements of leading presbyterian ministers in the county of Down. The following, written from Portmore, on the 11th of June, 1663, reveals, to some extent, the tactics adopted by these pastors, after their deposition in 1660:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—I was visiting some parts of my diocese, and found Mr. John Drysdale (presbyterian minister of Portaferry) newly come from Scotland, and busy in the place of his own residence in former times. Within two days after my finding him there, we had notice of the late presbyterian conspiracy which the mercies of God and your grace's wisdom and diligence so happily have discovered. I had nothing to charge him with, but because I had vehement causes of suspicion, I caused him to give £500 bond for his appearance at two days' warning, not to depart without your grace's leave, and for good behaviour in the mean time. My Lord Conway, Major Rawdon, and myself, had it in consideration whether he ought to be sent up to your grace in Dublin, but because we had no particular charge to send up with him, we humbly expect your grace's pleasure and order concerning him. But I humbly beg leave of your grace to say, that the late meetings of the pretended ministers, the refractoriness of the people, and their mutinous talkings, the abode of the ministers without any pretence of employment or estates visibly to detain them in these parts, makes us all full of confidence that, as long as their ministers are permitted amongst us, there shall be a perpetual seminary of schism and discontents; and that they were all more than consenting to the late design. They are now (as they think) very safe, and passed all danger, because they are not yet inquired into; but we still have Mas. John Greg, Gordon, Wilson, Cunningham, and Ramsay, whose custom it is as soon as they hear the people of any parish conformable, one or two of them go thither and quarter upon them till they leave their duty. They are here looked on as earnest and zealous parties against the government. If it be your grace's pleasure that they have the oath of supremacy tendered to them, and bonds of the good behaviour taken of them, it will either drive them away or give a reasonable account of them as long as they stay. Your grace hath Leviston Henry Livingston, minister of Drumbo), in your hands; he is the most perverse and bitter enemy we have to the laws; we hope here he will be better before your grace parts with him. God of his mercy direct all your grace's counsels, and immure your person from all enemies, and invest you with all honour; and continue to your grace a healthful, and a fortunate, and a holy life.—Your grace's most obedient and humble servant,

"JEREM. DUNENSIS."

—Heber's *Life of Taylor*, edited by Eden, p. ci. *notes*. In their humiliation, the presbyterian ministers of the Ards and Castlereagh were protected and befriended by the lady of the second viscount Montgomery of Ards and the countess of Clanbrassil. They gradually obtained a footing throughout these districts once more, and soon began to entertain hopes that the rebellion which was brewing in Scotland, and which was crushed at Rullion Green, near the Pentlands, in 1666, might be the means of replacing them in their former comparatively independent position.

[77] *Mr. And^w Stewart.*—At p. 283, of *True Narrative*, Adair states that "Mr. Stewart, in November, after his imprisonment, having been sick in prison, and having some special friend, got liberty to return to his house upon bonds given to live amenably to the law—*i.e.*, as was by lawyers interpreted to him—only to answer the law if he thought not fit to live conformably to everything in it." The

Scottish man in Ireland.) Most of them answered most ingeniously what he asked them in private: others of them were dismissed upon bail, with this advice—sin no more lest worse things befal you.[78] His Lo[p] got but few of his debts settled, or business (with tenants) done, tho' he had Ma[r]-Gen[l] Monroe, myself, and other friends assistants, by reason of shoals of visitants, and the daily increase of his distemper, w[h] was plethorick; his liver was large and strong, and sent more blood to the heart than it could vent fast enough (for his heart was wissened and shrivelled to less than it sh[d] be (occasioned by defect of the pluræ) to preserve which f[m] corruption, the lotion afores[d] was

"special friend"—not named by Adair—was the earl of Mount-Alexander, against whom Adair and other ministers had denounced woe and desolation, at their meetings in 1649. The author, in the text, states that the earl had "passed his word for his mother's chaplain, Gordon, and for Mr. And[w] Stewart." The latter died in 1671. Harris states, *County of Down*, p. 66, that in the year 1744, a tombstone in the churchyard of Donaghadee bore the following inscription:—

> "Here lyeth that Pious and Faithful servant of Jesus Christ Mr Andrew Stewart, late minister of Donaghadee, who died the 2nd of January, 1671, and of his age the 46."

And under his arms are these Latin lines:—

> *"Vita probum, probitasque pium, pietasque Beatum,*
> *Laus celebrem, laudi mens dedit esse parem.*
> *Corpus humum, mens Diapolum, Fama inclyta mundum,*
> *Morte subit, decorat lumine, laude beat."*

[78] *Lest worse things befal you.*—The following is Adair's account of the troubles and subsequent liberation of presbyterian ministers after the trial and execution of the ring-leaders in Blood's plot:—"After the duke (Ormond) had settled the business concerning the plot in Dublin, he, with the advice of the counsel, sent orders to the ministers of the North, now at Carlingford and Carrickfergus, that either they must depart the kingdom, or go to prisons in other places of Ireland, and that within a fortnight after the order should come to their hands. The prisoners, having these orders sent them, immediately sent a petition to the Duke. But this petition, though presented to the Duke by the noble Massareene, their fixed old friend, had no return; but the former order must be observed. The brethren were, accordingly, in a great strait what to choose. However, all of them, save two, Mr. Keyes and Mr. John Cowthard, chose to depart the kingdom. Mr. Keyes was sent to the town of Galway, and Mr. Cowthard to Athlone, where they remained prisoners a considerable time. The rest generally went to Scotland, with a pass from some Justices of the Peace in the country, and yet not without bonds and surety given not to return without leave. Those of Antrim who went were, Mr. Hall, Mr. Crawford, Messrs. John and James Shaw; and of Down, were, Mr. Drysdale, Mr. Ramsay, and Mr. Wilson; where God provided for them to live comfortably in a private station, and found there many friends beyond their expectation. There were divers brethren interceded for to the Duke, by persons of quality, to have liberty to stay in the country in a private capacity. Mr. Adair had the Duke's protection before. Mr. Robert Cunningham had a letter in his favour from my Lady Crawford Lindsay, sister to Duke Hamilton, and an acquaintance of the Duchess of Ormond. Mr. Gordon and Mr. Richardson had liberty of abiding in the country, through procuring of my Lady Ards, mother of the Earl Mount-Alexander, and the Countess of Clanbrasil: Mr. Hutchison by my Lord Dungannon's intercession; Mr. Hamilton of Killead, and Mr. James Cunningham of Antrim, were interceded for by my Lord Massareene and his lady. Some other ministers of these two counties of Down and Antrim had been out of the country, or out of the way when the rest were apprehended, and now absconded.—*Narrative*, pp. 280, 281. Among the ministers who "absconded" on this occasion was Thomas Peebles of Dundonald. He fled to Scotland. Hugh Montgomery, the seventh earl of Eglinton, wrote on his behalf to the bishop of Down and Connor. The following is a copy of the bishop's reply, which has been printed in Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., pp. 313, 314, from the original preserved at Eglinton castle:—

> "Portmore, Decemb. 7, '63, (1663).
>
> "My honoured lord—Your lordship was pleased to recommend to me the case and person of Mr. Peebles, who though he lived three yeares in my diocese, yet is a very great stranger to me, excepting by report; for he never vouchsafd. to come to me. However, your lordship's recommendation of him to me is so effectual, that in what is in my power your lordship hath power to command me. But I assure your lordship he did not goe from us upon the stock of his nonconformity; neither was the hand of the bishop at all upon him; but because, upon the discovery of the late horrid conspiracy in Ireland, some of his brethren were found to be too farre interested in it, and the others were justly suspected, the Lord Lieutenant and Council thought fitt to secure divers of them; yet with so much gentleness and mercy, that it was left to their choice whether they would stay in Ireland or no. If I mistake not Mr Peebles would not appeare, nor come in, but of his accord went away. Now for his return hither, (I speak to a person of honour and great reason), your lordship knowes I have nothing to doe in it, unlesse your lordship shall please to command me to represent it to his Grace, my lord duke of Ormond, which command, if I shal receive from your lordship, I will most faithfully obey it. My lord, I wish to your lordship all honour and prosperity, and am, my honoured lord, Your lordships most faithful humble servant.
>
> "Jeremy Dunensis."
>
> "To the right honourable the Earle of Eglintoun
> at Montgomeriestoun. These humbly present."

Whether the earl of Eglinton wrote to the bishop to intercede with the duke of Ormond is uncertain; but Mr. Peebles returned, and died seven years subsequently, in the charge of Dundonald, then including Holywood. In 1670, the year of Mr. Peebles' death, Adair states, p. 293, that "it was overtured that the Synod's act anent reviewing the Presbytery's books should be put in practice; but most of these books were lost through the tossings and distemper of an honest, worthy brother, Mr. Thomas Peebles, clerk to the Synod." In noticing this minister's death, Adair speaks of him, at p. 300, as "a man learned and faithful, eminent in the languages and history."—See also Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., p. 356. vol. ii., pp. 42. 304.

used every morning and at bedtime, by injection at the s[d] orifice with seringe) ;[79] and this surcharge of blood upon the heart caused the swimming and obfuscation in his brain (wh[h] in itself had no fault the abundance thereof) and made him drowsy every 3[d] and 4th hour. The first remedy was to let his veins often breath out part of that superfluous mass of rarefied blood; but Primrose,[80] the Belfast apothecary, (who practised physick) understood not the matter, and was timorous to tamper in that case. Wherefore his Lo[p] hasted back to Dublin, and (by the way) died in his bed at Dromore[81] the 15th night of September, 1663: the next morning Dr. Gray (who had been sent for) averred, that if his Lo[p] had often been bled in several veins, and his blood sweetened and thickened, it had not gushed out (as it did divers times) at his nose, nor so oppressed his brain making it giddy and his eyes to be bemisted. This D[r]. disembowelled and embalmed him, and being well searclothed corded and coffined, his corpse (now no man) bro[t] back in his coach to Newtown. *Quis talia fando temperet a lachrymis*, for the sight or news of the loss of so great and good a man might have brought tears even from Oliver's mirmidons.[82] The 16[th] day (before it was light) I took horse for Dublin, and met Cap[t]. Hu. Montgomery[83] at Dundalk; he had gone f[m] Newtown

[79] *With seringe.*—See pp. 152, 153, *supra.*

[80] *Primrose.*—The editor is unable to find the name of this apothecary on any printed list of the inhabitants of Belfast in the seventeenth century. This surname occurs at an earlier date in Carrickfergus.

[81] *At Dromore.*—The earl had thus only travelled fourteen miles from Mount-Alexander on his way to Dublin.

[82] *Oliver's mirmidons.*—Although Cromwell and the commonwealth had passed away, the Cromwellian interest was rampant in the Irish house of commons after the Restoration, and was but feebly held in check by the house of lords, of which the deceased earl had been a very distinguished member. By "Oliver's mirmidons" the Act of Settlement was forced upon the country with only a few slight modifications made by the house of lords. Before this wholesale confiscation was finally accomplished, however, there were many fierce debates between the houses of lords and commons, during which a deputation from each was appointed to proceed to London, and appeal, on its own grounds, to the king in council. The following is Carte's account of these movements:—"The sentiments of the two Houses with regard to the matters to be given in charge to their respective Commissioners, were so very different, that though they were all upon the same common subjects, yet except the first which required them to attend upon his Majesty, and lay before him the desires of his Parliament, there was not any one article in which there was not some difference in the Instructions of the Houses. The Commons were so incensed, either at this difference, or at the choice of Commissioners, that they would not for a long time agree to any applotment for defraying the expenses of those of the Lords, and used all possible endeavours to obstruct their journey; so that the last day of the session came before the difficulties of that affair were removed, by the Lords being tenacious of their purpose, and resolving to send them at any rate. A Committee of twelve Lords, whereof Lord Aungier was chairman, being appointed by the House to draw up Instructions for their Commissioners, and the King's Declaration and Instructions falling under their consideration, a great debate arose on that occasion, how far it was proper to desire they might be pursued. It appeared plainly that his Majesty's intentions therein were not practicable, there not being lands sufficient to provide for all the interests intended to be secured. The question was, which of those interests should be preferred, upon which the members being much divided, Lord Montgomery (first earl of Mount-Alexander) offered a reconciling expedient; proposing that the agents might represent to his Majestyt heir sense and desires that if it fell out that the lands not yet disposed of should not amount to the satisfaction of the several respective interests, for which his Majesty was to provide in his Declaration, then there might be an equal and proportionable defalcation out of every reprizable interest for the just accommodation of the whole, they conceiving his Majesty's honour equally concerned in the performance of his royal promise to each interest. This was disputed for some time, and the debate being resumed, the next day eight of the commissioners agreed to it; but the Lords Barrimore and Shannon running out, though desired to stay, the Committee (which had not power to do anything, unless nine were present) could come to no resolution. When the affair came on again, great opposition was made to the expedient, and no art was omitted by those in power to prevent its being accepted; so that the Lords who were fit for it, fancying they might obtain what they aimed at (his Majesty's service), in another manner proposed another to this effect, that the Declaration should be recommended to the Agents, to be laid at his Majesty's feet, to do therein as to his judgment and mercy should seem meet; which was agreed to unanimously."—*Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., pp. 229, 230. Mount-Alexander's expedient was virtually adopted, and was found, in some measure, to meet the great difficulty of the case.

[83] *Capt. Hu. Montgomery.*—See p. 198, *supra.* This officer was eldest son of Mr. James Montgomery, curate of Newtown, and was for many years an inmate in the household of the deceased earl. He subsequently built a residence at Ballymagown, now Springvale, where he died. The author has given a lengthened notice of him, in a

on the 12th day early, because of his Lop's hopeless condition, and was bringing Dr which being now needless, the Dr. returned when he thought fit. I rode on well n was with the Countess about 8 o'clock that night, and left her in tears, I sympathiz good Lap. The 17th I left town as soon as I could sod the roads, and went to the D. before night (and ere he had heard the sad news from any other;) his Grace was hear made supplication (and added reason to it) that the troop might be reserved for the yo his support, and showed a precedent, but it could not be done. His Grace desi wherein he could place respect upon myself. I thanked him, and said if he pleased mend me to his Lop Chancellor, that I might have the office of Custos Rotulorum county, now vacant by the Earle's death: for, as his deputy, I had taken pains to regu letter was signed by his Grace next morning, and I had it when I came to receive hi had not made this unprofitable request, but that it disgusts grandees to make offer vain; as I was not prepared to take a better thing.[85] However it was an honour pu

separate memoir, in which he states that Capt. Hu. Montgomery was generally named *My Lord's Hugh*, from having lived so long in the first earl's family.

[84] *D. at Kilkenny.*—Kilkenny castle, the principal residence of the Ormond family, was put into magnificent repair after the Restoration. An English gentleman, named Thomas Dineley, who visited Ireland in the year 1681, entered in his *Journal* the following notice of this noble residence:—"His Paternall chiefe seat is ye Castle of Kilkenny . . . famous for spacious Roomes, Galleries, Halls, adorned with paintings of great Masters, Bowling green, Gardens, Walks, Orchards, and a delightfull Waterhouse adjoining to the B. green, which with an Engine of curious artifice by the help of one horse furnisheth all the offices of the Castle with that necessary Element. This Waterhouse hath a pleasant summer banquetting Room, floor'd and lin'd with white and black marble, which abounds here, with a painted skye roof wth Angells, in this is seen a fountain of black marble in the shape of a large cup, with a jeet d'eau or throw of water in the middle ariseing mounts into the hollow of a Ducall Crown, which but hangs over it, and descends again at severall droping-places round." Dunton, a London bookseller, who visited Ireland during the time of the second duke of Ormond, has the following notice of the castle:—"I came to Kilkenny on Friday night, in September, 1698, and the next morning the doctor carried me to view the Castle, the noble seat of the Duke of Ormond. Indeed, the alcove chamber, and Dutchess's closet, &c., well deserve a large description; but, leaving these noble apartments, I must say, that adjoining is a great window that gave us a view of the private garden of pleasure, I think finer than the Privy Garden at Whitehall, or any walk I had ever seen. . . . . Leaving this noble dining-room, we ascended two pair of stairs, which brought us into a gallery, which for length, variety of gilded chairs, and the curious pictures that adorn it, has no equal in the three kingdoms, or, perhaps not in Europe—so that this castle may properly be called the Elysium of Ireland."—*Journal of the Kilkenny and North-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, new series, vol. iv., pp. 104, 105.

[85] *A better thing.*—The following letter f earl of Eglinton to the duke of Ormond i author's circumstances, at this particular cr dictated some more substantial mark of his This letter, written about two months subs author's visit to the duke, as mentioned preserved at Eglinton Castle, and was pri *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 312:—

"Montgomristoune, "MAY IT PLEASS YOUR GRACE,—Thos dew being first premitted wch I owe to the multitude nary favouris cast upon me, I cannot but confess to your grace I have a great loss in the death of m rous cussinge, Mount-Alexander. And it is mor that he was a gentilman indewed with all as made him usfull to his kinge and countrie, warr. Bot I hope as he was ever readie to ex it to the sacrificinge of his life, in his prince's se pleass his Majestie to cast a gratious and favo his posteritie, especially my younge lord. And in your power both to obtaine from his Majestie to doe him good your selfe, I wholly rely upon an favour for him, who being the son of such a fath one day he will remember of benefite or favor have resentments sutable to the qualitie of his rec tyme, iff his Majesties intrest in these parties call litie and activitie to be subsarviant to your grace with much confidence, recommend to your gra brother-in-law, William Montgomery, Esq., son James, who your grace knows was much in favor and his royall father upon the accompt of his adhe sufferings for the royall intrest. I know he is pru Hes parties are more nor ordinarie; beinge, beside nature, much polished in his educatione at h Though occation yet never offered (being bot abo our troubles) to bringe them on the stage. Hi bean in his prince's sarvice in the pursute of plotters to his kingdome by his information to very successful if bot a little more earlie, conside the shore towards this kingdome, where, by re in me, he hes a multitude of freinds; and the re all Montalexander's relations, being on of his Your grace's countinance will exceadinglie fitt hi whether it be for intelligence, ore any other trust with. I know he was a greit sufferer upon his M most of his lands beinge given away by the late was necessitated for a present livlyhood to reptur tures; and if it was not by this I more mynd the jestie's sarvice than the restoringe of a kinsman, I grace that he might be remembred in what deali hall be at his Majestie's disposall, and are to be all

private Gent^m. to have patent for that office, which is always conferred on the primest Peer or discemingest Nobleman in the county; so that I believe that fav^r had no precedent. I had not seen the children, wherefore I returned a great part of the way on the 18^th, and came to Dublin the 19^th day, and stayed with them three days, consulting the L^d Ranelagh[86] and the sorrowful Countess; leaving the care of sending as his Lo^p sh^d think fit. I stayed a night at Millifont, and conferred with his Lo^p Visc^t Moore,[87] who said he w^d advise with the Lords Ranelagh and Charlemont[88] about the young Earle's affairs; and now his Lo^p, our Earle, and his brother being put in mourning, followed to Millifont, and thence to M^t Alexander with their conveniency.

to the value of what he gave out for the redemption of his own. It will render him the more able to sarve your grace. Bot I know his own accomplishments, upon tryell, will recomend him more to your grace then my pen. I therefore leave him upon that generositie wher with I know your grace useth to gratifie men of merite; and shall add no more bot to assure your grace that what of respect or favor is done him, I will take it as done to your grace's most humble and devoted servitor."

This letter was written from the earl's residence known as *Montgomerieston*, which was situated between the town of Ayr and the sea, close upon the shore. To this residence belonged the site of the churchyard and surrounding ground, about eleven acres in extent, originally attached to the ancient church of St. John of Ayr. In 1652, the churchyard and its adjoining space were taken by Cromwell's forces and enclosed as a fortification, Cromwell giving the town a thousand merks to build a new church. "At the Restoration, the earl of Eglinton obtained a grant of the fortification, including the ancient church of St. John, under the designation of *Montgomerieston*, with all the privileges of a burgh of regality conferred upon it."—Paterson's *Obit Book of Ayr*, p. xi.

[86] *Ld. Ranelagh.*—Brother-in-law to the deceased earl. See p. 230, *supra*.

[87] *Moore.*—Brother of the deceased earl's first lady, and uncle to the young earl. See p. 204, *supra*.

[88] *Charlemont.*—William Caulfeild, first lord Charlemont, who had married the lady Sarah Moore, and was, therefore, uncle by marriage to the boy who now had become second earl of Mount-Alexander.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 146.

CHAPTER XIV.

PREPARATIONS were making at Dublin in blacks, torches, and scutcheons, &c. to be sent into the country by the order of the Lords and Countess, in which Cap^{t} Hu. Mon^{ry}[1] (then clerk of the stores) and Cap^{t} Hu. M'Gill, controller thereof (both of them so advanced by the late Earle's fav^{rs} and kindness)[2] were at hand and busy (all their pains cou'd not be called officiousness) to advise and see the premises gott together and sent by the carriers, and I was near Newtown ready (and present at a call) to see things done as ꝑ advice by post from Dublin. The funeral geare and provisions for entertainment being laid and the day appointed, I drew the forms of the cannon (and of the more especial invitatory) letters to the funeral, w^{h} were transcribed and indorsed as the s^{d} two Captains directed, and the letter to the B^{p} was left to my care: therefore, I wrote and sent an express with it, w^{h} prayed that Right Rev^{d} Lo^{p} would be pleased to preach the sermon; but his Right Rev^{d} Lo^{p} excused himself,[3] and sent D^{r} Rust, whose

[1] *Capt. Hu. Monry.*—See note 83, *supra*.

[2] *Capt. Hu. M'Gill.*—Second son of Mr. David M'Gill, curate of Greyabbey. See p. 123, *supra*.

[3] *Favrs and kindness.*—These appointments were in the late earl's hands as master of ordnance.

[4] *Excused himself.*—Jeremy Taylor was promoted to the see of Down and Connor, by letters patent, dated the 19th January, 1660; and on the 21st of June, 1661, the king granted him also the administration of the see of Dromore. Before these good things appeared, however, even in prospect, he had substantial inducements to come to Ulster. "Whatever reluctance Taylor may have felt," says Heber, "to remove to such a distance from his English friends, was overcome, however, by the prospects held out in the country to which he was destined. Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Petty, whose survey of Ireland by the command of government had made him abundantly and most profitably skilled in the extent and value of the forfeited lands, offered to procure him a purchase on very advantageous terms, and recommended him by letter to several persons of talent and influence in that kingdom." —Bishop Heber's *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, edited by Rev. C. P. Eden, p. lxxix. Very different estimates of Taylor were formed, by different parties, in his own time. The following is Dr. Rust's opinion, who preached a funeral sermon on the occasion of the bishop's death:—"This great prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a school-man, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint; he had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for an university, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi; and, had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his poor clergy that he left behind him, it would perhaps have made one of the best dioceses in the world."—Heber's *Life of Taylor*, edited by Rev. C. P. Eden, p. cccxxvii. Here is a different picture, presented by Adair, in his *True Narrative*, pp. 244, 245:—"There was set in the Bishoprick of Down and Connor, one Dr. Taylor, a man pretending civility and some courteous carriage, especially before his advancement, but whose principles were contrary to Presbyterians—not only in the matter of government, modes of worship and discipline, but also in doctrine. He had sucked in the dregs of much of Popery, Socinianism, and Arminianism, and was a heart enemy, not only to Nonconformists, but to the Orthodox." These charges against Taylor arose probably from the following passage in one of his visitation sermons: "What good can come from that which fools begin, and wise men can never end but by silence? and that had been the best way at first, and would have stifled in the cradle. What have your people to do whether Christ's body be in the sacrament by consubstantiation, or transubstantiation; whether purgatory be in the centre of the earth, or in the air, or anywhere, or no where? and who but a madman would trouble their heads with the entangled links of the fantastic chain of predestination?"—Taylor's *Works*, vol. vi., p. 523, London, 1822, as quoted by Dr. Killen in Adair's *Narrative*, p. 249, *note*. The following is the concluding paragraph of Coleridge's well-known parallel between Milton and Taylor, in his Apologetic Preface to *Fire, Famine, and Slaughter*:—"Differing then so widely, and almost contrariently, wherein

discourse on that occasion was printed and distributed by the Countess her order (as I believe, the other expences for the premises were also at her cost.)[5] Yet the kindred and gentry furnished themselves and servants in mournings without charge to the family. The Hon[r] Col. Cromwell,[6]

did these great men agree? In genius, in learning, in unfeigned piety, in blameless purity of life, and in benevolent aspirations and purposes for the moral and temporal improvement of their fellow-creatures. Both of them wrote a Latin accidence, to render education less painful to children; both of them composed hymns and psalms proportioned to the capacity of common congregations; both, nearly at the same time, set the glorious example of publicly recommending and supporting general toleration, and the liberty both of the pulpit and the press! In the writings of neither shall we find a single sentence like those meek deliverances to God's mercy with which Laud accompanied his votes for the mutilations and loathsome dungeoning of Leighton and others!—nowhere such a pious prayer as we find in Bishop Hall's *memoranda* of his own life, concerning the subtle and witty atheist that so grievously perplexed and gravelled him at Sir Robert Drury's, till he prayed to the Lord to remove him. And behold! his prayers were heard; for shortly afterwards, this Philistine-combatant went to London, and there perished of the plague, in great misery! In short, nowhere shall we find the least approach, in the lives and writings of John Milton or Jeremy Taylor, to that guarded gentleness, to that sighing reluctance, with which the holy brethren of the inquisition deliver over a condemned heretic to the civil magistrate, recommending him to mercy, and hoping that the magistrate will treat the erring brother with all possible mildness!—the magistrate who too well knows what would be his own fate, if he dared offend them by acting on their recommendation."—Heber's *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, edited by the Rev. C. P. Eden, p. cccxxx. Samuel Rutherford, a presbyterian minister, and professor of divinity in the University of St. Andrews, attacked the principle of toleration on which Taylor founded his noble work entitled *The Liberty of Prophesying*. Rutherford published his book in 1649, under the title of *A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*. This work is perhaps the "most elaborate defence of persecution which has ever appeared in a protestant country. He justifies it from the law of nature, the Mosaic law, the analogy of the Christian religion, the practice of the patriarchs and godly princes of old time; the prophecies which foretel that the kings which have sometimes served the Babylonian harlot, shall, on their repentance, burn her with fire, and eat her flesh; and the commandment of S. John, that a true believer is not to say God speed to a false teacher. They who condemn the burning of Servetus, would have condemned, he tells us, on the same principle, the slaughter of the Priests of Baal."—Heber's *Life of Taylor*, edited by Eden, *notes*, p. cclxi. At page 20 of his *Free Disputation*, Rutherford says—"We hold that toleration of all religions is not farre from blasphemy." "If wolves be permitted to teach what is right in their own erroneous conscience, and there be no 'magistrate to put them to shame,' and no king to punish them, then godlinesse and all that concerns the first Table of Law must be marred."—P. 230. "Wilde and atheisticall liberty of conscience."—P. 337. "Cursed tolleration."—P. 400. The same intolerance was taught as distinctly, though not so elaborately, by most other leading Scottish preachers. Baillie, when in London, in 1645, writes—"The Independents here plead for a tolleration both for themselves and other sects. My *Dissuasive* is come in time to doe service here. We hope God will assist us to remonstrate the wickedness of such an tolleration." Because the independents inculcated charity towards such as differed from them in opinion, Baillie describes them as having the "least zeall to the truth of God of any men we know."—*Letters and Journals*, vol. ii., pp. 328, 361. See also Dickson's *Truth's Victory over Error*, pp. 159, 163, 199–202; Abernethy's *Physicke for the Soule*, p. 215; Durham's *Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, p. 147; Durham's *Commentarie*, pp. 141, 143, 330; Shield's *Hind let Loose*, p. 168; Continuation of Blair's *Autobiography*, p. 213.

[5] *At her cost.*—Dr. Worthington, when writing to his friend S. Hartlib, in 1661, says—"Mr. Rust (whom Mr. Brereton knows, and you know him by his MS.), is going over into Ireland, to be Dean of Downe, being invited thither by Dr. Taylor, the bishop; and Mr. Marsh (sometime my pupil, and a fellow of Caius College) is there already, and made Dean of Armagh. They are both excellent persons, and preferred to these places by the care of the above-named bishop."—*Diary of Dr. John Worthington*, p. 301, as quoted by C. P. Eden, in Heber's *Life of Taylor*, p. cix., *note*. George Rust was never dean of Down; but on coming to Ulster, he was appointed to the deanery of Connor, by letters patent, dated the 3rd of August, 1661, and on the 7th of June, 1662, he was presented to the rectory of Island Magee. After the death of Taylor, he was made bishop of Dromore, on the 8th of November, 1667. Dr. Rust died of fever, in December, 1670, and was buried in the choir of the cathedral of Dromore, in the same vault with his friend and patron, Jeremy Taylor. Earl Conway, on hearing of Dr. Rust's death, writes thus to his brother-in-law, sir George Rawdon:—"Just now I have received your letters of the 26 past, and 6th instant, with the unspeakable sad news to me of my Lord of Dromore's death. My letter to my Lord of Dromore, was enclosed in a letter to you, and the directions were within his letter, wrapt about Van Helmont's medicine, *which would certainly have recovered him.*"—*(Rawdon Papers.)* Rust was the author of a short *Treatise on Truth*, which was probably the MS. to which Dr. Worthington refers in the extract above quoted. His sermon on the death of Taylor was also printed. Ware's *Works*, fol., vol. i., p. 266. It is reprinted in the Appendix to Heber's Life. Of Dr. Rust, bishop Heber says, *Life of Taylor*, edited by C. P. Eden, p. cix.—"It is remarkable that the preacher himself, though an eminent person in his day, and though his friend Glanvill has extolled him as a profound divine, a powerful orator, and an admirable philosopher, is now chiefly, if not altogether, recollected through his accidental connexion with the more illustrious memory of his predecessor."

[6] *Hon[r] Col. Cromwell.*—See p. 218, *supra*.

Major-Gen[l] Monroe, S[r] Arthur Chichester[7] and S[r] John Skeffington,[8] and many other gen[s] neighbours and officers out of Clanbrasil's[9] and L[d] Conway's[10] estates (whose names are lost, and not in

[7] *S[r] Arthur Chichester.*—Grand-nephew of the first sir Arthur. The sir Arthur here mentioned, as attending the funeral, was son of John Chichester of Dungannon, and Mary, youngest daughter of Roger Jones, first viscount Ranelagh. He became second earl of Donegall, on the death of his uncle, at Belfast, in March 1674. In 1661, he was member for Dungannon, and in 1668, he was appointed clerk of the pipe and chief ingrosser of exchequer. In 1672, he obtained a reversionary grant to succeed his uncle in the government of Carrickfergus, and, in 1675, was made *custos rotulorum* for the counties of Antrim and Donegal. He lived until after 1692, as, in that year, he was a member of king William's parliament. —Lodge, *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 336.

[8] *S[r] John Skeffington.*— The fifth baronet of his family. He married Mary, only daughter and heir to sir John Clotworthy of Antrim, first viscount Massereene, by his wife Margaret, eldest daughter of Roger Jones, first viscount Ranelagh. In the parliament commencing in May, 1661, and ending in August, 1666, sir John Skeffington represented the county of Antrim. In the year last-mentioned he was appointed *custos rotulorum* for the county of Londonderry, and on the death of his father-in-law, in 1686, he succeeded to the titles and estates of the latter as second viscount Massereene.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 377–9

[9] *Clanbrasil's.*—Henry, second earl of Clanbrassil, succeeded in 1659 to the family title and estates.

[10] *L[d] Conway's estates.*—See pp. 154, 155, *supra*. This was Edward, viscount Conway of Aberconway and Killultagh, and baron Conway of Ragley, created earl of Conway, in the county of Carnarvon, in 1679. He died in 1683. Earl Conway's lands (now the Hertford estates) include the eleven parishes of Blaris, Lambeg, Derriaghy, Magheragall, Magheramesk, Aghalee, Aghagallon, Ballinderry, Glenavy, Camlin, and Tullyrusk. These estates extend sixteen miles in length, from Clogher and Ballymullen hills, in the county of Down, to Hog Park Point on Loughneagh, in the county of Antrim; and ten miles in breadth, from the town of Moira, to the village of Crumlin. They remain unchanged in their original vast dimensions, "embracing in a ring fence," says the Rev. Dr. Reeves, "the whole barony of Upper Massereene, with small adjacent portions of Upper Belfast and Castlereagh."—*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., p. 483. Lisburn (formerly Lisnagarvey) is the largest town on these estates, and took its present form in the reign of James I., being rebuilt and generally improved by certain Welsh and English settlers who (with few exceptions) came with sir Fulk Conway. In its renovated state, Lisburn consisted of just fifty-two respectable houses, occupied by the following tenants, viz., Henry Cloughanson, John Norris, John O'Murray, Thomas Date, Simon Batterfield (Butterfield?) John Slye, John Golly (Gawly), Hugh Montgomerie, Marmaduke Dobbs, Richard Dobbs, Thomas Paston, John Tippen, Steven Richardson, Christopher Calvert, Ann Morgan, George Rose, Edward Steward, Henric Wilson, Robert Browne, William Averne, John Dilworth, Katherine Bland, George Davis, John Savage, Jerome Cartwright, Robert Taylor, Symon Richardson, Humphrey Dash, William Smith, John M'Nilly, Askulfe Stanton, Henric Hollcote, Francis Burke, Thomas Symonson, Richard Howle, John Houseman, Patrick Palmer, Robert Warton, William Cubbage, John Aprichard, Owen Aphugh, Antonie Stotthard, John Mace, Humfry Leech, Richard Walker, Henric Freebourne, Edward Gouldsmith, Robert Bones, William Edwards, Peter O'Mullred, and a second John O'Murray. Other settlers afterwards came to this district from England and Wales, in the time of lord (afterwards earl) Conway mentioned in the text. Among these, the leading surnames were Gresham, Audis, Thurkilld (Torkill, now Turtle), Entwistle, Higginson, Hastings, Waring, Close, Wolfenden, Mussen, Bullmer, Bunting, Blizard, Gwilliams, Haddock, Peers, Wheeler, Breathwaite, Barnsley, Carleton, Conway, Garrett, Bennett, Gregory, Waters, White, Pearce, Grainger, Willis, Shillington, Hammond, Moore, Smyth, Richardson, Clark, Hopes, Peel, Bicket, Lamb, Hodgkinson, Carter, Courtney, Weatherhead, Oakman, Ravenscroft, Fairis, Hall, Sefton, Bell, Rogers, Hancock, Culson, Darby, Shepherd, Durham, Spencer, Walkington, Manson, Friar, Davis, Cinnamond, Casemont, Harrison, Gregg, Whittle, Clements, Hull, Watson, Brooks, Greer, Gayer, Rossbotham, Hudson, Rusk, Chapman, Norton, &c. See Johnston's *Heterogenea*, p. 92, *et seq.* The following is sir William Brereton's brief notice, in 1635, of the improvements made by the Conway family at Lisburn:— "From Bell-fast to Linsley Garven is about 7 mile, and is a paradise in comparison of any part of Scotland. Linsley Garven is well seated, butt neither the Towne nor the Countrie thereabouts well planted. This Towne belongs to my L: Conoway, who hath there a good hansome House, but farr short of both my L: Chich: Houses, and this House is seated uppon an Hill, uppon the side whereof is planted a Garden and Orchard, and att the bottome of wch Hill runnes a pleasant river, wch abounds wth Salmon. Here aboutes, my Lord Conoway is endeavoureing a Plantation; though the land hereaboutes be the poorest and barrenest I have yett seen, yett may itt bee made good land wth labour and chargd."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i., p. 250. Earl Conway resided occasionally on his Irish estates, and devoted himself very much to their improvement. He built a substantial and elegant castle at Lisburn which was burned in 1707, and never rebuilt. He also built a castle at Portmore, on the shore of Loughbeg, adjoining Lough Neagh, in 1664, which was still more magnificent than the mansion at Lisburn, and which, with its stables and other buildings (excepting the walls enclosing the bowling green and gardens), was pulled down in the year 1761. The deer-park connected with the grounds contained one thousand acres, and so late as 1770, was well stored with deer, and literally swarmed with hares, rabbits, pheasants, jays, and turkeys.—Johnston's *Heterogenea*, p. 100. Earl Conway's letters to his brother-in-law, sir George Rawdon of Moira, express the writer's desire to introduce all useful and ornamental productions to his parks and lakes in Killultagh. Writing from *Ragley*, in July, 1665, he says—"I have advised with Garrett about the hempseed, and he thinks, considering he cannot go into Flanders because of the sickness, it may be provided in

the following lists) assisted at the obsequies, as also did the s^d^ Col^s^ own troop and the defunct's, which horsemen (at the inhuming of the corpse) did fire three volleys, and the time thereof being adjusted with the gunners in Dublin, the ordnance on the castle and custom-house quay gave three peals about the same instant, so his Lo^p^ was layed in peace in his grave within the chancel of the church, to sleep and rest with his R^t^. Honb^l^ father and grandfather and grandmother afores^d^, and some of his brothers and sisters, who died before the rebellion.[11] The chief of the gentry (w^h^ came to the burrial) dined with the Earl in the parlour, and the rest in the dining-room or with the steward and seneschal at their tables, and others in the common hall; which done, I gave the following order (or marshalling methods) for the procession unto the four captains (bearers of the bannerells) hereafter named, desiring them to see it done accordingly, the same being consonant to the rules of heraldry, leaving the ranking of the inferior people to their own discretion. The corpse being taken down the stairs by the gate-house entry as daylight was gone, and the torches and flambeaux being lighted and the procession ready to march,—the names of the chief persons who stay with the Earl and his brother were called in the order they were to go, and they went to their several posts; and the Earle, attended by next of kin and family, repaired to the coffin and (a signal being given to move) they walked leisurely in due distance. In the first place, Col. Cromwell and his troop (whereof Maj^r^. Sam^l^. Stewart[12] was Lieutenant); then the defunct's troops, their Lieutenant leading them, marched with their trumpets, banners and standards in mourning and folded, sound Chancel Wail. The rest went into the church. Then followed the procession walking from the gate-house into the street, which is on the south side of the School-house hill, and so onwards to the north side of the Market-cross,[13] and turning about it, left on the left hand; and came down eastward through the street which leads into the west gate of the church, wherein the seats were ordered and kept to receive the mourners of all sorts before the common people were

England, if you desire it; and that, for the future 2 or 3 acres of that land in the Tunny Park (on Lough Neagh shore) which is newly stubbed up, would furnish you plentifully. If the cranes which you mention do live and will thrive, I intend, God willing, to have them brought over, tho' it be by an express messenger; and in the meantime, it would be convenient to employ some such person about them as would be fit to bring them over. I pray acquaint John Totnal that I desire him to get some beehives at the Tunny Park; for if ever I live to come into that country, I believe I shall use a great deal of honey, as I do at this present, and have, I thank God, kept myself a great while thereby free from any fits of the stone, and do daily void so much gravel by the use thereof, as is hardly to be believed." On the 9th of February following, he writes—"I have got two couple of right decoy ducks and a drake, such as will fly abroad every night and return in the morning; these I will send over within a fortnight, and I will send to all the decoys in England till I have brought mine into such a condition as it ought to be." Writing from London, in October, 1667, he adds this postscript to his letter:—"I have sent a hamper with 3 boxes in it, and 2 cases with trees; the boxes have in them flowers, roots, and seeds, such as my gardner writ for from Lisburn. They cost me £14, as you shall see by the particulars; they are very choice things, and very good." In these letters, the earl also directs that cranes, dogs, frise, black and grey, and *usquebagh*, may be sent to him in England,—the last-mentioned commodity being always supplied by his sister, lady Rawdon.—*Rawdon Papers*, pp. 206, 214, 231, 232.

[11] *Before the rebellion.*—Paterson, *County of Ayr*, vol. i., p. 283, and Mrs. E. S. G. Reilly, *Genealogical Account*, p. 50, mention only one brother, Henry, who died when an infant. Although there is no mention previously, in the author's memoirs, of the death of the deceased earl's grandmother, Elizabeth Shaw, we are here told of her burial-place, with her husband, the first viscount, and her son, the second viscount; to whom was now added her grandson, the third viscount and first earl. The second viscount having been a member of the privy council is here styled *right honourable*, for in such matters the author always scrupulously renders honour to whom honour is due.

[12] *Majr. Saml. Stewart.*—Major Samuel Stewart, although a lieutenant in colonel Cromwell's troop, belonged to the parish of Greyabbey. In 1657, this officer rented lands from the family of Boyd in that parish, as appears from a contract between Marion Boyd (the widow of Robert Boyd) and the third viscount Montgomery, made in 1658,—which contract is preserved among the papers at Donaghadee, in possession of Daniel de la Cherois, esq.

[13] *Market-cross.*—See p. 68, *supra*.

admitted.[14] So that all the solemnity was observed and performed with great decency and order; more reverently by far than was expected. This great deference which the vulgar had for their late most loved landlord restrained their curiosity and rude behaviour, and listened to the prayers (w^h^ was a novelty to them) and to the learned pious sermon (such being also rare among them[15]); yet with great silence and reverence they contained themselves whilst this was doing in the church, the same being thereby well illuminated.

The same procession, taken out of my fragments which escaped the fire in my house,[16] was as followeth, viz.

[Following M.S. imperfect]

Imprimis,—Two conductors, with black stalves, Alex^r^. Crawford[17] and Hu. Montgomery.[18]

2, Thirty-eight men in black gowns, by two and two, his Lo^p^ having lived full so many years.

3, The French page, bareheaded. 4^th^, The grand standard advanc^d^ by Pat. Mont^y^. of Creby,[19] Esq.

5, Serv^ts^ to Gent^n^ mourners and strangers, how many I know not. 6, Serv^ts^ to the defunct, Jo. Davison, Ed^r^. Kelly, Jo. Edwards, Jo. Francis, Ja. Norwell, John Corry.

[14] *Were admitted.*—The procession, leaving the gate-house, passed into the street on the south side of the school-house, now known as Greenwell street.

[15] *Rare among them.*—This remark would imply that the majority of the people attending the funeral were presbyterians, whose ministers, John Greg of Newtownards, Andrew Stewart of Donaghadee, and James Gordon of Comber, were then imprisoned at Carlingford, for alleged complicity in Blood's plot. The church prayers were no doubt a novelty to these sturdy sons of the covenant. Of the sixty, or upwards, presbyterian ministers in Ulster, not one is recorded as attending this funeral. Some were in prison, others hiding among their people, and not a few had fled to Scotland. Several of these were suspected of assisting in the Scottish rebellion of 1666, which was finally crushed on Rullion Green at the foot of the Pentland hills, where Crookshanks and M'Cormick, who had been ministers in Ulster, were slain. In 1667, a few months before bishop Taylor's death, he wrote as follows to Ormond, the lord lieutenant:—

"This late rebellion in Scotland hath too much verified our fears in these parts, that the indulgence lately given to the presbyterians who were sent away, and since permitted to re-enter, would be of evil consequence. Ever since their coming, till within these two or three months, no complaints were brought to me of them, but that they *clancularly* did ecclesiastical offices, took and kept the people from their parish churches, received pensions regularly from the parishes which they formerly had usurped; and the people forced to pay their money, by the authority of some landlords, or rather landladies; the clergy were greatly discouraged, and greatly injured. But now of late they keep their conventicles more publickly, and advance the former mischiefs to greater and more insufferable consequences, and have given us too much cause to believe that the Scotch rebellion was either born in Ireland, or put to nurse here. May it please your grace, I speak not this by chance or passion; but can prove where Crookeshank was entertained for many days together immediately before the rebellion. It is also informed and offered to be proved, that Kenedy, sometimes of Temple Patrick, preached in the diocese of Dromore, that the people ought for a while to bear patiently the loss of their goods, for the godly people in Scotland would speedily oppose the power; and about the Six Mill (Mile) Water, which is not far from Antrim, the people, when, this summer, they gave bond for payments of their tithes at All Saint's, would not sign the bonds till they put in this clause, 'in case there be no war or publick disturbance before that time,' or to that purpose. Now, may it please your grace, the perpetual and universal complaint of all my clergy, and generally of the honest part of the people, being so great against the permission of these pretended ministers to abide amongst them, and now every man being awakened with the late rebellion, and we being sure that many things are true which we cannot prove, and yet being able to prove the particulars above recited, I thought it my duty to propound the whole affair to your grace's consideration, humbly expecting your grace's commands, orders, and determination in it; which shall be humbly and perfectly followed in all things by, may it please your grace, your grace's most dutiful and humble servant,

"JEREM. DUNENSIS."

—Heber's *Life of Taylor*, edited by Eden, p. civ., *notes*.

[16] *Fire in my house.*—This fire occurred in Feb., 1695. See p. 28, *supra*.

[17] *Alexr. Crawford.—Alexander* was not a christian name in the Crawfordsburn family. A paper in possession of Daniel de la Cherois, esq., mentions the loan of £100, by a *Robert* Crawford, to the second earl of Mount-Alexander, but there is neither date nor name of any place.

[18] *Hu. Montgomery.*—There were at least six gentlemen of this name residing in the district at the period referred to in the text.

[19] *Of Creby.*—This Patrick Montgomery was grandson of Patrick Montgomery of Blackhouse. See pp. 28, 52, *supra*. His grandson, mentioned in the text, sold his property of Blackhouse, in 1663, and John Montgomery, son of the latter, sold the lands of Creboy in 1716, still retaining a third part of South Skelmorlie, in the parish of Largs. See Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 230. This Patrick Montgomerie was the gentleman mentioned by the deceased earl as his *cousin* Bally Craboy, in his letter to the earl of Eglinton, in 1642. See p. 153, *supra*.

7, Strangers, Mourners.—Mr. Burly,[20] Cap^{t} Alex^{r} Stewart,[21] Mr. Bowyer, Mr. John Law, Mr. Tho^{s} Simms, with many more out of Clanbrasil's and Conway's estates, whose names are lost.

8, Newtown and Donaghadee men freeholders, whose names are lost.

9, Freeholders and Kindred.—Cap^{t} Cha^{s}. Campbell,[22] Cap^{t} Hu. Dundas,[23] Cap^{t}. Dan. Kenedy,[24] Mr. Fergus Kenedy,[25] Cap^{t}. John Keeth,[26] and Major Will^{m} Buchanan.[27]

[20] *Mr. Burly.*—"Wm. Burley, gent.," attended the funeral of the first viscount, in 1636. See p. 138, *supra*. Lieutenant-colonel William Burleigh was a 1649 officer, and, as such, had the sum of £1,647 14s 1d to receive under the Act of Settlement. Hercules Langford was trustee for this and other sums received by several officers. —*Irish Records Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 296. In 1640, William Burley, esq., was high sheriff for the county of Down.

[21] *Capt. Alexr. Stewart.*—Captain Alexander Stewart was a 1649 officer, and, as such, together with captains William and Robert Hamilton as trustees, obtained a grant under the Act of Settlement, of many forfeited houses and gardens in Dublin and Kinsale, as security for pay.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 141. Captain Stewart's arrears amounted to £477 11s 10½d.—P. 299. This captain Alexander Stewart was probably a brother of major Samuel Stewart mentioned in note 12, *supra*. "Capt. Alexander Stewart of Bellamorrane," is the first-named *overseer* in the will of Thomas Boyd of Portavogie, who died in the year 1660.

[22] *Capt. Chas. Campbell.*—See p. 224, *supra*. Charles Campbell, esq., gent., Donaghadee, was returned one of the members for Newtownards, in April, 1661. See p. 67, *supra*. During the insurrection in Scotland of 1679, Ormond writing to sir George Rawdon, says:—"I have ordered my Lord Mount-Alexander to send a part of his troop to Larne and Creeks next him, and the like orders I send to my Lord Conway and your troop. . . It will behove Campbell at Donaghadee to be vigilant and active in this common chase, to wipe off some suspicions that are insinuated of his indulgence to some of that party (the Covenanters). It is likely he is able to do as much as any man, and if he do not, it will not be imputed to want of skill: if you think fit, you may let him know as much."—*Rawdon Papers*, pp. 263, 264. The rising in Scotland, during the summer of 1679, was distinguished by the bloody engagements at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, in the former of which the covenanters were victorious, but, in the latter, defeated and dispersed. Many of the hapless fugitives took refuge in Galloway, particularly in the parishes of Carsphairn, Balmaclellan, and Glencairn, where they were pursued by Claverhouse with a company of English dragoons, and, when caught, ruthlessly slaughtered. Several made their escape to this coast, coming in at Larne and Donaghadee; and it would appear from Ormond's letter quoted above, that captain Charles Campbell was expected to look sharp after such as landed at the latter port, by way of making amends for some former sympathy shown by him for the weak party. The family of Campbell originally settled at Donaghadee, and held a high social position in that district during the seventeenth century.

[23] *Hu. Dundas.*—Probably a son of James Dundas, who was appointed bishop of Down and Connor in 1612, and who died soon afterwards in Newtownards. He is said to have wasted his bishoprick by granting fee-farm and other long leases at very small rents.—Ware's *Works*, edited by Harris, vol. i., p. 208.

[24] *Capt. Dan. Kenedy.*—*Dan.* is probably a misprint for *Dav.* David Kennedy belonged to Dundonald parish, and served under the deceased earl, in 1649, when the latter was commander-in-chief of Ulster.—*MS. preserved among the Family Papers at Donaghadee.* David Kennedy was a 1649 officer, and obtained by the Act of Settlement the sum of £1,482 1s. 4d., as arrears of pay. —*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 296.

[25] *Fergus Kenedy.*—Fergus Kennedy belonged to the parish of Comber. In 1649, a Fergus Kennedy of Comber was summoned, among others, by viscount Montgomery, for active service.—*MS. Paper preserved at Donaghadee.*

[26] *John Keeth.*—See p. 163, *supra*. John Keith was a 1649 officer, whose pay, which amounted to £1370 16s 3d, was secured to him by the Act of Settlement.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 303.

[27] *Buchanan.*—We have the following notice of this officer in Buchanan's (of Auchmar) *Inquiry into Ancient Scottish Surnames*, Glasgow, 1820, pp. 189, 190:—"The first cadet of the family of Auchmar was Mr. William Buchanan the first of Auchmar. Mr. William went to Ireland, and became manager or factor for the estate of the family of Hamiltons, then lords of Clandeboyes, and afterwards earls of Clanbrassil, in the county of Down, which family is now extinct. He married in that country, and had one son, major William Buchanan, a very brave gentleman, who was major to George, laird of Buchanan's regiment, at the fatal conflict between the Scots and English at Ennerkeithing. The major, upon defeat of the Scottish army, being well-mounted, made his way through a party of English horsemen, and, though pursued for some miles, came safe off, having killed divers of the pursuers. He went afterwards to Ireland, and purchased an estate there, called Scrabohill, near Newtowne Clandeboyes, in the county of Down. He had two sons; the eldest continued in Ireland, and the younger went abroad. He had also two daughters, both married in that country" A *MS. Indenture*, preserved among the family papers at Donaghadee, made in 1672, between the first earl of Mount-Alexander and Hugh Hamill of Ballyatwood, contains the following clause:—"The said Hugh, Earle of Mount-Alexander, hath demised, sett, and to farme lett unto the said Hugh Hamill all that part of the towne and lands of Black-Abbey, which was formerly held and possessed by Major William Buchanan." It would thus appear that Buchanan had occupied more than one farm in the neighbourhood of Newtownards. He received, as a 1649 officer, the sum of £353 11s 2d, for which William Montgomery, the author, was trustee.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 306.

10, Gentlemen Freeholders or Relations.—Hugh Montgomery, of B. Skeogh,[28] J. Montgomery, of Tallynegry,[29] Mr. Oline, Tho[s]. Nevin, of B. Copland,[30] Jo. Cunningham, of Drumfad,[31] Hu. Montgomery, of B. Henry,[32] Mr. Hu. Campbell,[33] Mr. Hu. Savage,[34] of Carnesure, L[t] Col. Cochran,[35] Mr Lindsay,[36] W[m] Shaw, Provost.[37]

[28] *Hu. Montgomery of B. Skeogh.*—William Montgomery of Ballyskeogh attended the funeral of the first viscount, in 1636. See p. 141, *supra*.

[29] *Tallynegry.*—Probably Tullynagardy, the name of a townland in the parish of Newtownards.

[30] *Thos. Nevin, B. Copeland.*—Ballycopeland, the residence of Thomas Nevin, is situated in the parish of Donaghadee. Thomas Nevin, sen., of Arkeen, and Thomas Nevin, jun., of Monkroddin, Ayrshire, attended the funeral of the first viscount, in 1636. See pp. 53, 54, 135, 139, *supra*.

[31] *Drumfad.*—In the parish of Donaghadee. Andrew Cunningham of Drumfad attended the funeral of the first viscount in 1636. See p. 138, *supra*.

[32] *Of B. Henry.*—Ballyhenry is a townland in the parish of Comber. This Hugh Montgomery was most probably a son of Adam Montgomery, to whom sir Hugh Montgomery sold, in 1610, the towns and lands of Ballyhenrie and Ballyalton, in the parish of Comber, at a fee-farm rent of £3 3s 8d English at Mayday and Hollantide.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, James I., pp. 254–5. See p. 146, note 104, *supra*.

[33] *Mr. Hu. Campbell.*—This gentleman was a brother of Charles Campbell abovenamed, and a second cousin of the deceased earl. The grandmother of the Campbells was a sister of the viscountess Montgomery. Hugh Campbell was one of the commissioners afterwards appointed to arrange the affairs of the second earl of Mount-Alexander. As a 1649 officer, he obtained his arrears of pay, amounting to £5,419 19s 6½, by grant made in the name of Hu. Montgomery.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., page 302.

[34] *Mr. Hu. Savage.*—Mr. Hugh Savage was cousin of the deceased, and resided for a time at Carnasure, near Comber, although he was the nominal owner, at least, of the Portaferry estate.

[35] *Lt.-Col. Cochran.*—Colonel Hugh Cochran, mentioned at p. 163, *supra*, had three brothers, military officers, of whom the gentleman mentioned in the text may have been one. His name is introduced among those of the relatives of the deceased.

[36] *Mr Lindsay.*—From the fact of this gentleman being mentioned among those related to the deceased, he must have been a member of the Dunrod family,—a son, or grandson of Isabel Shaw of Greenock, sister to the first viscountess Montgomery.

[37] *Wm Shaw, Provost.*—See pp. 11, 51, 52, *supra*. The William Shaw mentioned in the text as provost of Newtown, is not to be confounded with William Shaw of *Ballygannaway*, in the parish of Donaghadee, the latter being the son of John Shaw (to whom that estate was originally granted in 1616), and nephew of Patrick Shaw of Kilbright in the same parish. William Shaw of Newtown was no doubt the owner of the house in that town to which Harris refers, p. 59, and which had inscribed on it the armorial bearings adopted by the various branches of this family. For the following interesting records of the Ballygannaway branch, the editor is indebted to the kindness of Robert S. Nicholson, esq., J.P., M.A., Ballow, county of Down:—By Articles of the 5th Sept. 1706, made between William Shaw of Ganoway in the county of Down, Esq., of the one part, and Patrick Shaw of the city of Dublin, gent., of the other part, in consideration of a marriage between the said Patrick and Frances third daughter of the said William, he, the said William, did covenant to settle as a marriage portion with his said daughter, the townland of Carmevy, being 484 acres, and 88 acres of Ballyrobin, Barony of Massereene, in co. of Antrim, (see note p. 52 *supra*.) These Articles also recite that said Wm. Schaw designed to settle the lands of Ballyganoway and Ballywhisker, in county of Down, upon his son John, and in case said son should have no issue, said lands should go to said Patrick and Frances, and their heirs. 1 July, 1707, said William Schaw made his Will, leaving to his son, John Shaw, in tail, the townlands of Carnadorn, Ballymacravanny and Cahard, in the county of Down, and in default of issue of his said son, John, to his son-in-law, Patrick Shaw and his wife Frances and their heirs. By these Articles, Wm. Shaw of Ballyganoway appointed, as a Trustee, Wm. Shaw of Bush, county of Antrim. 14 Sept., 1714, is the date of a Deed between John Shaw and his brother-in-law, Patrick Shaw, the former dying soon afterwards, intestate and without issue. The said Patrick made his will, dated 5 July, 1715, leaving his daughter Mary all the estate which he had received from his father-in-law, Wm. Schaw of Ganoway. He bequeathed other lands to his brother, John Shaw of Bush, and failing heirs of him, to his brother Thomas and his heirs, and failing them to the heirs general of his brother John aforesaid. In this document Patrick Shaw appointed his father, Wm. Shaw of Bush, Patrick Agnew of Kilwaughter, and his brother, John Shaw of Bush, to be guardians of his daughter Mary. He appointed also as executors his father Wm. Shaw of Bush, Patrick Agnew, and his kinsman William Macullagh of Grogan. The aforesaid John Shaw, being one of the guardians of Mary Shaw, married her to his son Henry, when neither of them had arrived at the age of 15 years. On the 11 Jan., 1728, said John Shaw of Bush, second brother of said Patrick Shaw, made his will, leaving his estate to his son Henry Shaw. The latter, by his wife Mary aforesaid, had several sons. The eldest William, married Charlotte ——— (who died on the 18th Sept., 1782), and by her left a son, Henry Wm. Shaw, born 12th June, 1766; and a daughter, Dorothea Josepha Shaw, who married, first, James Potter, and secondly, Thomas Potter of Killinchy. On the 17th of July, 1775, William Shaw, son of Henry and Mary aforesaid, died intestate; and in the December following his father, Henry, died, having made his will on the 20th of May in the same year, leaving the lands of Ballytweedy to a younger son Francis, the family estate descending to the testator's grandson, Wm. Henry Shaw. The latter married in 1783, when only 17 years of age, and was father of the late Henry William Shaw of Ballytweedy, who recently died at Glen-Ebor, near Holywood.

11, The great banner, carried alone by Jo. Mont^{y}[38] Gent^{m}. second son of the Honb^{l} Geo. Mong^{y}.

12, The steward, Capt James M'Gill,[39] with his white rod in his right hand.

13, Strangers, legal Minnisters.—Mr. Wallace[40] of Hollywood, Mr. Mace,[41] of Porteferry, Mr. Robt. Echlin,[42] of B. Culter, Mr. Goldring, Mr. Hudson.

14, The defunct's Minnisters.—Mr. Dowdall, of Comer, Mr. Heald, of Donaghadee, and Mr. Mont^{y}, Curate of Greyabbey, Mr. Robt Pierce, to whom his Lo^{p} pay ½ salary.

[38] *Jo. Monty.*—John Montgomery, second son of the hon. George Montgomery, of Ballylesson, died abroad and unmarried—Mrs. E. G. S. Reilly's *Genealogical Account*, p. 44.

[39] *Capt James M'Gill.*—Captain James M'Gill was eldest son of Mr. David M'Gill, curate of Greyabbey. See p. 123, *supra*. This gentleman's residences, after the wars, were Kirkistown and Ballynester. Of Kirkistown, Harris says, pp. 67, 269, it "is an English Castle, surrounded by a high wall, strongly built, and containing within the circuit of it a good dwelling house of Mrs. Lucy Magil, now (1744) the Widow Savage. . . . . Kirkistown and Ballygalgot Castles were built since the accession of King James I., by Rowland Savage of Archin." Mrs. Lucy Magill, afterwards Mrs. Savage, was grand-daughter of captain James M'Gill mentioned in the text. The latter received, as a 1649 officer, the two sums of £6,700 and £1,392 11s. 1d., secured from the 'savings,' through two grants made in the names of Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagoun, and Hugh McGill, his own brother.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., pp. 295, 303.

[40] *Mr. Wallace.*—Mr. George Wallace had originally been a presbyterian minister, but was one of seven who conformed to the doctrine and discipline of the episcopal church in 1661. He was admitted vicar of Holywood on the 12th of December in that year.—Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., p. 256, *note*. In a rental of the Clanbrassil estate, in 1681, *Mr. George Wallace* is mentioned as occupying the Priory House in Holywood, for which he paid the yearly rent of £5.—*Hamilton Manuscripts*, p. 109, *note*.

[41] *Mr. Mace.*—A Mr. James Mace was rector of Lisburn several years prior to 1660, and was probably removed to Portaferry. In Mr. W. J. Hanna's *Account of the Parish of Inch*, the writer has the following notice of a minister bearing this name:—"1664. James Mace, M.A. (ordained deacon and priest 3rd March, 1660—1). He had been appointed prebendary of Dunsfort 22nd March, 1661, which, having resigned, he was appointed chancellor (of Down) 12th December, 1662, as successor to Mr. Morgan. There seems to be some mistake about Mr. Mace, or else he held the prebend for a very short interval, as Mr. Dunlop, according to the visitation of 4th June, 1664, certainly held it at that time; there is, however, under the entry of Mr. Dunlop's name, the words 'Jacobus Maxwell, clericus de Ince,' which may have led to the confusion. The matter is, therefore, uncertain whether Mr. Mace held this dignity or not." If Mr. James Mace and James Mace, M.A., be one and the same, the term of his chancellorship could not have lasted more than a few months. He is stated in the text to have been settled in Portaferry (of course, as chancellor of Down) prior to September, 1663. In reference to this clergyman's appointment, the Rev. Dr. Reeves has kindly supplied the following:—"1660–1. James Mace (ordained both deacon and priest on March 3, 1660–1) was admitted [to the prebend of Dunsfort] on March 22 (First Fruits), and installed April 4. In the next year he resigned, and was made chancellor—Cotton's *Fasti*, vol. iii., p. 242. 1662 James Mace, M.A. prebendary of Dunsfort, was collated [chancellor of Down] on December 12 (First Fruits), or on April 13, 1663. (Visit. Book at Armagh.) He appears to have resigned shortly afterwards, for in 1664 we find him holding the prebend of St. Andrews.—Cotton's *Fasti*, p. 235. 1664 James Mace, "late chancellor," appears (Visit. Book at Armagh).—Cotton's *Fasti*, p. 240. James Mace, B.D., was appointed rector of Blaris, *alias* Lisburn, February 18, 1617. He succeeded Dr. George Rust on his promotion to the diocese of Dromore.—*Patent Rolls*, 20, 21, Car. ii. Mace was also appointed to the vicarage of Derriaghy, near Lisburn, same day, also vacant by the promotion of Dr. Rust. The crown has the presentation to these livings *pro hac vice* having advanced the incumbent to a bishoprick." James Mace was probably the son of John Mace, one of the settlers in Lisburn under sir Fulk Conway.—See Johnston's *Heterogenea*, pp. 95, 102. Viscount Conway and Killulta, writing to his brother-in-law, major George Rawdon, in June, 1658, says:—"My mother writes to me that John Mace's son intends to carry over all the rest of the children, and expects £8 of me to bear their charges, which I shall not do untill I have your directions."—*Rawdon Papers*, p. 190.

[42] *Robt Echlin.*—Robert Echlin (ordained priest, March 31, 1641), collated chancellor of Down (*i.e.*, rector of Portaferry and Ardglass) September 30, 1642. During Cromwell's government he received an annual pension of £80 as minister of Strangford. He was installed again, after the Restoration, on March 4, 1660–1. This clergyman is supposed to have been a grandson of bishop Echlin. The editor of Craufurd's *Memoirs of the Echlins*, in a note at p. 22, says:—"The bishop, it would seem, had another son (besides John Echlin, his heir), who was born about the year 1629, for in the old church of Ardkeen, in the county of Down, there is a tombstone under the reading-desk, with this inscription:—"Here lyes Interd the bodie of Robert Echline, of Castel Boye, esqr., who died the 25 day of April, 1657, in the 29 year of his age—as also the Bodie of his daughter, Marie." "It was probably a son of this R. E., of Castleboy (also named Robert, and of Ballyculter), who, in the *Montgomery MSS.*, p. 260, is mentioned as having been present amongst the strangers, legal Ministers, at the funeral in 1663, of the third Viscount Montgomery. Prior to 1663, when he is described as of

15, Mr. Robinson, the defunct's Chaplain, Curate of Newtowne alone.

16, Dr. Rust, Dean of Connor (who preached the sermon.)

17, The cushion and coronet on it, borne by Hu. Montg^r,[43] eldest son of the Hb^le Geo. Montg^r aforesd.

18, Dudly Loftus,[44] the defunct's clerk aforesd. and Hu. Montg^r his best Gent^n.[45] both bare-headed.

19, The coffin, covered with a deep velvet fringed pale, and above it was laid the defunct's naked sword and scabbard by it and his gauntlet, and on the sides were taffety scutcheons, and underneath

20, The corners and sides of the pall by—And^w Monro, Esq.[46] Jo. Savage, of Ardkeen,[47] Esq. 2 S^r Jo. Skffington, Bar^ts. S^r Ed^w Chichester, K^t S^r Robt Monro, Gent^n Major Garrett Moore,[48] Capt. Hu. Shaw,[49] Capt Hu. M^cGill, Cap^t. J. Lessly,[50] Capt. Hu. Montgomery.

Ballyculter, Robert Echlin had been rector and vicar of Ballee and Ardglass."—Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., p. 256, *note*. Mr. Echlin's residence was at Strangford.—Hanna's *Account of Inch*, in *Downpatrick Recorder*.

[43] *Hu. Montgy.*—This Hugh Montgomery (of Ballylesson) succeeded to his father's property, by a family arrangement, prior to the death of the latter. His lands were erected into a manor, called the manor of Dunbrackley, the chief residence of which was situated in the townland of *Ballylesson*. See p. 94, *supra*. He served in the army of the prince of Orange. His first wife was the only child of colonel Hercules Huncks. Viscount Conway and Killulta, afterwards earl Conway, speaks of this officer as his "cousin Huncks."—*Rawdon Papers*, p. 251. Huncks, although at one period a zealous parliamentarian, "one of the three to whom the warrant for the king's execution had been directed; one of the forty halberdiers attending the high court of justice; and one who had opposed with more than ordinary vehemence all those who were for the king," contrived to wheel round like some others at the safe point, and became the principal witness against his former associate, colonel Axtel, who was among the first to suffer after the Restoration.—Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 83. Clause CLXXXII. of the Act of Settlement directs that possession of the lands in the county of Cork, which had been set out to Hercules Huncks for arrears, be confirmed to Edward Adams.

[44] *Dudly Loftus.*—See p. 238, *supra*.

[45] *Hu. Montgy his best Gentm^n.*—See p. 191, *supra*. This was 'my Lord's Hugh,' of Ballymagown.

[46] *Andw Monro.*—Andrew Monro is supposed to have been a nePhew of general Robert Monro. He is mentioned in a tripartite indenture preserved among the family papers at Donaghadee, dated in February, 1672. Andrew Monro was then residing at *Cherryvalley*, in the parish of Comber, and near Mount-Alexander.

[47] *Jo. Savage of Ardkeen.*—Son of Henry Savage, of Ardkeen, who attended the funeral of 1636. See p. 131, *supra*.

[48] *Garrett Moore.*—Brother of the first lady of the deceased earl. See p. 176, *supra*.

[49] *Capt. Hugh Shaw.*—Captain Hugh Shaw's name is mentioned in a list of a few 1649 officers preserved among Family Papers at Donaghadee. He was most probably the son of Hugh Shaw of Killbright, in the parish of Donaghadee, who died in 1670. The latter made his will in 1668. The following is a correct copy of this document, which mentions other members of the family, and for which the editor is indebted to the kindness of R. S. Nicholson, esq., J.P., M.A., Ballow, county of Down:—

"In the name of God, Amen, I, Hugh Schaw, of Killbright, in the parish of Donochadie, Barony of Airds, and County of Down, being of perfect memory att this present, praised be God, doe make and ordain this to be my Last will and testament, written with my own hand this twenty-nine of July, one thewsand six hundred sixty and eight years, in manner and form hereinafter following—that is to say, I bequeath my soull to God, hoping, through the only merits of Christ Jesus my redeemer, to be made partaker of Life everlasting with him. Next I Recomend my body to the earth wherof it was made, to bee Burried in the parish church of Donochadie, under my nephewes seat of Belliganavie, and that to bee our constant Burial place.

"As concerning my worldly estate, itt is my will and testament that funerall expenses, debts, and legacies, being first payd my whole personall goods and stock, and household furniture, be viewed and valued by two or three indifferent men, to bee nominate by my ex^rs & oversiers hereinafter named or to bee done by some of themselves if they please, and A true inventory therof taken and kept, and when the family is retrinched and the childring putt to schoal, so much therof sold as may be best spared, and the money that is got for the same, and all rents and Anuities due to me to be kept intire for the only use and behoof of my wife and childring, and for the maintenance and educatione during her widowhood and their nonage if the wil to continue And dwell in Killbright during that time. If she & the overseers think it nott fitter to sett the Land & Lise elswher with her childring. Butt when my wife pleaseth, or if she chance to mary, then her Lawfull third of the personall goods and stock that is undisposed off, as Aforsaid, to bee sett Apart and delivered unto her, with my watch and a third part of the rents and Anuities during her Life If the Leases continue so Long and yield profite; except the Lease of Killbright, for wch she is to get satisfaction out of the rest, valuable to the third part of the profites therof as the ovirseers shall think fitt, and all the rest to continue Intire for the Joynt maintenance & educatione of my childring untill they mary orr come to the Age of 22 years, and as one orr the other of these happen, then that child's part to bee separate and delivered, as herafter is devised. Imprimis I Leave to my eldest Sone, Hugh Schaw, the Lease of Killbright, with all the profites And Advantages therof. Item—I Leave unto him my watch If att bee extant & valuable After his mother's decease. Item—I Leave unto him my silver tanker & one of the best things of every kind that is usually given ore proper for An Heir, all the rest of my Leases, rents, charges, debts, Bills, Bonds, Anuities, goods ore chattells, real ore personall whatsoever that are then extant, except what is hereafter disposed off ore hereafter shall bee Bequeathed, to be equally divided in specie or the value therof amongst my fower childring, Hugh, John, Jean, and Elizabeth Schawes, att the times Aforsaid, ore

21, 22, The banners on each side of the coffin by—The present Earle[51] alone, as chiefest mourner, at the coffin head, his train supported by Rob[t] Crawford, Gen[t] bare-headed (he is now Governor of Sheerness, at the mouth of the Thames, and is called Col. Crafford)

And next to the Earle walked

23, The Honb[l] Ja[s]. Montgomery, his uncle, and Henry Mont[y] his brother, Will[m] Monty of Rosemount, Esq. his uncle, and Geo. Montgomery afores[d]. his grand uncle.—24, Hugh Savage, of Portiferry, Esq. the defunct's cousin-german. They followed by two and two the servants of the persons undernamed; of the Earle's six, of his brother's two, of his uncle Garret now afores[d] one, of his uncle Jas one, of his grand uncle Geo. one, of his uncle W[m] two, of cousin John Savage[52] afores[d] one, of the Major-Gen[l] Monroe one, of all 16; those were on the outsides, and many followed us (who were nearest the Earle) in long black cloaks, w[h] they hired in Belfast[53] for that service—Nota, that in the order of funeral processions (by the rule of heraldry) those who march next to the coffin or hearse (before or after it) the nearer the better, and they who walk on the right hand have the precedency. Here nota, they are to go in pairs, except in the cases where it is otherwise hereinbefore used. There be other preeminences, we had none at this time, either to puzzle my skill or memory, as Privy Counsellors, Judges, younger sons of Marquises, and other Nobles, &c. The first afores[d] doth contain some few mistakes (as to places) not occasioned by my deviation, for I was obliged to attend the Earle and brother (in their behalf) partly to bear up discourse to the best of the company, however it must be confessed that the s[d] list or acc[t] of the procession is short and defective in names of our neighbours, friends and their tenants, and of the tenants of his Lo[pps] three man[rs].[54] w[h] are lost as afores[d]. this being drawn out of paper of fragments. All needful (w[h] I can now think of) to be added, is, that the defunct and the s[d] Col. Vere Essex Cromwell were very intimate (as their fathers were mutually to each other always) and that he died Earl of Ardglass; and that he, the Knights and Esq[rs]. and the best of the country, who were

amongst as many of them as are then Living, the eldest Boyes portion to fall Alwayes succesfully to the next If he chance to dye before then, And the remander to bee divided as Aforsayd (et sic de ceteris).

"Item—I Leave and Bequeath unto my naturall daughter, Grissell Schawe, ten pound star., to bee payd att two severall tearms, fyve pound After my decease, and the other fyve pound within six months therafter, to be Imployed for her use at the discretion of the exers & overseers till she cume to Age ore be maryed.

"And last of all, I doe heerby nominate and Apoint my dear and Loving wife, Jean Schaw, Alias Kennedy, and my dearly Beloved Nephew, William Schaw, of Belliganavie my Joynt exers. of this my Last will & Testament, And I doe earnestly Intreat my Loving Cuissings & freinds, William Montgomery of Rosemount, Esquyer, Hugh Montgomery of Downbrakly, Esquyer, Patrick Montgomery of Crebay, Esquyer, William Schaw of Newtown, Esquyer, James M[c]Gill of Bellinester, Esquyer, David Boyd of Glasry, & Fergus Kennedy of Belli Lucha, genti, to be overseers of this my Last will and testament, to see all things weill and truly done According to the true Intent and meaninge heerof, humbly Begging the Right honorable the earle of mount Alexander, my most noble Lord And master, to bee, as it were, Umpire over all, to take in Account when his Lopp. pleaseth, of the execution heerof, and to bee protector to my poor wife and childring as they stand in need. In witnese wherof I have heerunto set my hand & seall the day and year Above written. "HUGH SCHAW. SEAL.

"Signed & sealed in presence of
"PAT: MONTGOMERIE.
"PAT: MOORE."

On the seal to this will is a coat of arms, ——— three cups (covered); crest, a bird with wings expanded; motto indistinct.

[50] *Capt. J. Lessly*—Captain J. Lessly, or Leslie, was also a 1649 officer, and his claim of £163 5s 9½d was secured from the 'savings' in a grant made to him and several others in the name of William Hamilton. We cannot say to what family of the surname he belonged.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 299.

[51] *Present Earle.*—The second earl of Mount-Alexander.

[52] *John Savage.*—John Savage was a family connexion, but not a cousin-german. He was son of Henry Savage of Ardkeen, who died in 1655.

[53] *Hired in Belfast.*—These mourning cloaks were probably hired from the First Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast, the members of which owned, at an early period, a collection of palls and cloaks which they hired out at stated prices. See p. 185, note 39. It is stated in that note that a curious and interesting *Register* of such loans, from 1712 to 1736, is at present in the possession of the Rev. Classon Porter of Larne. This document, however, is the property of the Rev. William Bruce of Belfast.

[54] *Three manrs.*—The tenants in the manors of Newtown, Donaghadee, and Comber, must have been numerous. In the Montgomery patents, the manor of Donaghadee is also called *Port Montgomery*, and the manor of Comber is also called *Mount-Alexander*.

strangers, were entertained in Newtown-house the night before and on that of the funeral, and that the s^d^ Col^o^. troop and officers, with other gent^n^ strangers, in like manner were quartered two nights in the town at the young Earle's charge: and after all, the strangers, who lived not far off, and his relations dined next day; they parted his Lo^p^, giving them thanks for their respects as they came to bid him farewell. This funeral was the day of 1663.[55] The elegy, w^h^ is inserted in my opera virilia, being too long to be herein placed, I have therefore only given the reader the epitaph which I made on his Lo^p^, as followeth:

HERE lies the much-lamented, much belov'd;
One greatly hoped of, and one much approved;
Kind to the good, he was to all men just;
Most careful in discharging of a trust;
Compassionate to the poor, devout towrds God;
A cheerful sufferer of the common rod,
Which scourged thousands—not proud when he was high,
Nor yet dejected in adversity;
Unalterably loyal to his King;
He truly noble was in every thing;
Yet dyed in his prime this;
But do not pity him who blessed is.

It may now further be expected, that I should add some description of his Lo^p's^ person and parts. I protest I can fully give a character of this great good man; for tho' his earthly half be laid in the dust, his honour shall never be confined there nor in obscurity, whilst there is any desire in his posterity or relations to read or know what sort of person a Christian here is, or shou'd be. The eulogetical elegy afores^d^, which I made (as better poets also wrote) on his death (w^h^ was little past the 38^th^ year of his life) is the nearest resemblance of his Lo^p^ w^h^ I could draw, but if you carefully read his act^s^ (w^h^ rather may be called the history of his sufferings) hereinbefore partly mentioned, and but lately collected from my few written memoras and memory; and do weigh well with what fortitude, discretion, Christian patience, affyance on God, prudence and pity on men, and foresight on affairs, he made his way through the different passages of his life, since his return from his travels and wrote man; and in like manner shall trace him to his death, you may then dive deeper and find more oriental pearles to adorn his coronets, and so understand his noble mind better than my speculation can penetrate into it; and you will rather lose yourself in wonderment than be truly able to express the ideas you or I may have of his Lo^p^, what his improv^t^ might have been (had not death too early stop't his career in his life's race) is a subject profound enough for a metaphisical divine to study; but because it is sayed *dolus versatur in gener^s^*. therefore I take leave to recount a little of what his Lo^p^ was in person, pedigree and parts, as my present thought and memory will assist my pen. His Lo^p^ of stature was among the properest of middle-sized men, well shaped, of a rudy sanguine complexion, his hair had been reddish and curled, w^h^ denoted vigour of brain to give council, according to the proverbial advice, namely, "At a red man read thy reed;"[56]

[55] 1663.—The funeral occurred on the 29th of October, 1663.

[56] *Read thy reed.*—In other words, learn counsel, take advice from a red-haired man, who is supposed to possess

his eye grey and quick, and his countenance smiling and complacent, his arms and thighs sinewy and brawny; his legs and feet very comely, as if they had been to adorn dancing, which he performed very well; his gait (without affectation) stately; and his (among strangers and in publick) was neither French nor Spanish altogether, but an admirable mixture of gravity, with a *(Je ne scai quoi)* courteous humility. His Lo^p^ was noble, and his extraction, &c. ancient from both parents; and their families (whose genealogies you have read before in this narrative) were issuing from untainted fountains; his own and his progenitors' blood (of each side) not being corrupted in any one instance (that I could learn by all my researches) of his loyalty to the crown. His and their matches were very honb^le^ and their beds were undefiled. The servants next about him endeavoured to estrange his Lo^p^ from me, that they might have his ear to themselves, the better to work their own ends; but his Lo^p^ was past his own minority, and cou'd discern and would receive no bad impression of me, who had served him gratis on my own expence, and was seeking nothing (for it) of him. His Lo^p^ had no hatred or love solely for country sake; English, Scotts and Irish were welcome to him, yet he liked and esteemed the English most (both his Ladys being such) and bore the greatest friendship to the most loyal, and (unaddressed to) often received those of them (in the first place) that most needed and deserved help, and when it was not in his own hand to give it, he then bestowed his recommend^n^ as it were a debt or wages he owed to this honest hireling serv^t^, and moreover, his very enemys found his Christian forgiveness and generosity. His justice was exemplary, and his readiness to give it made men bold and cunning to overreach him. He did not suspect any old servant his father had, tho' there was too much cause for it; but his father, had he lived, might have prevented the cheats (as I have credibly heard) put on his Lo^p^, by those who were agents to them both. The rebellion in Ireland kept them both from prying into their s^d^ servants clandestine and outward mischiefs; and the rebellion in Scotland (by sending an army into England) laid on the country as a support or contribution for their maintenance,[57] and the acc^t^ for

peculiar clearness and vigour of intellect. To *read* in this sense means to learn from. Shakspere says—

> "Those about her
> From her shall *read* the perfect ways of honour."

This word is sometimes superseded in the proverb by *reck*, signifying to *care for*, to *take note of*. For *read*, meaning advice or counsel, some authors have *reade*, and others have *rede*. The poet Burns uses the proverbial phrase, happily, as follows:—

> "In ploughman's phrase, 'God send you speed,'
> Still daily to grow wiser;
> And may you better *reck the rede*
> Than ever did th' adviser!"

See Todd's Johnson under *Read and Reck*.

> "And recks not his own read."—*Hamlet* i. 3.

Another proverbial phrase, not so complimentary to persons having hair of this colour, was, "when you meet a red-haired man, say your prayers, for he is not to be trusted." This expression may have arisen from two causes: 1st, The Danes were a red-haired race, and their atrocities had rendered them hateful to the Irish; or, 2d, It was a general opinion during the middle ages that Judas Iscariot had red hair, and in all paintings he is so represented. Even so late as Dryden's time, that poet describes Tonson as like the man

> "With two left legs, and Judas-coloured hair."

[57] *For their maintenance.*—The author speaks of the rising throughout Scotland in 1639 as "rebellion," although the acknowledged chief of all the families of Montgomery, namely, the sixth earl of Eglinton, was among the leaders of this movement against the arbitrary course of Charles I. Greysteel and his son had commands under general Leslie in the army of the covenant, which, for a short time at the commencement of the war, was sustained by the Scottish noblemen at their own charge. The hostile armies of Charles and the covenant met first at Kelso, in the summer of 1639, where the English, although more numerous, were defeated. A treaty was then made with the king, at Dunse Law, which was ambiguous in its terms, and was only a very short time signed when Charles began his preparations for a second invasion of Scotland. The covenanters, however, anticipating his movements, marched into England, and, encountering his force in Newbern, obtained a second victory, on the 28th of August, 1640. But these operations required large supplies of all materials of war, the hasty collection of which imposed very heavy burdens on all classes in Scotland, and especi-

arms sent over to his Lord father's regmt and his own,[58] were the spurious pretences for those agents and supposed friends in Scotland to draw that long and dear taylor's bill, and the use upon use, and liquidate expences (as they call them) and the colloguing suits raised against them in Scotland for caution[r] (so) the resconning,[59] that the lands of Portpatrick[60] and Braidstane[61] (being valued by sham in friends) were accounted too little to pay the debt of his Lo[p's] father and himself incurred on these scores, and therefore his Lo[p] sold the premises to those agents and friends who were baile

ally on land-owners. The difficulties of providing for so sudden an emergency could only have been met by an enthusiastic people. Some, however, were opposed to the national movement on this occasion, and others, although enthusiastic for the covenant, were unwilling to part with their money. On the 15th July, 1640, the "Committee of Estaites" gave peremptory orders that the provisions of an Act of the Scottish parliament, then recently passed against defaulters, should be forthwith put in force. By this Act "letters of horneing, pounding, and captioun," were to be executed against collectores, valuares, and uthers, quha doeth not their deutie, or mak peyment of their tenth pairt, in manner after specifit, viz.:—

"Against the collectores, for not making comp, rekoning and peyment of that quhilk they have ressavit and giveth not in the roll and names of these wha have not peyit.

"Against the valueares, for not valueing conform to the said act of parliament, quhilk is, aither upon the heritor's oathes, or upon heritor's declarations, under thair handes; with certification, that they quhilk dallie shall be confiscatit; and for non-delyverie.

"Against the not-peyers of the said tenth pairt, by apprehending their personnes, poynding their own proper gudes, or poynding thair grund. . . . . .

"And sicklyke, gif it shall be provit that any have monies, and will not lend the samyn, it is ordainet that the Act of Parliament be put in execution against thame, especially in that poynt, that all these wha can be tryit to have monie and will not lend the samyn, as aforesaid, the dilatores and findares out are to have the ane half, and the uther half to be confiscate for the publict.

"And sicklyke, it is appoyntit that all the silver worke and gold worke in Scotland, as weill to burgh as landwart, as weill noblemen, barrones, and burgess, as uthers, of whatsomever degrie or qualitie they be, be given in to the Committie at Edinburgh, or thame they shall appoynt to ressave the samyn, upon such securitie for repeyment as the said Committie and they shall agrie; and for this effect the Committie of war within each sheriffdome, and the magistrates within each burgh, with concurrance of the Ministrie, quha must exhort and give warning out of the pulpites to the parochinares, are appoynted to call before thame any such persones as hath any silver or gold worke, that inventar may be maid of the weght and spacess thereof, and securitie given for the samyn, with declaratioun alwayes.

"And the said silver and golde worke to be all given in, aither to the Committie of Estaites, or Committie of War within each sheriffdome or Presbytrie, or to the magistrates of each burgh, within eight days after intimatione, maid thairof, aither at the severall mercatcrocess, or by touke of drume, or by advertismentes frae the ministeres out of the pulpites, with certification to those that shall not give in nor redeime the said silver wark or gilt wark within the said space, the samyn shall be confiscatit for the publict use."—*Minute-Book kept by the War Committee of Kirkcudbright in the years* 1640 *and* 1641, pp. 19—24.

[58] *Regmt. and his own.*—See pp. 155, 156, *supra*. These supplies, it would appear, came from Scotland, the cannon being, no doubt, manufactured at a foundry which had been then recently established in the suburbs of Edinburgh. The third viscount Montgomery, when appointed commander-in-chief for the province of Ulster, in 1649, drew supplies not only of arms and ammunition, but of clothes and victualling for his troops from Scotland. In a petition drawn up by the author, in 1664, on behalf of the fourth viscount, then a minor, it is stated that the father of the latter "did ingage his estate in great debt to divers persons in Scotland and Ireland for arms, ammunition, victuals, money, and other necessarys, merely to advance your Majesty's service at the sieges of Belfast, Carrickfergus, and Derry," &c.—*MS. preserved at Donaghadee.*

[59] *Resconning.*—Resconning is probably a misprint for *reckoning*. There are some words omitted here, but whether the omission occurs in the original or only in the first edition, we cannot determine.

[60] *Lands of Portpatrick.*—See pp. 112, 113, *supra*. Dunskey and the adjoining lands, including Portpatrick, were sold by the first earl of Mount-Alexander to a gentleman named Blair, who had a mortgage on the estate to a pretty large amount. In 1770, James Hunter of Robertland, Ayrshire, married Jane, daughter and heir of John Blair of Dunskey, and assumed the name of Blair in addition to his own. This James Hunter Blair was a partner in the well-known banking establishment of sir William Forbes, and was created a baronet in 1786. His third son James, one of fourteen children, who died unmarried in 1822, inherited the estates of Dunskey and Robertland, and served thrice in parliament for the county of Wigton.—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 474.

[61] *Braidstane.*—See p. 3, note 7, *supra*. John Shaw of Greenock, brother-in-law of sir Hugh Montgomery, afterwards first viscount, had a mortgage on the lands of Braidstane; and the third viscount, afterwards first earl of Mount-Alexander, sold the property to his kinsman, sir John Shaw of Greenock, in 1650. "The family of Greenock," says Robertson, as quoted by Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 285, "continued occasionally to reside at the old castle here till after 1700." "The barony," continues the latter, "had all been feued out at or prior to that period, except the Castle-farm, consisting of about sixty acres; so that when the barony was included in the entail of Greenock, in 1700, it consisted only of the superiority and feu-duties and the castle-farm of sixty acres. The ruins of the castle of Braidstane remained till towards the end of the last century, with some vestiges of the garden and an avenue of old trees; but on the occasion of building the farm-steading, the tenant was allowed to take his own way, when he took down the remains of the castle, and used the stones in the new building. The avenue of trees and vestiges of the garden have all disappeared; so that there is now no remnant of its ancient state left. It is to be regretted that the castle was taken down, as it was a kind of landmark, and must have been the building in which Con O'Neill was sheltered on his escape from Carrickfergus." Such was the end of the Ards family's connexion with their ancestral lands of Braidstane. The tenants there did not always escape the scaiths of war more than their lords. The sixth earl of Eglinton, writing to his son, colonel James

for the debt, that no man should in the least be loser at his hands; and gave his bond for what was unpaid thereof, w^h his son, the now Earle, hath paid; it coming heavy by reason of his father's death and the neglect of his tutors (in his minority) to see the interest money paid annually, w^h was also obstructed by the two joynters[62] on his (this said pres^t Earle's) estates. His late Lo^p, from the civility he received in his travels in France (his ancestors in Scotland and the Montgom^rs of England deriving their original from a Count of that sirname in Normandy,[63] yet standing there in that degree of nobility) had bred in him an inclination towards French servants, (they being very ready and towardly to please their m^r) he brought over one of them as his valet de chambre, to confirm his skill in that tongue, and in touching the lute; and this man was with his Lo^p all the while he was confined in Cloghwooter afores^d, but after his Lo^p's enlargment and marriage (when misunderstandings fell out between him and Monck) this ungreatful fellow betrayed his councils, and fled for it: and his Lo^p (after the King's restoration) bringing from London another ingenious Frenchman with him, was, by that knave and his French trumpeter, robbed of his clothes and money to a considerable value, yet he retained his page of that nation, and he is mentioned to be one in the funeral procession.[64] A kindness and courtesy done to his Lo^p was an inviolable tie upon him of gratitude and of making suitable returns; his Lo^p was a constant friend to those he professed to love, but neither hasty nor lavish to declare his mind thereir. His Lo^p was good to the servants of his household, who all did thrive under him, and he was industrious to get promotions for his Lady's relations. His Lo^p's devotion was pure and unmixed, being done for duty's sake, not to serve secular ends; and this appeared in the worst times of schisms and heresy; he vowing his religion and loyalty, and educating his sons by Dr. Bayly[65] and other episcopal teachers, and himself was intirely ad-

Montgomery, in June, 1648, says of a party of royalists, under general Middleton:—"They have wrackit the paroch of Beith, and undone my Lord Airdis tennentis thair, and severale other places."—Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p, 287.

[62] *Two joynters.*—The second earl's grandmother, Jean Alexander, and his stepmother, Catherine Jones, first countess of Mount-Alexander, had each a jointure, to be paid from the estate.

[63] *Sirname in Normandy.*—The Norman descent of the Montgomerys is discussed in the author's treatise, entitled, *An Historical Narrative concerning some of ye Montgomerys in England and Scotland*, which forms the concluding memoir of the Montgomerys in this volume.

[64] *Funeral procession.*—The name of this French page is not given in the list, although he is there described as marching "bare-headed."

[65] *Dr. Bayly.*—Thomas Bayly was born in Rutlandshire, and, although educated at Cambridge, he graduated M.A. *ad eundem*, and D.D., in the University of Dublin, January 26, 1661. He came to Ireland with Dr. Jeremy Taylor, and lived with him in retirement until the Restoration. He was first promoted to the deanery of Down, on the 13th February, 1661-2; and on the 1st of March, 1663-4, was advanced to the sees of Killala and Achonry, being consecrated in 1664. He died in July, 1670, at Killala. White, the Centurist, has accused Bayly of teaching the people that "Extempore prayer was pharasaical at the best, and that no prayer ought to be longer than the Lord's Prayer; that he vindicated the *Book of Sports*, and preached up the necessity of people making their oblations at the altar on their knees; that he suspended the celebration of the sacrament during the collection of the alms, which he used to set upon his book, bless, and offer them up, when brought to him." He also charges him with having spoken in favour of abbeys, saying, "that the curse of God was on them that kept abbey lands, and therefore they did not prosper. He refused to read the burial service at the funeral of some children, because they died before baptism; he also set up the Jesuit's badge in his church, and the picture of a flying dove over the font. He preached absolution and auricular confession, and crossed sick persons on the forehead." He is classed by White among scandalous and malignant priests.—Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii., p. 1151, as quoted in Ware's *Works*, vol. i., p. 654. Of his writings, the following have been published, viz., *Theophylact's Comments on St. Paul's Epistles*, London, 1636; and a *Sermon on Gal.* v. 12, preached before Charles I., 8vo, London, 1707.—Allibone's *Dictionary of British and American Authors*, vol. i., p. 155. Bayly died at Killala in 1670. He was an eminent Greek scholar, and from the allusion to him in the text, he had evidently been a teacher in Ulster. In reference to Bayly's career, Dr. Reeves supplies the following:—"He was chaplain to Bishop Lindsell, of Hereford, and by him was employed in preparing an edition of the Greek Fathers. But the only one he published was *Theophylact on St. Paul's Epistles*, Gr. Lat., with Bishop Lindsell's Notes, folio,

dicted to worship God by the Canon Prayer Book (in publick or in his family) when he could have it, and therefore was hated by the Scotts of all sorts, and so by them cross'd or kept under hatches.[66] Whereas, had he complied (as great names did) he might have flourished in Long Parliam[t], Rump and Oliverian times, and had also been loaded with honour by helping the restoration, but his Lo[p] was the heart of oak for honesty and fidelity in right principles, and would not bow to the idols of

Lond., 1636. For some years he taught a school at Clerkenwell, near London. Afterwards he went to Oxford, and became a chaplain of Christ Church, but was ejected by the Parliamentary Visitors. Collated archdeacon of Dromore, May 20, 1663. Patent for Killala and Achonry, March, 1663-4. Consecrated at Tuam, June 5, 1664."—Cotton's *Fasti*, vol. iii., pp. 226, 296; vol. iv., p. 70.

[66] *Kept under hatches.*—Various causes had contributed to intensify the strife between the first earl of Mount-Alexander and the presbyterian party. In the first place, although he belonged to their communion for a time in his early youth, he had afterwards joined the episcopalian church. In 1643, he co-operated with Monro and the Scottish party in Ulster so zealously, that on his capture at Benburb, and imprisonment in Cloughoughter castle, in 1646, the presbyterian ministers (see p. 166, *supra*), urged the estates in Scotland to take every means for his liberation, and spoke of the many and great sacrifices he had made in what they deemed the cause of truth. In 1649, however, when lord Montgomery presumed to accept a commission from Charles II. without their knowledge and sanction, they denounced him in no measured terms. From a meeting of their presbytery in Carrickfergus, on the 29th of June in that year, the ministers addressed to him a letter, of which the following are the concluding sentences: "The Lord will visit your family with sudden ruin and irreparable desolation, for that you have been so grand an instrument to destroy the work of God here. We exhort your lordship, in the name of the living God, to whom you must give an account, in haste to forsake that infamous and ungodly course you are now in, and adhere to your former professions, otherwise all the calamities that will ensue will be laid on your score. The Lord himself and all the faithful will set themselves against you, and we will testify of your unfaithfulness to the world, so long as the Lord will give us strength." A second letter, written on the 2nd of July, concludes thus:—"But you have involved yourself already so far in the guilt of unfaithfulness to the cause of God and your own subscriptions, that we cannot but testify against the course you are in, and denounce judgment upon your person, family, and all your party, till the Lord persuade your heart to return."—Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, 1867, vol. ii., pp. 118, 123. As a contrast to the presbyterian view of the earl's character and public career, we give the following extract from the sermon of dean Rust on the day of his funeral:—"He was of noble extraction, and of noble accomplishments; his family receivd in him a new addition of title, but in his name and memory a greater encrease of real honour; he had a great wit, and a large understanding, a deep insight into men and things, yet was not conversant in the little arts of craft and subtilty, that sly and sneaking principle, the refuge of guilt and weakness, that puts on vizors and disguises, and acts under ground, and in the dark, and practises such ways of circumvention, and unhandsome artifices of deceit, as are altogether abhorrent from that candour and sincerity, that becomes the breasts of all great and noble personages. His excellent wit was graced with a rare temper and sweetness of humour, which is the great thing that renders conversation pleasant and agreeable. His friends, and dependents, and all that knew him, are so many witnesses of the generosity and largeness of his heart, a god-like property, which makes great men gods upon earth. Like the sun he dispersed his rays freely, and they were not a few that lived warmly and comfortably under his influence. He was of such honourable principles, and had so much of bravery and gallantry in his disposition, that he could not be tempted to anything that was base and unworthy, or persuade himself to serve his own ends by another's ruin; and no design pleasd him, that tended to his neighbour's prejudice; not like those aspiring Lucifers, that think any means is lawful, if the end be power and greatness. He enterd early upon the stage of action and great employment. He no sooner writ man, than he was a soldier, a commander, a general; The very commission for so concerning a trust, is an ample testimony of his valour, wisdom, and faithfulness; which he verified afterwards by his honourable discharge of it; But the great proof he made was in the year 1649, when loyalty was become a crime, because unprosperous; and success had adopted treason and rebellion into the family of virtue and religion. When one brave king was made a martyr, and another a confessor; when by the guilt and avarice, cruelty and ambition, of a prevailing faction in England, allegiance and fidelity to our sovereign was enacted treason; and by the zeal of the Kirk of Scotland, in effect voted heresy, and a sin deserving an anathema; when our king was an exile in a strange country, and all his forces by sea and land, in the power of his enemies; when by a faithful adherence to the royal interest, no reward could be expected, but that of a good conscience, and a sense of doing worthily; when the affairs of his majesty were in these evil circumstances, then did this loyal subject, to the apparent hazard of his life and fortunes, espouse this quarrel. At his first declaring of his purposes, he met with persecution at home, and the Presbytery denounced judgment against him for joining with malignants that blasphemed the Covenant; and received his commands from my Lord of Ormond, who was guilty of so great a crime, as to be an avouched maintainer of prelacy, and retained the old English Liturgy in his publick devotions. I need not tell you the consequence of this Engagement: He stuck close to his loyalty, and the interest of his prince, to the loss of his Estate, and Exile of his person, and danger of his life: and his Majesty, after his happy Restoration, considered his services and his sufferings, and rewarded them with an honourable employment in the Irish Army, besides many other Testimonies of his favour. I should injure his memory, if I should let pass in silence his zeal and cordial affection for the Church of England,

those days;[67] so I may say he was *quercu non salice.* In fine, his Lo^p^ was well bred and well read in men and books, and had a judicious soul, which improved and cultivated all he learned, and was a complete Gen^t^ and Nobleman, for his virtues alone made him such. His frugality, in times of scarceness and bounty, when he had affluence, were managed with singular dexterity and address. Now, after all I have said of his Lo^p^, I must not omit his facetious chearful comportm^t^ in society, w^h^ was natural and improved, much obliging and lov'd, nor leave out his courteous condecendencies, which were not so low as to disgrace his birth, station, or discretion. And his Lo^p^ lived in his exalted state without pride, and bore his humbled condition without dejection; for he never flattered or fawned on enemies (tho' often in their cruel hands), but argued strongly (with an even temper of spirit) the justice of his demands; and tho' they (many times) had broke the capitulations with him, yet his promises (w^h^ by hardships were wrung from him) were justly performed. I will now withdraw my pen, seeing I can do no better with it; having (as I think) used it enough to prove my averment that I w^d^ write affectionately and without flattery; as likewise having made appear what I have lately, concerning my own and the reader's speculations, in order to express our true and full ideas of his Lo^p's^ worth; for indeed it must be in this theme as is afore (upon the matter) said, viz. *Superat admiratio captum.*

which was a pledge of the ingenuity of his spirit, and the greatness of his judgment, that his reason should prevail above the prejudice of his education. To conclude, if there be any credit given to real demonstrations, or general fame, or the particular knowledge of them that were about him, and conversed most with him: He was a person that rarely well discharged himself in all his relations; a loyal subject to his prince; a dutiful son to the church; a worthy patriot to his country; a tender and affectionate husband to his excellent ladies; real and faithful to his friend; merciful and compassionate towards his tenants; free and charitable to the poor; courteous and obliging to all; in a word, just and righteous, noble and honourable in all his actions. If, after all, any shall tell me that he was a man and lapsible, and subject to the inadvertencies and weaknesses of human nature, I answer shortly, I have not yet said he was a god; but where we carp at his deficiencies, let us be sure not to fail ourselves, but practice the severity and exactness of a Christian life, that we all come to partake of that blessed life and immortality, which Christ hath brought to life through the Gospel."—Dr. Rust's *Sermon*, preached from 2 Timothy i. 4, and published in Dublin, 1663, 4to, as quoted in Wilford's *Memorials*, pp. 467, 468.

[67] *Idols of those days.*—The author had here in view the many and flagrant instances in which leading men changed sides, not from principle, but to be always of the party in power. The cases of Monk, Coote, and Broghill, are notorious; and not less so were those of several magnates in Ulster at that period. Persons actuated by such motives have been truly named by honest John Bunyan as, My Lord Turn-about, My Lord Time-server, Mr. Facing-both-ways, Mr. Anything, Mr. Two-Tongues, Mr. Hold-the-World, Mr. Money-love, and Mr. Save-all.

MEMOIR OF FOURTH VISCOUNT, SECOND EARL OF MOUNT-ALEXANDER.

CHAPTER XV.

HUGH, 2d Earl of Mount-Alexander, and 4th Viscount Montgomery, of the Great Ardes, was born 24th of February, 1650, in Newtown house, and was (by reason of his father's troubles) removed, with his sister, the Lady Jeane (elder than hee),[1] unto Mellifont, where his brother Henry[2] (now living, Ao. 1698) was born.

The Lady Mother not parting with these little models of her deare Lord and self, (in all whom was her chief worldly comfort), till she died in Dublin.[3]

But his Lordship (lacking five months of 13 years old at his father's death) left school, and came to the funeral, with his brother and sister; and they stayed some months (being cold weather) with their grandmother and kind Major-General Monro, her Ladyship's husband, sometimes visiting their father's sorrowfull sister and mee,[4] her husband, at Rosemount.

After a while, I conveyed them to Dublin, and they being settled, by common consent of their uncles Drogheda and Charlemount,[5] and (by them) I being entreated to sollicit this orphant Earle's affaires in London, in order to obtain a reprizal for St. Wolstans aforesaid,[6] their Lordships promising to write to the Duke of Ormond to befriend the cause. The Lord Rannelaugh also promised to write to his sonn,[7] and the desolate good Countess of Mount Alexander promising to write to her mother (the Lady Rannelaugh)[8] to engage her son to advise and assist me therein.

The said Countess likewise entreating me to undertake that jorney, and to prosecute that business; and I having compassion on the orphants' distressed estate and condition, I consented to

[1] *Elder than hee.*—The lady Jeane was born in 1649. She, and her two brothers, Hugh and Henry, were children of the first earl's first wife, Mary Moore.

[2] *Brother Henry.*—This brother afterwards succeeded as third earl, on the death of his elder brother Hugh in 1716.

[3] *Died in Dublin.*—See p. 206, *supra*.

[4] *Sister and mee.*—The author, who then resided at Rosemount, was married to Elizabeth Montgomery, his cousin-german, and sister to the first earl.

[5] *Charlemount.*—The original settler of the surname was sir Toby Caulfeild, who died in 1627. He had served under Mountjoy at Kinsale and in Ulster, and received for his services, in 1610, extensive grants of lands in Tyrone, Armagh, Derry, Antrim, Louth, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Donegal. William Caulfeild, mentioned in the text, was the fifth baron and first viscount Caulfeild and succeeded to the family estates and titles when a young man, his eldest brother, Toby, having been murdered by the insurgents in 1642, and his second brother, Robert, having died a few months afterwards, from an over-dose of opium.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 41.

[6] *Wolstans aforesaid.*—The first earl was compelled to surrender this property to its owner, Allen, who was restored as an Innocent Papist, and his (Mount-Alexander's) executors now looked for a reprisal or compensation, according to the law which provided for adventurers of land under such circumstances. See pp. 229, 232, 233, *supra*.

[7] *His sonn.*—This was Richard Jones, afterwards third viscount Ranelagh, and first earl of Ranelagh. He had no doubt much influence at court, as being then vice-treasurer for Ireland. After his death, the title of earl of Ranelagh became extinct, but that of *viscount* was revived in another branch of the family.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iv., pp. 303, 304.

[8] *Lady Rannelaugh.*—Catharine Boyle, daughter of Richard, first earl of Cork.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iv., p. 303.

the Lords and the Countess their requests in that behalf; and promised to go, and doe the best I could for the young Earle, as being my dear wife's nephew; all which I performed, as by the sequel of this narrative will appeare.[9]

I returned to my house at Rosemount, and from thence (in the latter end of February, 1663) I went to Scotland, and rode to Yorkshire, and was in Westminster by the latter end of March, travelling in cold and rainy weather.

And on intimation given to the good Countess of my arrival at Court, her Ladyship acquainted the said three Lords,[10] and wrote her mother, (most affectionately and pressingly), to advise and assist mee in my solicitation, by herself, and by speaking to the Ladys, whose Lords were of that Committee, to which the bill of explanation[11] was given, to be consulted on and drawn up, and that her Ladyship would give and gain me respect.

These three Lords also sent the promised letter to the said Duke of Ormond, signed by them, in nature of a petition, for the minor orphant Earle, that his Grace would take him into his protection, signifying that I was gone thither to wayte on his Grace in that behalf.

The Duke received the letter and myself graciously, (for he was feofee in trust, also, to the

9 *Will appeare.*—Among the services rendered by the author to his young kinsman, the second earl, on this trying occasion, was the preparing of a petition to the king, which, under the circumstances, must have been a difficult task. The following "rough draught" of it which is still preserved among the Family Papers in the possession of Daniel De la Cherois, esq., Donaghadee, although left unfinished by the writer, is not without interest :—

"Rough draught of what I presented to his Matie for ye Earle's behoofe:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOR MATIE—

"Your Maties royall grandfather, for services performed to him by my lord Mount Alexander's grandfather, and for laying an obligation for the continuance thereof in his posterity, and to ye end a british plantation might be made in ye northeast most parts of Ireland as a footing and landing place for such forces as should be sent to quash future Irish rebellions in Ulster, did confer honours and an estate on that family, which had befor that tyme been worshipfull for 160 years in Scotland, and ever loyall to his royall ancestours, as was ye noble family of ye Montgomerys in that kingdom, whence the petitioner is descended. I hope it is not unknown to your Matie that the petitioner's grandfather and his father have ever yeelded to your royall father of every glorious memory and to your sacred self those speciall services to which they were more neerly obliged by ye bounty of your royall progenitors. I am not so bold as to represent to your Matie as that either ye services or sufferings of yor petitioner's family in their constant loyalty (wherein it was equalld but by a very few) doth at all meritt a compensation reward, becaus that as for their sufferings, those must needs have come upon them as honest men and liege subjects (none of that sort haveing scapt the usurper's malice). As for their services, tis true indeed they were eminently exemplary and active ones, whether considered as done by themselves in person, or by their interest, but this was due from the name and place they had in the world, and that for the better performance of their services they did engage their estate in debts, and submitted it to forfeiture (when they might have saved it as others did); in all this they were but faithfull stewards and dispensers of those fortunes which to that end they had. It is a receaved opinion in our family, and wee have it by tradition from our parents, that a person having lands granted to them by their prince, ought to expend them in his service, and rather reduce themselves to their first station, than that his caus should want those means to support it he might have to his crown; and that they ought and may safely rely on the grace of their sovereign, who having of his meer motion at first conferred such benefits, will undoubtedly express a fuller bounty where he experimentally finds worth and gratitude. Lett me humbly say this to your Maty, that such a family may claim a greater share of your protection for the present, and confidence for the future, than such persons who, though enough qualified for discharge of offices which they have begged, and undergo meerly for a livelyhood, as being younger brothers having no estates to loose, doe nevertheless make it an argument to their prince, that because he hath graced them with one boon, they are fittest to receive and stand more in need of another esteeming themselves very meritorious, and their sovereign's bound to think so, if they have not betrayed a trust, though perchance they were never active in it. That, in all humility, I conceive doth appear worthy of your matys favour, which is now begged in behalf of this orphan Earle that his Father did engage his estate in great debt to divers persons in Scotland and Ireland, for arms, ammunition, virtually money, and other necessarys, meerly to advance your matys cause at the sieges of Belfast, Carrickfergus, and Derry, and in that signall marque he gave of his reddyness and great influence to serve your maty, expressed in the long and hazardous march he undertook at an unseasonable tyme of the year, with a considerable supply of forces, to attend a worthy person of honour here present, and all this against the spightfull and cunning opposition of the clergy demagogues, whose malice he felt afterwards, with all which debts his estate is encumbered, for that the same was made liable thereunto in the usurper's time; the creditors then taking advantage to serve themselves, as well they might, for among other the wicked artifices which the tyrant used to suppress loyall persons, the charge which he gave to his judges to favour suitors was not the least, so that the greatest part of the estate must go to men who have not suffered so much as an aking finger for your maty or your royal father; and who, by their cruel usage of the said Earle, in his honourable adversity, have given some evidence that they never will hazard anything, for if the estate must go, so neither it nor the family can answer the ends of their royal donor. In all this is not included any part of the debt which the petitioner's Father incurred in his banishment, in the sequestration of his estate, in his solicitations for admittance to and payment of his composition. By all which the petitioner is become little better than a trustee for his creditors and their bailiff to levy their rents. Such is his hard fortune which hath left him little more than the title of honour of all he had: If to this affectionate loyalty of the Father it may weigh with your maty that the son is every way in body and mind as like his as his yeares can express, and educated to continue so (for which he is infinitely obliged to your maty's goodness and the care of your vice-gerrent, who improves all your favours for service, and the good of your subjects), if this may be any consideration with your maty, I can give your maty assurance that he is such as your petitioner believes will not fail the good expectations are had off him."

10 *Three Lords.*—Drogheda, Charlemont, and Ranelagh.

11 *Bill of explanation.*—This bill was found to be indispensable as an accompaniment to the Act of Settlement, especially to provide reprizes for the 1649 officers, which that Act had altogether overlooked.

settlement the late Earle had made, as he had been to his father's as afforesaid;)[12] and presented mee to kiss the King's hand, acquainting his Majesty of my errand in generall; and at this time the King expressed himself sorry for the late Earle's death, promising to be a friend to the orphant. The King also told me he was acquainted with my father in Holland[13] and Scotland,[14] and regretted both his death and the manner of it, saying, he had heard therof; adding, that he had hard measure of his countrymen, for his loyal services.

Indeed, the D. was a true loving friend to the defunct Earle, and often by his Dutches (who had a Montgomery to her chief Gentlewoman her Remembrancer) was he put in mind of the orphant. But great bodys move slowly. The bill was long upon the wheel, before it could be framed to give content to those pretenders to favor, which were included in it.[15]

[12] *Father's as afforesaid.*—That portion of the *Manuscripts* is lost which contained reference to, or an account of this settlement of, his affairs by the second viscount, in which the earl of Ormond was named as trustee. It was included, no doubt, in the memoir of the second viscount. See pp. 1, 151, *supra.* In the author's 'rough draft' of his letter to the king (see note 9, *supra*), he mentions Ormond's care over the young earl, a duty which was incumbent upon him as trustee of the late earl, his father. Ormond was then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. In that letter the author also reminds his majesty of the sacrifices made by the late earl in the royal service, and especially of his journey, at a ruinous expense to himself, in 1649, to unite his force with that of Ormond in the vicinity of Dublin. For Cromwell's account of the result of that effort, see note 52, pp. 190, 191, *supra.*

[13] *In Holland.*—Sir James Montgomery met Charles II. in Holland soon before the latter sailed for Scotland in 1650, and returned with the king in that year, but was compelled by the estates to leave Scotland very soon after the landing of the royal party.

[14] *And Scotland.*—Sir James had but one interview, secretly, with Charles, after their arrival in Scotland, the king being only permitted to have about him such persons as the estates and kirk would sanction, to wit, covenanters tried and true.

[15] *Included in it.*—The Bill of Explanation was transmitted to England in September, 1663, but owing to the many and fierce controversies in reference to its provisions, it did not become law until the year 1665. The following is Carte's account of the anxiety with which the Irish house of lords laboured to obtain justice for the 1649 officers, which labours bore ample fruits in this Bill of Explanation:—"It was a generous part in that noble body to take the loyal, meriting and suffering Officers, who had served before 1649 (whose cause being the best, was the most neglected of any), under their protection. Thus their Agents were instructed to move his Majesty, that the whole security assigned in his Declaration for the satisfaction of their arrears, might be preserved entirely for that use, so as no part thereof should be otherwise disposed of, or restored subsequent to the said Declaration, till reprisals for the same were first legally assigned and set out for their security, as was by the Declaration provided for in the case of Adventurers and Soldiers; that in order thereto a third part of the forfeited lands in the County of Dublin, and such part of the lands as would accrue to his Majesty, upon the doubling ordinance, or by the discovery of false admeasurements and concealments, as his Majesty should judge fit, might be added to the said security by way only of reprisal, in case it should be lessened and infringed by the restoration of any person according to the Declaration; and that no forfeited charters might be renewed or restored, till the security of those Officers was thoroughly settled."—Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., pp. 230, 231. The house of commons, which was composed of 260 members—all burgesses but sixty-four—opposed the interests of the Forty-nine officers, labouring to make good all the estates of the adventurers and soldiers whatsoever, and intending, when these were satisfied, to give the remainder, if any were left, to such of the persons whom the king had declared restorable, as they should like best. As it happened, these officers, at least the chief ones, or their heirs, obtained ample recompense for their services. Dr. French, who, in his work entitled the *Sale and Settlement of Ireland*, advocated the restoration to some extent of the native Irish, speaks of the *four great interests* that stood in the way of such restoration, namely, the adventurers, the soldiers, the 1649 officers, and the grantees. Of the third party in this enumeration, he says:—"The third grand interest, and the most destructive to the natives, is that of the Protestant officers who served his Majesty (or the Parliament) in Ireland, before the year 1649, whose arrears have been cast up, and stated, to the vast sum of eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, in satisfaction whereof, the best part of a whole kingdom (which certainly is worth many millions) is conferred upon them. They are entitled to all the natives' estates in four great counties, to all the cities, corporations, and walled towns of Ireland; to all the land situated within a mile to the sea and to the river of Shannon in the province of Connaught, and County of Clare; to all the Debts, Leases, and Mortgages, and Reversions of the Irish; for not only the real estates, but also other pretensions and titles of the unhappy Natives are forfeited, and lest all this should come short to content this insatiable Party, the last Act allows them five hundred thousand pounds out of the two half years' rent from Adventurers, Souldiers, and restored Irish. Though the Roman Catholick officers have always faithfully adhered to the king's interest, and never deserted his service (as all or most of these Protestant officers in Ireland have done, when the usurper prevailed), yet their being Papists disables them from any satisfaction

Whilst I attended every sitting day of the Committee, ordained to draw it up, (where there was no dispatch for the throng of suitors)[16] watching the motions thereof; and making applications to y^e^ Lords, whose acquaintances I had gained, by seeing them at Court, or by means of the Lady Rannelaugh, or her son, or by the D. of Albemarle;[17] whilst thus occupied, our own three Lords in Dublin thought fitt to send to mee an instrument, signed and sealed by y^e^ orphant Earle, whereby his Lordship did nominate me his guardian (for he was then 14 years of age.)

I knew intimately Sir Robert Southwall[18] (brother-in-law to Sir H. Percival, my kins-

for their services, which was a qualification not imposed on the Catholicks in England."—*Duffy's edition*, 1846, pp. 100, 101. The towns of Ireland had been previously cleared (so far as the English government could do so), of their Irish inhabitants, and were now handed over to the 1649 officers as part payment of their arrears, and from the hope that the latter would be most likely to hold them firmly in the interest of the government, by clearing out any remaining Irish, and planting English settlers in their stead. But private interests generally interfered after the Restoration, as well as in 1653—1656, with the rigorous execution of this iniquitous proceeding. Officers were ready to shelter Irish merchants whose presence could not be conveniently dispensed with, and even the poor Irish tenants who occupied and paid the rent of whole streets of houses which would otherwise have quickly gone to ruin. See on this subject a deeply interesting chapter in Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 136—148. But, although ample provision was thus made to pay the arrears of the 1649 officers, yet from the method adopted in the discharge of this state debt, very many officers of inferior rank were left minus their hardly-earned pay. In Howard's *Treatise of the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 198, 199, we have the following account of this matter:—"The commissioners were to make an estimate of the respective securities appointed for the satisfaction of such officers; in order to which they were to value the houses, lands, &c., at eight years' purchase, deducting the value of the improvements, and if the said security should not extend to satisfy twelve shillings and sixpence in every pound of the said arrear, they were to proportion the satisfaction according to the security; then the said security was to be sold to the best bidder, not under eight years' purchase, deductions being made for the improvements. Yet note, that this security was afterwards made up into lots, and past in certificates and patents to certain trustees, in trust for the several persons concerned in the lots, according to their respective debentures, their proportions being mentioned in the patent of every lot; and every person concerned had a right in equity to compel the said trustees or patentees to convey unto him his proportion of the lot, being estimated according to the proportion of his debt. But many of the inferior officers have been to this day (1776) without satisfaction, and the whole has been swallowed up by the trustees, who generally were the principal persons concerned."

[16] *Throng of suitors.*—This throng consisted, first of a deputation from the Irish house of commons, who went to London to lay before the king in council the draft of a bill to accompany the Act of Settlement such as they approved; second, of a commission from the Irish house of lords, instructed to oppose several provisions of the commons' bill; third, of agents appointed by the Roman catholics to lay their claims and grievances before the same tribunal; and, fourth, of numerous emissaries employed by protestant adventurers to circulate a sum of £20,000 in bribing parties supposed to have influence over the king or any member of the council.—See *Lingard*, vol. ix., pp. 28, 29. "London was from this time the scene of disputes upon this affair; and thither Agents were sent by the Irish to plead their cause; which they did under great disadvantages. The earls of Orrery and Mountrath took care to raise privately among the Adventurers and Soldiers between 20 and £30,000 to be disposed of properly, without any account by way of recompence to such as should be serviceable to the English interest. The Irish had no such sums to command, few friends about the Court, and no means of procuring any. The English nation had heard nothing of the rebellion but what gave them horror, and possessed them with the worst opinion of the whole Irish nation. Those of the Council, before whom they were to plead their cause, knew little of the conduct of particular persons who deserved favour, but were ready to involve every body in the general guilt of the Massacre, as well as of the Rebellion. The only person capable, or inclined to assist them in their exigence, was the duke of Ormonde; it was his interest, to save from ruin a Nation, for which he had so often exposed his person, and in which he had a plentiful fortune, a numerous kindred, and a large stock of friends and dependants, who were in danger of being rooted out to make way for a new colony of strangers, whose ways of acting had been different from his own, and whose future dependance was likely to be upon those who were retained to support their interest."—Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., p. 232.

[17] *D. of Albemarle.*—For notices of Monk, see pp. 169, 179, 180, 224, 226, 227, *supra*.

[18] *Sir Robert Southwall.*—The following inscription on Sir Robert Southwell's monument, in Henbury church, Gloucestershire, contains the best record of the leading events in his life which we have been able to find:—

"Here lyeth
"The body of Sir Robert Southwell
"Of King's Weston, in the county of Gloucester, Kt.
"He was eldest son of Sir Robert Southwell, of Kingsale, in the kingdom of Ireland, and of Helena, the daughter of Major Robert Gore. He was born at Battin-Warwick, on the River of Bandon, near Kingsale, 31 December, 1635. He came for his education into England—1650, and spent his younger years at Queen's College in Oxford, at Lincoln's Inn, and in travel abroad. He was by King Charles II. made one of the clerks of his most Honble. Privy Council, September, 1664. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Dering, of Surrenden-Dering, in Kent, Baronet, by whom he had issue six children. He was employed in several negotiations; first, in quality of Envoy with power to mediate a peace between Spain and Portugal, proving happily instrumental in giving a period to that war, which had continued 28 years without interruption. He was sent a second time to the court of Port

man.)[19] He was one of the four Clerks of the Council, and brought on the cause in his quarter's time of attendance, which was then begunn. And (to make the story short) a full Councel mett on the day appointed, for that and other causes; at which the K. and Chancellor Hide,[20] the Lords Berkley[21] and Ormond, were present, and those whom his Grace had made friends to our orphant Earle.

Winter, 1664, now came on, and the bill for the Explanatory Act yet under debate. I stayd till it was concluded, and the clause incerted for a reprize in behalf of the orphant Earle, for which there was an order obtained from the King.[22]

gal, in quality of Envoy Extraordinary. After, with the like character, to the Governor of Flanders, the Conde de Montery, in 1672. And with the same commission to the Elector of Brandenburgh at Berlin in 1680, attending in his way, the Prince of Orange at the Hague, by whose council that negotiation was to be directed. After his return he retired from public business, living at King's Weston, till King William was advanced to the throne. He was then by his Majesty made principal Secretary of State for Ireland, and attended him in his expedition in 1690 for the reduction of that kingdom, holding the said office until his death. He had served in three parliaments, and was five times chosen President of the Royal Society. He died at King's Weston, the 11th day of September, 1702, aged 66 years."

—Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol vi., p. 11. Sir Robert Southwell owned landed property at Downpatrick, where his son, Edward Southwell, founded an important charity for the poor children on his estate. In 1735, he contributed largely for the rebuilding the church there; and in honour of his liberality in assisting to improve the port of Downpatrick, the town authorities named the quay *King's Weston*.—Harris, *Antient and Present State of the County of Down*, pp. 31, 33, 38.

[19] *My kinsman.—H.* Percival is a misprint for J. Percival. This sir John Percival was married on the 14th of February, 1665, to Catherine, daughter of Robert Southwell of Kinsale, and sister to sir Robert Southwell mentioned in the text. Sir John Percival's eldest daughter, Catherine, married, as her second husband, John Montgomery of Ballyleck, in the county of Monaghan, descended from the Braidstane branch, and consequently a relative of the author, William Montgomery. Through this marriage connexion, it must be, that the latter speaks of sir John Percival as his "kinsman."

[20] *Chancellor Hide.*—The well-known Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon.

[21] *Berkley.*—This nobleman, originally known as sir John Berkeley, was created baron Berkeley of Stratton in 1658, and subsequently filled several high offices of state. In 1670, he was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1674 he was sent as ambassador to France.

[22] *Obtained from the king.*—The following is the clause in the Act of Explanation, 17 and 18 Charles II., to which the author refers:—

"CLXVI. And whereas in and by the said former act, the mannor, castle, town and lands of St. Woolstownes, *alias* Allen's Court, were intended to be settled upon Hugh, earl of Mount-Alexander, and his heirs, with benefit of reprizal in case of restitution, as adventurers by the said former Act ought to have had, as in and by the said former Act more at large appears: since which time the commissioners for execution of the said former Act have, by their decree, adjudged James Allen to be innocent, and restored the said lands to the said James Allen and his heirs, against which decree an appeal was made to his Majestie by a petition exhibited by William Montgomery, Esq., on the behalf of the now Earl of Mount-Alexander an infant, son and heir of Hugh, late Earl of Mount-Alexander; on hearing of which case, and on the defence made by Colonel Richard Talbot, to whom part of the lands restored by said decree were for good and valuable considerations, and by sufficient assurances in law, legally conveyed by the said James Allen, his Majestie thought not fit to alter the said decree, or weaken any of the said assurances; his Majestie, therefore, is graciously pleased, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the commissioners for the execution of this Act shall set out and allot, or cause to be set out and allotted, unto the now Earl of Mount-Alexander, his heirs and assignes, so much other undisposed forfeited lands as may be equal in quantity of acres unto two full third parts of the lands so evicted and recovered by decree, as aforesaid; and that letters patents shall be thereof passed in like manner, and shall be of like effect, as any other letters patents granted by virtue of this Act are or ought to be."—*Irish Statutes*, vol iii., p. 99.

In pursuance of this clause, a petition was presented to the Court of Claims, in the name of the youthful earl, for a reprisal for the loss sustained by his father when Allen recovered St. Wolstan's by a decree of innocence. A certificate for reprisal was obtained on the 2nd of January, 1668–9, the commissioners present being sir Edward Smythe, knight; sir Edward Dering, knight; sir Allan Brodrick, knight; sir Winston Churchill, knight; and Edward Cooke, esq. The following is a copy of the certificate:—

"Whereas, upon hearing the claims of the R^t Hon^ble Hugh, Earl of Mount-Alexander, before this Court, in pursuance of a certain clause in p. 111 and 112 of the s^d Explanatory Act, &c. [Here the clause is recited.] Upon hearing of which petition, and upon the proofs, testimonies, and evidences therein produced before us, H. M^rs, s^d Comm^rs. It appeared unto this Court that the said Earl of Mount-Alexander was deficient the full number of acres to make up his Reprize for two full third parts of the Lands so, as afs^d, evicted and recov^d from him by Decree of H. M^rs, s^d late Comm^rs. And whereas, it appeared unto this Court, that the Lands, [Ten^ts, & Heredit^s hereafter mentioned, were lands, ten^ts, and heredit^s seized, sequest^d, disposed, demised, set out, or set apart, by reason of the late Horrid Rebellion or Warr which began or broke out on the 23^rd October, 1641, and thereby forfeit^d to, and vested in, H. M., to the intents and uses in and by the s^d Acts rem^d limited and appointed, and were adjudged unto the Common Stock of Reprisals. It was thereupon, several days upon the Distribution of the s^d Stock of Reprisals, in the 20^th year of the reign of our s^d Lord King Charles the 2^nd, Adjudged and Decreed by this Court, that the s^d Earl of M^t Alexander was deficient the full number of 6823 A., and that the s^d Earl is, by the s^d Acts of Parl^t, lawfully entitled unto the lands and tenements hereafter ment^d. That is to say— [The Certificate here recites the denominational names of all the lands assigned to the Earl of Mount-Alexander for the loss of St. Wolstan's. The lands comprised 5,377a. 3r. 28p., statute measure, in the barony of Upper Ossory, Queen's County; 1,634a. 2r. 20p., statute measure, in the baronies of Upper Ormond and Eliogarty, county of Tipperary; 2,011a. 3r. 9p. statute measure, in the barony of Connagh, county of Limerick; and 1,979a. 1r. 26p., statute measure, in the barony of Glankeery, county of Waterford. The Quit rent on the lands in Queen's county was £75 7s. 4½d.; on the lands in Tipperary, £14 16s. 3¾d.; on the lands in Limerick, £18 18s. 8¾d.; and on the lands in Waterford, £18 7s. 7½d.]

"To be held and enjoyed by the s^d Hugh, Earl of Mount Alexander, his heirs and assigns for ever, in free and common socage of H. M^rs Castle of Dublin, under the Quit Rents and yearly payments to be made and paid H. M., his heirs and successors, saving the right and benefit of all former Decrees and Certificates made by H. M^rs Comm^rs for executing the Act of Settlement, or by the

After a few yeares the Agents were changed, but in the mean time annuitys or interest o money for debt were suffered to run on, to the great enhancement thereof: and thus matters continued till his Lordship arrived at full age, and he came to live in the Gate-house of Newtown, the great buildings (some months after his father's death) being burned down by negligence of servants.[23]

His Lordship then finding all his affairs (as the common saying is) at sixes and sevens, he appointed Commissioners to settle his estate and debts, and they acted therein, adjusting matters with tenants and creditors for above two yeares;[24] in which time his Lordship abode most in London

Court, to such persons as are therein concerned. And this, our Judgement and Decree, we do hereby certify to His Grace y^e^ Duke of Ormond, and unto his Ex. Earl of Ossory, Lord Deputy of the same, and to all other Chief Governors there, for the time being, and unto his Grace Michael Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireld, and to H. M^ts^ Court of Exchequer there to the end, that effectual Letters Patents under H. M^ts^ great seal of Ireld may be forthwith granted unto s^d^ Hugh, Earl of M^t^ Alexander, his heirs & Assigns for ever, pursuant to this our Judgement, Decree, and Certificate, according to the purport, true intent and meaning of the s^d^ Acts of Settlement and Explanation.—Given under our hands and seals this 2^nd^ day of January, in the 20^th^ year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the 2^nd^.

"EDW. SMYTH. EDWD. DERING. A. BRODRICK."
W. CHURCHILL. ED. COOKE.

—Landed Estates Court Record Office, Custom House Buildings, *Book of Certificates*, vol. viii., p. 18, Dors.

For copy of the foregoing certificate, the editor is indebted to the kindness of John P. Prendergast, esq., author of *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.*

[23] *Negligence of servants.*—This fire occurred early in 1664, new style. If, as Harris, *Ancient and Present State of the County of Down*, p. 58, states, Newtown House was burned when in possession of the Colvilles, it must have been after the year 1675, the date of Colville's purchase from the second earl.

[24] *Above two yeares.*—The following Indenture, now printed for the first time, was recently found among the Family Papers in Donaghadee. Although imperfect, it is curious in some respects, and especially as recording the names of the commissioners referred to in the text:—"This Indenture, made the sixth day of May, in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred seventi and three, and in the five and twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereign Lord, Charles the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., Between the right honourable Hugh Earle of Mount-Alexander of the one part, and William Montgomerie of Rosemount in the the county of Down, Esqre., Hugh Montgomerie of Drombracklealy in the said county, Esqre., William Schaw of Newton in the said county, Esqre., Hugh Montgomerie of the city of Dublin, Esquire, Andrew Monroe of Cherryvalley in the said county of Doune, Esqre., Patrick Montgomerie of Ballycreboy in the same county, Esqre., and Hugh Campbell of Donaghadee in the said county, gentleman, of the other part: Witnesseth, that the said Hugh, Earle of Mount-Alexander, reposing great trust and c[illegible] th persons before named, hath nominate[illegible] stituted, and appoynted, and by th[illegible] nominate, ordaine, constitute, and William Montgomery, Hugh Mo[illegible] Schaw, Hugh Montgomery, Andrew Monroe, Patrick Montgomery, and Hugh Cambell, or any four or more of them, whereof the said Andrew Monroe or Patrick Montgomery to be always one, his Commissioners, Agents, and lawfull Attorneyes for him, and in his name and for his use, to manage his, the said Earle's, Lops., Manors, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, whereof he stands seised in fee, or any other estate of inheritance or possession, or interested of any other chattels reall in the said county of Doune or elsewhere, in the Realme of Ireland, and to make leases of the sam or any part or parcell thereof, for any terme or termes not exceeding forty one yeares from the date of such lease or leases, and at the best improved rents that they can or may conveniently sett the sam for, either with or without fynes, as they in their discretion shall think fitt and shall apprehend to be most advantageous for the said Earle, such Rents so to be reserved by the said leases to bee to the said Earle his heires and assigns, and that the said Commissioners or any four of them whereof the said Andrew Monroe or Patrick Montgomery to be one, doe Rent Roll of the said estate fairly written and ingrossed on parchment or in some book to be signed with the proper hand writing of the severall persones herein below named, the one of theme to be delivered yearly to the said Earle, one other to remaine in the hands and custodie of such one of the said Commissioners as the greater number of them shall think fitt to nominat and appoynt, and a third coppie to be delivered yearly to such Receiver or Receivers as the said Earle shall from tyme to tyme nominat and appoynt for receiving the Rents and Revenues of the said Estate. And the said Earle doth likwise hereby nominat, ordaine, constitute, and appoynt the said Commissioners or any four or more of them whereof the said Andrew Monroe or Patrick Montgomery to be one, to be his Commissioners, Agents, and lawful Attorneyes for him and in his name and to his use to sett and dispose either in fee farme or for three lives or for forty one years, all and every the houses and tenement with all and every the out houses, Gardens, Orchards, Backsydes, Courts, Courtilages, Shoppes and Cellars thereunto belonging, with all and every the Townes and Villages of Donaghadee and Comber and Corporation of Newtown, lying and [illegible] in th[illegible] county of Downe, to such person or [illegible] Improved Rents, the said Rents so [illegible]e to the said Earle his heirs and [illegible]h Covenants, Provisoes, Conditions, [illegible]hey can or may conveniently sett or [illegible]er with or without fynes from tyme [illegible]ir discretion shall think fitt. And

and Dublin, and in anno 1672, married daughter of Carey Dillon, and had no portion with her (that I could learn) except goodness, comlyness and breeding.[25] I was not acquainted with her Ladyship, and she dyed in winter, 1673,[26] to his Lordship's and all the Commissioners griefs.

In this time, the Commissioners had begun a suite in Chancery, to discover and redress what they thought amiss in the former agents and receavers, and to bring them to an account of their stewardships, and to refound or compound if they could make them doe soe); but they were discharged the 14th of November, 1674, from further acting, and required to answer for their proceedings. The

to the ende that due payment may be made of the Debts justly due by the father and grandfather of the said Earle, as also of all such other Debts of the said Earle party to these Presents, now Contracted or to be Contracted by him the said Earle, the said Debts not to exceed four thousand Pounds ster. English by him the said Earle Contracted or to be Contracted, the said Earle doth hereby nominat, constitute, and appoynt the said Commissioners or any four or more of them whereof the said Andrew Monroe or Patrick Montgomery to be one, to Raise such a Soume or Soumes of Monnie, from tyme to tyme for the payment of all and every the said Debts of the said grandfather and father. And of the said four thousand pounds str. granting in the Name of the said deed or deeds of Mortgage or Rent Charge of or on all or any the premisses except the mansion house of Newtone and Comber and the demeasnes thereof, not exceeding forty one yeares with such Covenants, Conditions, Limitations and Provisoes as they in their discretion shall think fitt. And whereas certain lands, tenements and hereditaments are descended to the said Earle from his father the late Earle who became Intituled and interested in the sam by virtue of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. Now the said Earl doth hereby nominat constitute and appoynt the said William Montgomery, Hugh Mountgomery, William Schaw, Hugh Montgomery, Andrew Monroe, Patrick Montgomery and Hugh Campbell, or any four or more of them, whereof the said Andrew Monroe or Patrick Montgomery to be one, for and in his name to sell and dispose of the same any every parcell thereof and the fee simple thereof to such person or persons by such deed or deeds of sale or matter of record and in such manner and for such consideration as they in their judgement and discretion shall think fitt and reasonable, so as the same or any part thereof be not disposed of under tenn yeares purchase according to the yearly value of the lands at the tyme of such dispositione to be made as aforesaid. And so as the said Earle be not obliedged to any generall warrant to all or any of the persones to whom such sale or any the premisses so to be sold or disposed or shall from tyme to tyme be made as aforesaid. And the said Earle doth hereby further appoynt the said severall persones before named, or any four or more of them whereof the said Andrew Monroe or Patrick Montgomery to be one, from tyme to tyme to and accompt all and every such person or persones as have been Receivers of any part of the Rent and Revennue of any of his Lordshippes estate reall or personall and to receive for the use of the said Earle what appares to be due unto his Lordshipp upon such accomptes or otherwise, and upon satisfaction made to give such release and discharge for the same as they or any four of theme shall think fitt, and upon non payment or refuseall, to use all lawfull wayes and meanes for and on the behalf of the said Earle And in his name and for his use and at his cost and charge to recover and receive the sam, which sume or summes so to be received by the said persones, or any four of theme are to be converted disposed of and payd to the satisfaction of the said Earles just debts as also to the said debts of his grandfather and father aforesaid—*Provided* always that in making such leases and dispositions as before expressed, the said persones or any four of them are to have respect to the immediate tennant of such Landes and to afford them the preferrance of the sam they giving (bona fide) as much as any other shall give for the sam—And further, the said Earle doth hereby give full power and Authority unto the said severall commissioners or any four of them to treat, agree, or compound * * * *.

[25] *Breeding.*—This was Catherine Dillon, eldest daughter of Carey Dillon, fifth earl of Roscommon, who, if she had not wealth, could boast of an illustrious descent. The founder of her family is supposed to have been an Irish prince of the southern Hy-Neill, who, in the year 593, married the heiress of the house of Aquitaine, whose representatives were sovereign princes of that dukedom for many centuries. Henry II. of England deposed Thomas, duke of Aquitaine, the last of that line, and the son of the latter, named Henry Dalion or Dillon, was brought to England, where he resided until the year 1185, when he accompanied the earl of Morton (afterwards king John) to Ireland. He obtained extensive grants of lands, long known as *Dillon's country*, including large territories in the counties of Longford and Westmeath. Henry Dillon married a daughter of John De Courcy, and from this union came the illustrious race of the Dillons, earls of Roscommon. Carey Dillon, father-in-law of the second earl of Mount-Alexander, was the youngest son of Robert, second earl of Roscommon, and, at the time of his daughter's marriage he was poor, although holding occasional places under Charles II. and James II. By the death of his nephew, the poet, he became fifth earl of Roscommon, in 1684. He died in 1689, and was succeeded by his son, as sixth earl. His daughter, the countess of Mount-Alexander, only lived one year after her marriage.—Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. i. p. 145 *sqq.*; Mrs. E. G. S. Reilly's *Genealogical History*, p. 57.

[26] *In Winter*, 1673.—This lady died on the 26th of January, 1674, new style.

which Captain Hugh Montgomery,[27] William Shaw,[28] and Hugh Campbell[29] (who were the main actors) did, in name of the rest, who could not inspect (so narrowly as they) into the managery of every particular, and minute affairs (especially the drudgery part therof,) not living in Dublin, Newtown or Donaghadee. And so the said suite fell to the ground, and his Lordship became £2000 indebted (more than he was), by giving a bond for it, by the advice or arbitration (as was reported and believed) of the said Colonel Dillon; for payment whereof, and other debts, his Lordship was necessitated to sell the whole parish of Newtown.

His Lordship's grandmother dyed in harvest, 1670,[30] and the first Countess (who had a jointure on Donaghadee 12 years) dyed, his father's widdow, Ao. 1675;[31] yett, for all these three disburdenments,[32] and that he was a widdower, without a childe, yet his Lordship had too many heavy burdens to beare, and two other sisters[33] to portion, besides the weight of the £2000 aforesaid.

Amongst his creditors, Alexander Collville,[34] Dr. in Divinity, (a true Church and King's man), had lent to the late Earle, to help to pay his composition mony, in the usurping times, the sum of £1000; and Captain Hu. Montgomery and William Shaw aforesaid, were joyned in the bond, with his Lordshipp, for secureing payment thereof. So it was their business to be free of that debt, and the long incurred interest mony therof, and also to gett divers hundreds of pounds, due to themselves, and to be released from other suretyshipp incurred with the late Earle. It was their drift and designe (as well as concern) to advise his present Lordship to sell Newtown parish unto the Doctor's only issue son, heire, and executor, Captain Robert Collvill, (a person of a great estate before this time), which was done;[35] and yett, by reason of the undefrayd minority interest mony,

[27] *Captain Hugh Montgomery.*—This gentleman was son of James Montgomery the clergyman. He was the first earl's constant attendant and friend, and known as "my lord's Hugh." See p. 198. *supra*. At this time there were living six other Hughs, not including the young earl—viz., Hugh, son of Hugh of Gransheogh; Hugh, son of the seneschal; Hugh of Ballylesson; Hugh of Ballyhenry; Hugh of Ballyskeogh; and Hugh of Ballymaclady. Hugh mentioned in the text is styled of Dublin in 1673; but soon afterwards came to reside permanently at Ballymagowan, now Springvale.

[28] *William Shaw.*—See pp. 11, 52, 250, *supra*. From the author's naming the three commissioners' places of residence, we infer that William Shaw resided in Newtown; probably in the house mentioned by Harris, as standing near the market cross, and having the armorial bearings of the Shaw family cut on a freestone slab in front. See p. 59, *supra*.

[29] *Hugh Campbell.*—See p. 250, *supra*. We are here informed that Hugh Campbell's place of residence was Donaghadee.

[30] *In harvest*, 1670.—This is the date of Jean Alexander's death, who was lady of the second viscount, and afterwards became the wife of major-general Robert Monro. See pp. 87, 140, note 74, 168, *supra*.

[31] *Ao.* 1675.—This is the date of Catherine Jones's death, who was second wife of the third viscount, married to him immediately on his advancement to the earldom, and therefore mentioned in the text as *first* viscountess. See p. 230, *supra*.

[32] *Three disburdenments.*—These three disburdenments were the ceasing of his grandmother's and stepmother's jointures, and the relief from pressing debts by his borrowing the sum of £2,000.

[33] *Other sisters.*—His eldest sister Jean had died at Chester in 1673. These others were his half-sisters—lady Catherine, married to sir Francis Hamilton, and lady Elizabeth, married to Raphael Hunt, esq.—See pp. 230, 231, *supra*.

[34] *Alexander Collville.*—See pp. 140, 205, *supra*.

[35] *Which was done.*—On the 12th of November, 1675, the earl of Mount-Alexander, sold to "Robert Colvil of Mount-Colvil, in the county of Antrim, Esq.," for the sum of £10,640, "the whole mannor and Lordship of Newtowne, with the mannor House thereof, and all other ye buildings, demeasnes, orchards, gardens, courts, outhouses, dovehouses, and parkes thereunto belonging; the whole towneship, corporation, and Burrough of Newtowne, the severall acres of land commonly called the towne acres; all commons, wast-grounds, strands, and marshes; all and every the severall mills, waters, water-courses, and streams, to them or any of the premises or lands belonging, built, or being, or appertaining to the above-mentioned premises; all that, his or their right of patronage or presentation to the church of Newtowne; all the towns and lands of Ballinreagh als Moville als Bowtowne als Ballypreo, with the scite, circuite and precinct of ye Abbey of Movilla, Ballyhaine, Ballydrumhircke als Gramhirk als Drumhirk, Ballyallycock als Drumchin als Balaloo als Drumhenry als Doniceghs, quarter of Ballyhawly als Milecross, Ballyheft als Raghary als Ballinhaulter, with the cite, circuite, and precinct of ye priory of Newtowne,

and other debts, his Lordship was not alleviated of all his burdens, but a great many, both old and new incumbrances, stuck to him.

In which plight, his Lordship went to England, and marryed Elenor Berkley, (daughter to the Lord Fitzharden), who brought his Lordship very little mony, yet run him into further debt.[36] So that, by hers and her accomplices' advices and instigations, (none of his Lordship's kindred, or former Commissioners being consulted,) and by his Lordship's own sense of conscience, honor and justice, (most inclining him,) the mannor of Mount Alexander[37] (the house and demeasnes excepted) was sold to Sir Robert Collvill, to pay the residue of his Lordship's debts.

Carrowcrossnemuckley als Drumchey als Drumnewhay, Ballyloughrescoy als Loughrescow als the Three Loughrescowes, Ballyhawny, Balliwatticock, Ballylisnacavan als Ballyno als Newtowne, Carrowcamcoise als Coulacks als Whitespots, Carrowmagheralaghaw als Island als Jomfries Land, Ballykillconan als Killcoman als Ballycullen als Scrabo Hills als Wilson's Land, Ballynabarnes als Barnes, Carrowtullehaggard als Tullenegardy, The Two Ballyskeaghs, Carrigogantelan als Cregogantlett, Ballynemoney, Ballykilcarine als Killarne, Ballyrogganloughmaroony, Ballymolton als Ballyalton, Ballymaghreragan als Ballymagrevaghan, Ballycloghtogall als Greengraves; all which said premises are situate, lying and being in the Baronyes of Ardes and Castlereagh, county of Downe, and all the river-courses, remainders, rents, customs, duties, services, condicons, redempcons, rights and equityies of redempcons of them respectively, with all Royaltys, Courts Leete, Courts Baron, Pyepowder, Courts of Record, Clerke of the Marketts, Jurisdictions, Privileges and Immunities whatsoever to the premises or any of them belonging or in any wise appertaining; And all advowsons, presentations, rectoryes, tythes, oblacons, mines, mineralls, waifes, strayes, wrecks, faires, markets, turbaryes, wayes, easements, perquesites, and advantages of what nature and kind soever (excepting alwayes out of the said grant tenn townlands formerly in the possession of Robert Boyd; and the five townlands, viz., Ballywitock, commonly called my Lord's Ballywitock, the two Cunningburns, and the two Ballyblacks, parcells of the said manor with the Corne Mill and Tuck Mill built in the towne of Cunningburne." On the 26th of November in the same year, the earl sold to sir Robert Colvill, then Robert Colvil, esq., for the sum of £3,000, "all those the townes and lands commonly called Templechrone, viz., Ballynahole als Templechrone als Owlestowne, Ballymuckley als Tullymuckley, Ballycaslen als Castletowne als Ballyheighley, Ballyblacks als Ballynapistragh, Carrownester als Fisherstowne als Killenterny, as ye same were possessed by Robert Boyd, esq., containing by estimacon one thousand two hundred acres, scituate in the parish of Greyabbey; and all those the five townlands following, viz., the two towne Parks, lands of Cunningburnes, lately in the possession of Hugh Montgomery, Esq., and James Maxwell, yeoman, containing by estimacon two hundred and forty acres, the two Ballyblacks als Ballynapistragh, lately in the possession of Thomas Daves, John Orre, and others; and the towne and lands of Ballywittock, commonly called my Lord's Ballywhitcock, then and lately in the tenure of M'Cutcheon, William and David Whitlaws, yeomen, and others, all which last-mentioned towne lands are situate in the parish of Newtowne.—*MS. Paper*. For original grant to the Boyd's, see p. 53, *supra*.

[36] *Into further debt.*—Elinor Berkeley, the young earl's second wife, was also a lady without dower, but of very illustrious family, being descended from that Robert Fitzharding, who, for his fidelity to the empress Maud, obtained the lordship of Berkeley; and who was appointed to receive and entertain Dermot MacMorrough, king of Leinster, with sixty of his retinue, when he landed at Bristol, in 1168, to solicit assistance from Henry II. His descendant (Maurice Berkeley), the lord Fitzharding of the text, was a worthless minion of Charles II., and a very unsafe associate for the earl of Mount-Alexander. The reader may see reference to him in the *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, edited by lord Braybrooke, vol. ii., pp. 45, 86, 93, 95, 96, 132, 155, 191, 202, 218, 219, 248.

[37] *Mannor of Mount-Alexander.*—On the 14th of October, 1679, the earl and dame Elinor, his wife, sold to sir Robert Colvil, for the sum of £9,780, "the whole mannor and lordship of Mountalexander als Cumber, (excepting only and reserving to the said earle ye mannor-house of Mountalexander and all other the buildings, out-houses, orchards, gardens, and desmeasnes thereunto belonging, then in the actual possession of the said Earle) and also all the tythes both greate and small issueing and due out of the townes and lands of Killeny, Clontinekelly, Crossnecreevey als Cargineveagh, Carrickmadderoy, and Lisbane, the whole towne and parish of Cumber, the severall acres of land commonly called the towne acres, all commons, wastgrounds, strands, marshes, mills, waters, water-courses, and streams; all the right of patronage or presentation to ye church of Cumber; all the townes and lands of Edenslatt als Carrowedenslatt, Ballycrilly, Ballyrush als Ballyeurash als Eurush, Castlenevarry als Ballycastlenevarry Killenether, Ballirickart als Ballyrichard als Ballyregard als Bowtone, Rincreevey als Ballyringcreevy, Ballystockard, Ballymaglaffe, Ballyhausel als Ballyheusel, Gorigribe als Ballygorcrib, Ballyalton, Great Ballyhenry, Little Ballyhenry, Chirrivally als Carrowcrossnemuckley, part of Ballyhewey als Johnsteven's Land, Ballyloughan, Ballyaltickilligan, Ballymalady, Ballyalloly als Ballygallochly, Ballywilliam als Ballymacwilliam, Ballymagchin als Ballymackechaon, Roverra als Levallieraverra, Ballycloghan, Tullygervan als Ballitulligirvan, Rafry, als Ballyraphree, Barnemachree als Ballycarnmachre, Castlerany als Carrowcastlerany, Creevie, Athenalrach als Ballyachendarrach als Ballyilruvechey, Ballyneherry, and Ballycumber als Ballymonestragh,—all which premises are scituated in the barony of Castlereagh, county of Downe, together with all Reversions, Remainders,

His Lordship had visited the Duke of York[38] (when he was Commissioner for Scotland) and was graciously receaved, and had gott a foot company; and, in the Earle of Essex[39] Government in Ireland, his Lordship gott his deceased unkle Drogheda's troope. So that, as we commonly say, fortune began to smile upon him.

And his Lordship being at Westminster, at King James' accession[40] to the Crown,) he continued in favour as formerly; and then it was that his Lordship gott the patent for the Corporation of horse breeders in Ulster,[41] and Commission to be Governor of Charlemount,[42] and a Commission

Rents, Customes, Dutyes, Services, Condicons, Rights and Equityes of Redemption of them respectively, with all royalties, courts leete, baron, pyepowder and record; privileges, immunities; rectories, tythes, oblations, mines, minerals, waifes, strayes, wrecks, faires, marketts, turbarys, parkes, ways, easements, perquisetts, and advantages to the said premises, or any part of them belonging." The several lands thus purchased by sir Robert Colville were intended by him to descend to his eldest son, Francis, and his heirs. Prior to the marriage of this son, sir Robert made the following arrangement:—"I, Sir Robert Colvil, upon a marriage shortly intended to bee had and solemnised between my son and heire, ffrancis Colvil, and Dorothy Temple, one of the daughters of Sir John Temple, knt., his ma^ties Solicitor General, have agreed that a Settlement shall bee made of all lands, tenements, and hereditaments abovementioned, amongst other lands, upon the said ffrancis Colvil and the issue male of his body, and for makeing a joynture thereout for the said Dorothy Temple in such manner as between mee, Sir Robert Colvil, and Sir John Temple, hath been agreed on, but the said ffrancis Colvil being now under age, a firme and secure settlement cannot bee made thereof by his joyning with mee therein, whilst the remainder of ye said Lands continues in the said ffrancis Colvil and his heirs, as by the said deed the same is settled." The witnesses to the foregoing deed of settlement were Robert Maxwell, Randall Brice, Henry Echlin, Ro: Ashenhurst, and Andrew Monroe.—*MS. Paper.*

[38] *Duke of York.*—Afterwards James II. He held several important offices of state during the reign of his brother Charles II.

[39] *Earle of Essex.*—Arthur Capel, created viscount Malden and earl of Essex in 1661, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, by patent, dated 21st May, 1672. He required to be absent in 1675; and during the interval of his absence, the archbishop of Dublin and sir Arthur Forbes were appointed to conduct the government. Essex returned in the spring of 1676, and was recalled the following year, Ormond being appointed to take his place, in May, 1677. "How he came to be raised to this post," says his biographer, "he could never understand, for he never had pretended to it; and he was a violent enemy to popery, not so much from any fixed principle in religion, in which he was too loose, as because he looked on it as an invasion made on the freedom of human nature. . . . . In his government of that kingdom, he exceeded all that had gone before him, and was a pattern to all that should come after him." But although Essex had proved himself nobly qualified for his responsible trust, and had performed signal services to the state as chief governor of Ireland, he was recalled in 1677, because he refused to become a minion and tool of Charles II. In June, 1683, he was accused of being concerned in the Rye-house conspiracy, and committed to the Tower, in which he was found dead on the 13th of July; having, as some said, committed suicide, but, as most people believed, being murdered at the instigation of the king and the duke of York.—*Life of Essex, prefixed to his Letters*, pp. i—xiv.

[40] *James's accession.*—This event took place on the 6th of February, 1685. On the 21st of January following, the earl of Mount-Alexander obtained a confirmation under the commission of grace, of the lands granted to him as a reprizal in the Queen's county, and in the counties of Tipperary, Limerick, and Waterford. The following is a copy of this confirmation:—

"Know ye that we, by and with the advice and consent of our right Trustie and Rt. well beloved cousin and Counsellor Henry Earl of Clarendon, our L^t Gen^l and Gen^l Gov^r of our s^d K^gm of Ireld, and according to the tenor and effect of an attested copy of a Certificate under the hands and seals of the late Comm^rs appointed for putting in execution two Acts of Parliament lately made in our s^d K^gm of Ireld (being the Act of Settlement and Act of Explanation), bearing date the 2^nd of January, in the 20^th year of the reign of our late most dear Brother King Charles the 2^nd of Blessed Memory, and in the year of our Lord 1668—And upon the humble request of our Rt Trusty and Rt well beloved Cousin, Hugh Earl of Mount Alexander, producing and presenting the copy of this Certificate under the hand of the Dep. Auditor of our s^d K^gm, and according to and in pursuance of the s^d several Acts of Parl^t, and of our Letters under our Privy Signet and Sign Manual, bearing date at our Court at Whitehall the 29^th of July, in the first year of our reign and in the year of our Lord 1685, now inrolled in the Rolls of our High Court of Chancery in our s^d K^gm of Ireld—Have given, granted, confirmed, &c., to the said Hugh Earl of Mount Alexander, his heirs and assigns, the several Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, That is to say, in Kilbrickan [And so the lands are enumerated as in the Certificate of the Court of Claims.]

"And further we will and require that all our officers upon the only showing of these our Letters Patents shall make a full discharge to the s^d Earl, his heirs and assigns, of all rents issuing out of s^d Lands, except the af^d Lands in the Co. Tipperary, and the s^d yearly Quit Rent of £15, to which the rents on the s^d Lands in the Co. of Limerick are reduced; and the said rent of £7 4 0 to which the rents on the Lands in the Co. of Waterford are reduced; and the s^d yearly Quit Rent of £48 to which the rents for his s^d Lands in the Queen's County are reduced.

"Dated 21 January, in 2^nd year of our reign."

For a copy of the foregoing grant, the editor is indebted to the kindness of John P. Prendergast, esq., author of *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.*

[41] *Horse breeders in Ulster.*—This charter, obtained in 1685, declared that Vere Essex, earl of Ardglass; Hugh, earl of Mount-Alexander; Lewis, lord viscount Dungannon; and other persons who should qualify themselves to become members, are constituted a body politic and corporate, by the stile and title of the *Governor and Freemen of the Corporation of Horse Breeders in the county of Down.* The charter authorises the corporation to

for my son (who accompanyd his Lordship thro' Scotland, to the Court at Whitehall,) to be Register to the Admirall Courts, in the countys of Down and Antrim.

Now, his Lordship was Privy Councellor in both the brother's reignes, and frequented their Courts, and was often in Dublin; and when the Duke of York was Commissioner in Scotland, his Lordship was observing the Parliament and y^e^ judicial proceedings of y^e^ Law Courts (called the Sessions) in that kingdom; by all which means his Lordship arrived at a great knowledge in state matters.[43] And for country affairs, his Lordship was improved by reading (wherein he still delighted), and by frequenting Assizes and Sessions, for he was made Custos Rotulorum pacis in the county of Downe, after the death of Marcus Trevor Lord Dungannon, who had outed me of that office,[44] by reason I was more than a yeare absent from Ireland as aforesaid; but his Lordship (as his father had done) appointed me to be his Deputy, Ao. 1683.

purchase lands valued for £200 per annum, to elect a treasurer, registrar, and such other officers as they should think proper; to hold a fair for the space of six days during the time of the races, the customs collected at such fairs to be payable to the corporation. The badge worn by members was a gold medal, representing on one side a mare and foal, the latter in the act of sucking, with the motto, *In equis patrum virtus;* on the other side, two race horses in full stretch, with the motto, *Metam avide petunt.* See Harris, *Ancient and Present State of the County Down*, pp. 35, 36.

[42] *Charlemount.*—The fort of Charlemount, which was built in the month of June, 1602, is situated on the north bank of the Blackwater, about five miles eastward from Blackwatertown. When this structure was completed, lord Mountjoy (Charles Blount) named it *Charlemont*, from his own christian name, and placed in it a garrison of 150 men, under the command of captain Toby Caulfeild, whose descendants, the earls of Charlemont, adopted the name of this place as their title. The earl of Mount-Alexander was appointed governor of Charlemont, by patent, dated 8th October, 1633, on the decease of earl Conway, who had previously held this position.

[43] *In state matters.*—The duke of York went to reside in Holyroodhouse in 1679, and during his visit in Scotland the gaiety and brilliancy of his court was a theme of great satisfaction among his courtiers. The duke and the princesses gave balls, plays, and masquerades, much to the enjoyment of the nobility and gentry, who attended them, though to the disgust and horror of the more rigid presbyterians. On the 15th of November, 1681, the lady Anne his daughter (afterwards queen Anne), and the maids of honour, performed Nat Lee's play, entitled *Mithridates, King of Pontus.* In the July of the same year, an Irish theatrical company, numbering thirty persons, visited Edinburgh, to open a playhouse there. On their way, they landed at Irvine, in Ayrshire, but the theatrical garments which they brought with them "necessar for their employment mounted with gold and silver lace," were to them the cause of delay and difficulty, arising from an act of the Scottish parliament then recently passed respecting *laced clothes.* The play-actors required to send a petition to the privy council in Edinburgh, showing that "trumpeters and stage-players" were exempted from the said Act, an interpretation to which the duke of York and the members of council at once acceded. —*Privy Council Records*, as quoted in Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, vol. ii., pp. 403, 404. Mr. William Tytler, *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. i., p. 429, states that "tea, for the first time heard of in Scotland, was given as a treat by the princesses to the Scottish ladies who visited at the abbey."—*Domestic Annals*, vol. ii., p. 405.

[44] *Outed me from that office.*—This office, although without remuneration, was eagerly sought after by other notable families of the county. The author considered his own appointment to it by Ormond a high honour. See pp. 242, 243, *supra.* The following letter, written by lord Montgomery, afterwards fourth earl of Mount-Alexander, to his father, the third earl, about the year 1725, refers chiefly to this office:—

"My Lord,—Mr. Josline (?) Ward was speaking to me about y^r^ Being Custods *(sic)* Rottulor. of the county Downe, and he told me that he had write to you about it, and that you had amind to have it and that he had desired you to send him word whether my grandfather Mountalexander had it not; I have had the Records shearchd and I cant find that he had it, but I find that my uncle (the second earl) had it in 95: 708 and 712 (1708 and 1712) and that Mr. Hill had it in 93 and held it but tow year, I was to weat on my L^d^ Chanceler and he has put my L^d^ Hillsborrough ofe for some time tho he's very solisitus about and I spoak to my L^d^ Leut about and his answer was that he was sure that my L^d^ Chanceler wod not doe anything till I had made w^t^ inquiery I cod and y^t^ he wod have it run in the channell that it had done, Now if y^r^ Lops. can find that my grandfather had it I wod be glad to here as soon as possable, tho I desing to weat on my L^d^ Chanceler again about it, your Lops is much oblidged to Mr. Ward for he has opposed L^d^ Hillsborrough very heartyly and we hope to carry it in spite of his teeth, my wife give y^r^ Lops her most humble^e^ Duty and sarvice to my sister, the sqr was with me this morning and hes very well as for newes I have not one word. Dexey Coddington and I drank y^r^ health Last night; he went home this day and I hope to goe to that part a thursday. I have not been there these three months, as for L^d^ Howth he's altogether at Kilrudery so we can hardly see him. Pray my L^d^ give my humble^e^ sarvice to my sister and Jeny I am y^r^ Lops most dutyfull son and obedant sarvant,

"Montgomery.

"I wod be glad to here how y^r^ Lops does but I am afread that writing is trobelsome to yow if I bent mistaken the account that my uncle William Montgomery gives of our Family takes notice of my grandfathers being Custody Rottul, and I believe Long Patt has that, so y^r^ Lops may soon know."

—*MS. preserved at Donaghadee.* The writer of the above was not aware that the author, William Montgomery (whom he calls uncle, but who was his grand-uncle by marriage), held the office, and was 'outed' because of his absence from Ireland when attending to the interests of his wife's nephew, the second earl, then a minor. This

Thus affaires stood with his Lordship, till Ao. 1688, about the time that the Lord Iveagh (the Chief of the Magnoises, commonly called M'Gennises) his mobb were gathering together.[45]

Our Earle had then a sealed letter conveyed to his hand, (in the same manner almost as ye Lord Mount Eagle[46] was warned to absent himself from ye Parliament, Ao. 1605, when y^e^ powder plott was in a readyness), adviseing his Lordship to look to his house and person,[47] and so he had

affair is more fully discussed by the author in his memoir of himself, which see *infra*. "Long Patt," who had the loan of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* when the foregoing letter was written, was, no doubt, Patrick Montgomery of Creboy, one of the commissioners for arranging the affairs of the second earl. See p. 265, *supra*.

[45] *Gathering together.*—The author here refers to the fact that three companies of undisciplined and partly unarmed troops were marched into Carrickfergus, by this Irish leader, to take the place of a regular force, which had been ordered to Dublin, on their way to oppose the Prince of Orange, in England. The Records of the Corporation of Carrickfergus contain the following brief notice of this affair:—"Decemb^r^ the 2nd being Sunday, 1688, the Lord Eveagh and two other captains entered this towne with three companies of new raysed foote, unarmed, and then parte receaved armes, and had the castle delivered unto them (according to order) by captain George Talbot, captain of granadeers, then governor; and next day the said captain Talbot, captain Sir Patrick Barnwall, captain Newgent, and captain Shurlock, marched towards Dublin with their companies."—M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, p. 65. This movement of Magennis, viscount Iveagh, in obedience to orders received from head-quarters, clearly indicated that James II. and his viceroy, Tyrconnell, would commit no places of trust to any but Roman catholic leaders, even in the province of Ulster. The common people of Down and Antrim were prepared to meet this issue; but the nobility and gentry, with a few exceptions, halted between two opinions, and were carried forward only by the march of events into an attitude of hostility to the government. Several influential gentlemen (among whom were the earl of Mount-Alexander and, perhaps, sir Robert Colville), were evidently unwilling, whether from considerations of loyalty, or feelings of personal obligation, to break suddenly with the king and his goverment.

[46] *Lord Mount Eagle.*—The gunpowder plot was revealed through a letter addressed to lord Mounteagle, and delivered to him whilst he sat at supper in his country residence of Hoxton. But Mounteagle was believed on good authority to have had a secret understanding with the conspirators. See *Archæologia*, vol. xii., p. 200.

[47] *House and person.*—Hugh, the second earl of Mount-Alexander, being in London in the year 1686, and seeing the design of the king against the Irish protestants, returned to this country, having sold a troop of horse which he had obtained from the earl of Essex a few years before, and retired to his estate in Down, resolving to live there in retirement so long as he could honourably do so. His retirement, however, was soon interrupted. The following is a copy of the letter referred to in the text:—

"December 3^d^, 1688.

"Good sir Lord,—I have written to let you know that all our Irishmen through Ireland are sworn that on the 9th day of this month, being Sunday next, they are to fall on, to kill and murder man, wife, and child, and to spare none; and I desire your lordship to take care of your self, and all others that are adjudged by our men to be heads; for whoever of them can kill any of you, is to have a captain's place. So my desire to your Honour is to look to yourself, and to give other Noblemen warning, and go not out night or day, without a good guard with you; and let no Irishman come near you, whatever he be. This is all from him who is your friend and Father's friend, and will be, though I dare not be known as yet, for fear of my life.

"Direct this with care and Haste to my Lord Montgomery."

This letter, which was found on the street in Comber, on the third of December, had been written, it is supposed, by some Protestant who believed, probably, that a massacre was in contemplation, and whose object was to rouse the "natural leaders" from their dangerous apathy. See *History of Northern Affairs*, p. 8. But whoever may have been the writer, and whatever object he had immediately in view, certain it is that his letter had the effect of producing a deep and wide-spread alarm among protestants, not only throughout Ulster but in other parts of Ireland. The consternation created in Dublin and elsewhere is thus told by the author of a rare tract entitled *A Full and Impartial Account of all the Secret Consults, &c., of the Romish Party in Ireland, from* 1660 *to* 1689, 4to London, pp. 138—140:—"This letter he (earl of Mount-Alexander) sends to Dublin, and to all parts of the kingdom; it arrived at Dublin but on Friday, and the Sunday following (the 9th), was to be the day of slaughter. This sudden alarm struck such a fear upon the English, that upon the Saturday there got away about *three thousand souls*. There happened to be abundance of ships in the harbour at that time, which were so crammed that many were in danger of being stifled. The run of these people happened to be so suddain, and in the middle of the night, that it resembled the flight of the Jews out of Egypt, and the Irish were as desirous to have them gone, for some of *them* were in as great terror as the others. . . . . This fatal news which had so terrified the Protestants of Dublin, as if the dissolution of all things had been at hand, arrived not to several parts of the kingdom, till the very day 'twas to be put in execution, which being Sunday, was brought to the people in the time of Divine Service in some places, which struck them with such suddain apprehensions of immediate destruction, that the doors not allowing quick passage enough, by reason of the crowd, abundance of persons made their escapes out of the windows, and in the greatest fright and disorder that can be represented, the men leaving their hats and perriwigs behind them, some of them had their cloaths torn to pieces, others were trampled under foot, and the women in a worse condition than the men. And this disturbance did not only continue for this day, but for several Sundays after, the Protestants were in such a consternation and terror, that all, or most of them carried fire-arms, and other weapons to Church with them, and the very ministers went armed into the pulpit, and centinels stood at the Church doors all the while that they were in the Church. But whether

read to him, for he was one of those ten who were proscribed afterwards, and excepted from pardon by Tyrconnel's proclamation."

this were a real thing designed, or whether by that discovery prevented, I leave it to others to judge and determine; for certain it is, that never anything happened in the kingdom . . . . made so great a fright among the Protestants as this." The effect produced by this letter at Dunkildin are thus described by captain William Hamilton in his *Similar Impartial Account of the affairs of the Inniskilling Men*, 4to, London, 1690, pp. 8, 11:—"About the beginning of December, 1688, we were alarmed, as most of the Protestants of the kingdom were, by a Letter sent us by the Earl of Mount-Alexander, directed to him, from a confident friend, acquainting him that there was a design of a general massacre of the Protestants, man, woman, and child, throughout the kingdom of Ireland, to be acted by the Irish papists and their adherents, the tenth day of the said month. This Letter, what its operation was in other places, I know not; but it made so deep an impression on the minds of most in and about Inniskilling (the credulity of the Irish in Forty-one being yet fresh in many of their memories), that several of the country sent in their best household furniture and papers to Inniskilling, thinking them more secure there, than with themselves. And we observing that the Irish were gathering themselves together on all hands in great numbers, having for a long time before employed all the smiths of their sort in making skains (viz., a kind of short-coated haggonets) and pike-heads, wherewith to arm themselves privately; we were struck into great consternation; but resolved not to have our throats cut asleep, the most of the townsmen the day and night of the designed massacre, keeping strict guard with what sort of weapons they had. But the contents of this Letter were declared to produce still greater and more significant results at Londonderry. In a *Satirical History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland, from the late King James Accession to the Crown to the Siege of Londonderry*, 4to, London, 1690, at pp. 8, 9, there is the following notice of the transactions in that city, consequent on its receipt:—"But that which happened of greatest consequence upon this discovery was, the extraordinary accident that attended the account of it (the letter) in Londonderry; where it had no sooner arrived, but it seemed to be confirmed past a doubt by the advance of a considerable part of the Earl of Antrim's regiment, consisting of five new raised companies, which, together with the rabble that followed, made up at least a thousand men (designed for a garrison to that town); the inhabitants seeing such a number, and concluding them to have been the instruments designed for the execution of the pretended massacre, immediately shut up their Gates, and discharging some great guns upon the near approach of the Irish, obliged them to quit the town in great disorder; and the townsmen keeping their Gates shut, found out a Declaration, shewing the reason of what they had done; which they wholly imputed to the apprehension of a popish massacre."

"Tyrconnell's proclamation.—The names of the ten thus excepted from pardon by Tyrconnell's proclamation were the earl of Mount-Alexander, the earl of Massereene, the earl of Kingston, sir Robert Colville, sir Arthur Rawdon, sir John Macgill, Chetwoodby Skeffington, John Hawkins, Robert Saunderson, and Francis Hamilton, afterwards sir Francis Hamilton of Killeshandra, county of Cavan. "Such gentlemen as read this proclamation were not a little surprised to find several persons, who had always appeared most active and open in the prosecution of the Protestant designs, not comprehended in the clause of exemption; for neither Hamilton of Tollimore, who was the most active, and indeed the principal manager of the whole affair,—who had a casting voice in all their councils,—nor any of the Hamiltons of Down, Antrim, or Armagh, were foreprized, tho' gentlemen that acted in conjunction with them, and others that were inferior to them, were particularly exempted; but this only served to revive the former jealousie the countrey had of Mr. Hamilton of Tollimore's sincerity."—*A Faithful Narrative of Northern Affairs*. If none of the Hamiltons were *foreprized*, the names of several of them appear on the list of those attainted by James's Parliament. Of the 2461 Protestant gentlemen attainted and declared traitors by James's parliament, the following were residents in the county of Down:—John Hawkins of Rathfryland, esq.; Charles Ward of Killaugh, esq.; James Hamilton of Tullymore, esq.; Bernard Ward of Castleward, esq.; James Hamilton of Bangor, esq.; George Maxwell of Killaleagh, esq., son to sir Robert Maxwell; James Hamilton of Carricknasire, esq.; John Mac Neal, dean of Downe; Daniel Mac Neal of Dundrum, gent.; William Breete of Napper's-Town, esq.; John Hamilton of Errenagh, esq.; Jasper Brent of Napper's-Town, gent.; Bernard Brent of the same, gent.; Richard Turke, late of Downe, gent.; Hugh Browne of the same, gent.; Rowland Browne of the same, gent.; William Palmer of Castleskrine, gent.; Marks Hodges, late of Downe, gent.; George Johnston of Killcleef, gent.; Anthony Lock of Downe, gent.; John Haddock of Cornabane, gent.; William Redmond of Clontough, gent.; Robert Echlin, late of Killough, gent.; John Ward of Castleward, esq.; John Smart of Cookes-Town, gent.; John Blackwood, jun., of Bangor, gent.; Henry West of Ballydugane, esq.; William Pringle of Laghnebuper, gent.; David White of Reliagh, gent.; John Ringland of Kilmore, gent.; George Maxwell of Derryboy, gent.; James Erwyne of Killeleagh, gent.; Lieutenant James Butler of Rincady; Alexander Stewart of Ringhffrast, gent.; James Pattent of Magherknock, gent.; Hugh Wallace of Revara, gent.; Patrick Hamilton of Granagh, gent.; Arthur Maxwell of Drumbridge, gent.; James Mac Gill, jun., son to Captain James Mac Gill; John Mac Gill of Munallon, gent.; Matthew Beates of Ballyvinchan, gent.; Edward Jackson of the same, gent.; John Ealine of Erquine, esq.; William Mac Cormack of the same, gent.; William Mountgomery of Rosmond, esq.; Hugh Maxwell of Ballyquinline; James Mountgomery, son to the aforesaid William; James Bailey of Enmoder, esq.; Hugh Mac Gill, late of Kirstown, esq.; Archibald Mac Neal, clerk; Hugh Mountgomery of Ballymagowne, esq.; John Mountgomery of Carrickboy, gent.; James Rosse of Portefore, esq.; William Hogg of Barrady, gent.; John Stenson, near Bangor, gent.; John Blackwood of Bangor, gent.; James Barkeley of Ballysallagh, gent.; John Sanders of Newtowne, gent.; David Campbell of

His Lo^p, therefore confederated with y^e Protestants of Ulster, to stand upon their guard for their safety ag^t such a massacre as was in Ao. 1641, and was by them elected their Genll Comander;[49] and at this time, y^e Presbiterians required no renewall of their Covenant, but were

Cumber, esq.; Hugh Mountgomery of Ballymalady, gent.; Gawin Hamilton of Lisswine, gent.; William Hamilton his brother; James Moore, senior, of Ballybregagh, gent.; James Moore, junior, of Carrickmainu, gent.; John Wallas of Revara, gent.; Hugh Farely of Boordmil, gent.; Francis Annesley of Cloghmaghericat, gent.; Hugh Johnston of Reademon, gent.; Lemuel Matthews, archdeacon of Downe; Alexander Baly of Reindefferant, gent.; Thomas Wardlow, late of Mourne, gent.; William Shaw of Rafindy, gent.; Robert Gibson of Dromeragh parish, gent.; Alexander Stewart, late of Ardmullin, gent.; Roger Hall of Lagan, esq.; John Norris of New-Castle, esq.; John Robinson of Tollimore, gent.; Henry Monrow of Drominskagh, esq.; James Waddel of Islan-Derry, gent.; Hugh Waddel of the same, gent.; Alexander Waddel of the same, gent.; William Haltridge of Dromore, gent.; Robert Swift of Lissnereward, gent.; Robert Campbel of Laghans, gent.; William Campbell of Tollyeare, gent.; Jeremy Mussindine of Hilsborough, gent.; Thomas Johnston, late of Gillhall, gent.; William Manson of Ballynaleary, gent.; Charles Casslet of Laghinlan, gent.; John Boyle of Dromnovady, gent.; Nicolas Bagnal of Newry, esq.; Nicholas Price, esq.; John Law of Mangerlin, gent.; James Slone of Dublin, Esq.; Cornet William Mountgomery of Gransagh; Richard Warren of Clonconnell, gent.; Thomas Waring of the same; and Robert Rosse of Rathfryland, gent.—King's *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, pp. 213–15.

[49] *Genll. Commander.*—At a meeting of the Protestant gentry, held in Comber on the 17th January, 1688, the following Declaration was agreed to:—

"It being notoriously known, not only to the Protestants of the Northern Counties, but to those throughout this whole Kingdom of Ireland, that the public peace of this nation is now in great and imminent danger; and that it is absolutely necessary for all Protestants to agree within their several counties in some method, besides those ordinarily appointed by the laws, for their own defence; and the preserving as much as in them lies, the public peace of the nation, which is so much endeavoured to be disturbed by popish and illegal counsellors, and their abettors. And for that unity, secresy, and despatch, are necessary to the effecting of the said design: Therefore, we the persons hereunder subscribing our names, do, in behalf of ourselves, and Protestant tenants, authorize and impower Sir Arthur Rawdon (Rawdon), baronet; Sir Robert Colvil, James Hamilton of Newcastle, John Hawkins, and James Hamilton of Tullimore, Esqrs., or any three of them, to assemble at such time and place, and as oft as they shall think fit, and to consult, devise, and determine all matters which relate to the public peace of this county and kingdom. And we, the said persons hereunto subscribing our names, Protestants in the said county of Down, do hereby engage for ourselves, and as far as in us lies, our tenants aforesaid, to perform and execute all such orders, commands, and directions, as shall, from time to time, be made public, or given by the said persons, or any three of them, as aforesaid.—In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, this 17th of January, 1688.

"M. (Mount-Alexander.
"J. H. (James Hamilton), &c., &c.

"In witness of the Acceptance of the above trust, we have hereunto put our hands.

"A. R. (Arthur Rawdon).
"R. C. (Robert Colville).
"J. H. (James Hamilton of Bangor).
"J. H. (John Hawkins).
"J. H. (James Hamilton of Tullimore).

"Having an entire confidence of the conduct, valour, and fidelity of the Right Honourable Hugh, Earl of Mount-Alexander, we do hereby impower his Lordship to command all such forces as shall, from time to time, be raised by us, and other the inhabitants of the said counties of Down and Antrim, for preserving the publick peace of the said counties and other parts of this kingdom, in these distracted times, wherein no lawful government is established in the kingdom of Ireland.—In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this 18th day of January, 1688.

"A. R. } Antrim.
"R. C. }
"J. H. }
"J. H. } Down."
"J. H. }

The above are extracts from *A Farther Account of the Inniskilling Men, by Captain William McCormick*, 4to *London*, 1691, pp. 19—21, but the reader will observe that whilst the county of Down alone was mentioned at the first meeting of the 17th January, the two counties of Antrim and Down are represented as acting together on the 18th in the election of the earl of Mount-Alexander as commander in chief of their several forces, although the appointment is only signed by the five gentlemen elected to act for Down. That the proceedings on that occasion were hasty, and, in some respects, unsatisfactory, is evident from the rare and valuable tract, already quoted, entitled a *Faithful History*, professing to give a "*True Account of the Occasions of Miscarriages*" *in the North, and of the* "*Reasons why the Gentry abandoned those Parts.*" The writer, who states on the title-page that he "bore a great share in those Transactions," after describing the protestants of Down, continues his narrative, pp. 13—16, as follows:—"The gentlemen who had been the unhappy occasion of all these mischiefs, being sensible of the unfortunate circumstances to which they had reduced the countrey, now began to consider of such methods as might make amends for their past miscarriages: To this end a general meeting at *Comber* was concluded on, in which they might agree what course next to steer, and how for the future to lay such a scene of affairs, as might give them a better prospect of success. Mr. H———ton (James Hamilton of Tollimore) appearing most officious on this occasion, and having undertook the dispatch of circular letters, summond only such as he knew would be either guided by his counsels, or else wanted interest to oppose his designs; for he neither summoned Mr. Annesly, Sir Robert Maxwell, Mr. Ward, Mr. Savage, or any other gentleman whom he believed would not readily resign a blind assent to his humour, though they were otherwise persons every way qualified for the publick service: But that which hapned of greatest difficulty, was the exclusion of Sir Rob. Colvil from the meeting, whose great estate in the countrey, and interest in the very town where they sate, seemed to oblige them to take notice of him; but it was so contrived, that the gentlemen who were designed for council, assembled on the 13th, at which time the methods were concluded on, and Sir Rob. summoned the next day, to assent, if he pleased, to what he could not alter. This Convention, which only consisted of sixteen gentlemen, being sat at Comber, the first thing discoursed of, were the disorders, delays, openness, and other inconveniences, which attended their former meeting,

joyned with the Established Clergy,[50] ag[t] y[e] Papist, y[e] comon enemy to them and us. Then they scrupled not (nor wee) to hear one anothers way of worship and sermons.[51]

to which the failure of their designs was chiefly attributed; and to obviate those mischiefs, it was agreed, that a junto of five should be chosen for the county; any three whereof should be empowered to act as the representatives of the rest; whose decrees and orders should be as binding, as if they had been concluded by the general voice of the country. And it was likewise agreed, that an Association should be proposed by the gentlemen of that county, to the other counties of Ulster, for the joint preservation of the publick interest, and protection of the protestant religion. Matters being thus far adjusted by the consent of the whole convention; the next thing to be considered, was the election of five such persons as were best qualified to represent the county, and for that service, the E. of M. (Earl of Mount-Alexander), Sir A. R. (Arthur Rawdon), Mr. H. of B. (Hamilton of Bangor), Mr. H. (Hawkins of Rathfriland), and H. of T. (Hamilton of Tollimore). were proposed at the instance, and by the directions of the latter, who, having packed the greatest part of the assembly, could not want a majority of votes to declare in favour of such as he thought fit to recommend. These gentlemen being complimented with a tender of the care and trust of the county, at first as modestly refused, as the new Pope does the papacy, which they afterwards as willingly embraced; and though some of the Covenanters thought others far better qualified, both in interests and parts, for a charge of that consequence, particularly Sir Rob. Colvil, whom they would have at least complimented with the choice of being one, *considering his fortune was almost equal to the joint estates of the other five*, and that his age and experience had rendered him much fitter for employment of that nature; but H[amil]ton of T[ollimore] being well assured that Sir Robert would not be prevailed with to serve any private designs, passionately opposed all motions in his favour; and for want of a better argument, threatened to desert the assembly if they should admit a proposal so adverse to his interest. Till this meeting at Comber, many thought H—ton's earnest sollicitations had proceeded from a real concern for the Protestant interest; but it was now plainly discovered, that the whole scope of his designs tended only to settle him in such a post as might render him more remarkable to the English government. . . . . The junto fearing the consequences of these publick censures, very much laboured to quiet the minds of the male-contents, who began to unravel the very methods by which they were convened, and to protest against the evil arts that established them. The next day, according to the return of his summonses, Sir Rob. Colvil came to town, on whose appearance it was judged convenient to admit, being of the Council, hoping thereby to reconcile themselves to the gentlemen of the countrey; and, to make way for him, my Lord Mount-Alexander was appointed general of the Forces of the two counties of Down and Antrim. Sir Robert being admitted, the junto proceeded to nominate five persons out of every Barony, to represent the condition of it, proposing by this method a clearer view of the strength and force of each county; and it was likewise moved and agreed, that every county for its better intelligence should substitute one person to be always resident at Hilsburg, by which means the several circumstances of the North might be the better understoode and the execution of their designs be for the future grounded on more united resolves. To this purpose it was judged necessary that a general Association should be subscribed by the gentlemen of that Province, and that the methods devised by this junto should be proposed as an example to the neighbouring counties."

[50] *Joyned with the Established Clergy.*—This defection on the part of the presbyterians from their old standard was deeply and indignantly lamented by many a stout son of the covenant. Thus, John Dickson, the minister of Rutherglen, who died in the year 1700, but who had tasted of the bitter cup which the second Charles presented to his presbyterian subjects, gave expression to his disappointment and horror, when doomed, before his death, to witness such a falling away of his brethren. "Were it possible," says he, "that our reformers who are entered in among the glorious choristers in the kingdom of heaven, tuning their melodious harps about the throne of the Lamb, might have a furlough for a short time, to take a view of their apostatizing children, what may we judge would be their conceptions of these courses of defection, so far repugnant to the platform laid down in that glorious work of reformation." See Dickson's *Letter*, as quoted in Howie's Preface to his *Scots Worthies*. Howie, who published that work in 1774, and died in 1791, brooded bitterly also over the great and general apostasy in his lonely seclusion of Lochgoin, adding to Dickson's words the following testimony on this delicate theme from himself:—"For, if innocent Hamilton, godly and patient Wishart, apostolic Knox, eloquent Rollock, and worthy Davidson, the courageous Melvilles, prophetic Welch, majestic Bruce, great Henderson, renowned Gillespie, learned Binning, pious Gray, laborious Durham, heavenly-minded Rutherford, the faithful Guthries, diligent Blair, heart-melting Livingstone, religious Wellwood, orthodox and practical Brown, zealous and steadfast Cameron, honest-hearted Cargill, sympathizing M'Ward, persevering Blackadder, the evangelical Traills, constant and pious Renwick, &c., 'were filed off from the Assembly of the first-born, and sent as commissioners from the Mount of God, to behold how quickly their offspring are gone out of the way, piping and dancing after the golden calf, —ah! with what vehemence would their spirits be affected, to see their laborious structure almost razed to the foundation, by those to whom they committed the custody of their great Lord's patience: they in the meantime sheltering themselves under the shadow of fig-tree-leaf distinctions, which will not sconce against the wrath of an angry God in the cool of the day.'"—Preface to *Scots Worthies*, edition of 1856, p. 9.

[51] *Worship and sermons.*—Time, and the discipline of events, had taught both episcopalians and presbyterians. After a fierce struggle, carried on with but slight interruptions from the time of the Reformation until 1660, the episcopalians remained masters of the situation. In 1661 the government ordered the Covenant to be burned throughout Ulster by the hands of the common hangman, because it was then adjudged "schismatical, seditious,

Our Noble Peer having endeavored y^e^ surprize of Carrickfergus (of w^ch^ he missed by neglect of some he imployed,) brought the guarison and Major Marcus Talbot (Tireconnel's bastard) to conditions of peace[52] towards y^e^ contry, wherin Archibald Edminston, Laird of Duntreth, being a

and treasonable," and presbyterianism not only survived, but was, in reality, very much relieved by this conflagration. At all events, the presbyterians of 1688, as a body, never thought of pledging the Prince of Orange to "the ends of the covenant," and aimed only at obtaining religious liberty for themselves, sweetened by a very moderate bounty from the state, known since as *Regium Donum*. And the episcopalians, although the dominant party, obtaining at the Restoration all, and perhaps, more than they ever expected in the way of power, soon came to understand that they had too hastily adopted their idol, Charles II.; and that, being so loyal in 1660, as to take no guarantees for constitutional government, they were compelled, in 1688, to fight for these guarantees at a tremendous cost. Both parties were, therefore, to some extent, moderated in their sentiments and aims, and had become more charitable towards each other, for such men as Milton and Jeremy Taylor had been reconciling the religious world, in the meantime, to the grand idea of religious toleration. The extremes of both parties, however, refused to acknowledge William III., and were known by the name of non-jurors. The episcopalian non-jurors regarded William as a usurper, and many of them clung with desperate tenacity to the fortunes of James II. Of Ulster episcopalian non-jurors, perhaps the most distinguished was the Rev. Charles Leslie, chancellor of Connor, and son of John Leslie, bishop of Clogher. He refused to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary, for which he was deprived of his church preferment. He joined the Pretender on the continent, endeavouring to convert him to protestantism; but failing in this, Leslie returned to his own home at Glasslough, county of Monaghan, in 1721, and died a few months after his return. See Ware's *Works*, edited by Harris, *Writers of Ireland*, pp. 282–6. The non-jurors among the presbyterians of Ulster were such as clung to the old covenants, charging the more prudent brethren with apostasy and treachery to the cause of truth. They would own no allegiance to king William, but, on the contrary, denounced him for omitting to take vengeance on the papists when it was in the power of his troops to do so after the battle of the Boyne. They denounced him, moreover, because, although the mainstay of Calvinism on the continent, he should in England consent to place himself at the head of a church which they (the covenanters) had always regarded as no better than the Romish apostasy itself. In the solemn league and covenant, they had affirmed with their mouths, and signed with their hands, that "all popery and prelacy is damnable, idolatrous, and soul-destroying;" therefore, in their estimation, king William, in joining this prelatic church of England, had placed himself on the same level with the popish king James, who had been expelled. The founder of this 'reformed' party in Ulster was the Rev. David Houston, a young preacher in connexion with the presbyterians. He had lived in Scotland during several years prior to 1688, but when Renwick was seized in that year, and soon afterwards barbarously executed, Houston returned to Ulster, where his movements were narrowly watched by the various political leaders in this province. As an evidence of this we submit the following hitherto unprinted document, for a copy of which the editor is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. A. Chancellor, pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, College Street South, Belfast. Mr. Chancellor copied it from *Register of General Meetings of the Societies in Scotland*. This paper, which explains itself, is entitled a "Bond of Compliance given into the Earl of Mount-Alexander by Mr. David Houston, about the time of the Revolution," and is as follows:—

"I do promise that I will use my best endeavour to cause all such persons over whom I have influence to be aiding and assisting to settle the present interest in this country, and will by all means persuade such to join with, and pursue such measures as the Earl of Mount-Alexander shall, from time to time, propose, and give out for safety thereof—providing such persons, with whom I have influence, have liberty to choose their own Captains and inferior officers. And I do promise, if such persons will not be advised by me as aforesaid, and my being here may be accounted obnoxious to the country, I will, upon my Lord Mount-Alexander his command, leave the country upon his order to do so.—As witness my hand,

"Dd. Houston."

[52] *Conditions of peace.*—A copy of the Articles drawn up on that occasion was found recently among the Family Papers at Donaghadee. It is now printed for the first time, and although without signature, it may be interesting to the reader:—

"Articles agreed uppon the 21 Ffeb: 1688, between the Rt. Honble Alexander Earle of Antrim, Coll: Cormack O'Neile, Lieut. Coll: Marks Talbott, in behalfe of themselves, and other officers and souldiers now in garrison in the towne of Carrickfergus, on the one part, And the Rt. Honble Hugh, Earle of Mount Alexander, for and in behalfe of himselfe and other noblemen and gentlemen of the Counties of Downe and Antrim, on the other part. First, the said Coll: Cormack O'Neile is immediately to disperse his Regiment of foote and other souldiers at this present under his command, and the said Earle of Mount Alexander and others joyned with him shall give protections to each person of the said Regiment that shall be soe dispersed and require the same.

"Secondly, That the Inhabitants of the said towne of Carrickfergus may constantly keepe towne watches and guards without any disturbance from the said garrison to the guards aforesaid, or other the Inhabitants of the said towne of Carrickfergus.

"3rd. That neither party offer violence the one to the other.

"4th. That the said Earle of Antrim be permitted to take in weekly his owne provisions, which are not to exceed a week's subsistence for his men, And that neither the said Earle of Antrim nor any other person of the said garrison of Carrickfergus make greater stores for the said garrison than what may subsist those belonging to the Regiment of the said earle at present in garrison in the said towne.

"5th. That the said Earle of Antrim be permitted to send such letters to Dublin as he will shew the said Earle of Mount Alexander and other nobility and gentry aforesaid, provided there be nothing contained in such letters that may in the least tend to the breach of any of these present Articles, or the bringing or raising more forces into Ulster, or disturbing the peace thereof.

"6th. That all goods whatsoever taken by any soufdiers or others depending on the said Earle and officers in the said garrison be immediately restored to the owner, or full reparation made therefor.

"7th. That all such souldiers of the said garrison as have assaulted any of the Inhabitants be immediately given upp to be punished according to lawe.

"8th. The aforesaid severall Articles to be put in immediate execution, and to continue in force, whilst noe more popish forces are sent into or raised in the said province of Ulster, and that noe disturbance is given by the said garrison of Carrickfergus to the peace of the said Province of Ulster.

"In witnesse whereof, the parties aforesaid have hereunto sett theyr hands and seals the said 21st of ffeb., 1688.

"Signed, sealed, and delivered
in presence of

Col. was valiantly active.[53] But before the rupture came to this pass, Col. S^r^ Tho. Newcomen, a true Protestant (Tireconnel's bro. in law) then in comand under K. Ja. was obliged (without blood-

"Memorandum—That the said Regiment of the said Collonell Cormack O'Neile be disbanded on or before munday next following the date hereof, the Protections to be first delivered, and the passe above-mentioned for such person as shall carry the said letter."

[53] *Valiantly active.*—Two distinct attempts were made by the confederated protestants of Down and Antrim against Carrickfergus, both of which were signally unsuccessful. In the first, which occurred in the month of January, their design was only to get possession of the arms and ammunition known to have been plentifully supplied there by Tyrconnell's government. This design, of course, could only have been carried out by disarming the Roman catholic troops in that place, which, it was supposed by respectable military authorities, might have been easily at that time accomplished, had certain protestant leaders possessed even an ordinary amount of spirit. The government troops in Belfast and Lisburn were to have been disarmed on the same night, and the unarmed soldiers, commanded by sir Arthur Rawdon and sir John Macgill, had actually snatched their arms from a part of sir Thomas Newcomen's force in Lisburn; but on hearing of the failure, or rather of the refusal of the other leaders to act, these officers ordered the arms to be restored. The writer of *A Faithful Narrative of Northern Affairs*, at pp. 11, 12, thus describes the cause of this failure:—"When the project of disarming the popish soldiers in that town (Belfast) was upon execution, Sir William Franklyn, Mr. Upton, and Mr. Hamilton of Tollimore, together with Capt. Leighton, Capt. Bermingham, Lieut. Barnes, Lieut. Tubman, and several other officers of the regiment, and citizens of the town, met in order to accomplish their designs; but the first three relenting, absolutely denied to go on, though often pressed to it by the officers, Capt. Leighton urging the feasibleness of it by engaging to disarm the whole garrison, with the assistance only of as many men as might serve to bring off their arms; but the three first gentlemen discountenancing the captain's offer, and interposing their great authority with the town, the whole project fell; and Hamilton of Tollimore gallopped towards sir Arthur Rawdon, who marching with 500 men to make good the attempt, was advanced within five miles of the town (of Carrickfergus), when this ungrateful message diverted him, and occasioned his giving such marks of reproach as was due to those who had stifled so hopeful a design." The second attempt to seize the town and castle of Carrickfergus, which was made on the 21st of February, was suggested to these incompetent leaders, partly by a wish to regain lost confidence and reputation, and partly by certain successes achieved by lord Blaney in Monaghan and Armagh. On this second occasion Archibald Edmonston of Redhall, the laird of Duntreath, was "valiantly active," but only in the way of assisting materially to defeat the object which he and his friends desired to accomplish. In seizing a boat at Broadisland, which carried provisions to the earl of Antrim's private family at Carrickfergus, he no doubt promptly obeyed and executed the command of the protestant council, but this act naturally called forth remonstrances from lord Antrim, who proposed, on his part, such reasonable terms of arrangement, that the protestants rashly concluded that his offers shewed symptoms of weakness, and resolved, without delay, and without the necessary preparations, to attack the town. They failed miserably, in this second attack, but succeeded in obtaining better terms from Talbot, who commanded in the town, than they had reason to expect. See *preceding note*; see also *A Faithful Narrative of Northern Affairs, &c.*, pp. 28—32. The following curious and interesting letter, written by Arcd. Edmonston to his son-in-law, James Montgomery of Rosemount, and preserved among the Family Papers at Donaghadee, will explain how the writer was "valiantly active" on that memorable occasion:—

"Broad Ileand, Feb^y^ 6, 1688.

"DEAR SON,—Because I am outwearied, and almost asleep, I must leave to the Bearer a more ample narrative than my time now can allow. Therefore briefly, I and my neighbour captaines being apprehensive of the great inconvenience of victualling the garrison of Carrickfergus, and armeing of another Regiment of Cormack O'Neall, who, having gone there for their armes, were to be sent out double armed; resolved in severall precincts to prevent the one and attack the other. Whereupon, Wednesday, we waylaid them, but they came not out. Thursday I caused some of my men to seize the Boat (the disposing whereof I left to the Councill), whereupon the garrison was about to fall on us, but was diverted, as it seems, by their feares of Belfast and Antrim. We had in all 8 Companies, amounting to about 1000 men. I was earnest to have attempted the garrison, but some of our Captaines were utterly unwilling, pretending the want of aid and orders from the Councill. I offered to mentaine the men in the adjacent places, till they might have what they expected. The men themselves were swift and foreward, and, in returning home, vowed that they would desert such arguments. We had written to my Lo. Massereen and S^r^ Will^m^ Franklin: both gave good promises, but the present necessity requyred present performance. The men dispersed this day. I offered to 6 of the Companies to make the attempt, and by God's assistance to carry it; but nothing would doe without further aid. The garrison wants provision, and no meall went this day to the market,—from which I leave their measures to your conjecture, and ours to your Advice. The can permitte no delay. If it be judged fit to attack the garrison (which I shall cheerfully concurre with, both for the public good and the necessite of my own and neighbours circumstances), let me have seasonable warning, that I may make all possible provision. Let this be communicate to the Councill of both Counties as my Lo. Mountalexander and S^r^ Arthure sees fit. Faill not to send back an express with an answere. I beseech you take all care that the boat I seized upon, and all that was in her, be carefully secured and preserved, till that affair be further advised. Give my humble service to my Lord and S^r^ Arthure Radin.—I remain, your affectionate Father,

"ARD: EDMONSTONE.

"POST.—The garrison is in great terrour, severall running away without Armes, Two Captaines laid down their Commissions.

"To James Montgomery, Esq., Rosemount."

The writer of the foregoing letter died of over-fatigue, whilst defending the fort of Culmore, near Derry, in the following year (1689). His eldest son, also named Archibald, was, during several years, a member of parliament for the county of Antrim, and resided constantly at Redhall, permitting the castle at Duntreath to fall into decay. He died in 1768, at an advanced age, leaving several children by his second wife, who was a daughter of the hon. John Campbell of Mamore, in Lochaber. His eldest son, Archibald, who was created a baronet in 1774, sold the Redhall property in 1784, and bought the estate of lord Livingstone of Kilsythe, which the owner had lost by his engaging in the rebellion of 1715. The Edmondstons of Redhall then returned to Duntreath, which their ancestors had abandoned 177 years before. See pp. 56–8, *supra*. During its sojourn in Ireland, the members of this family were steady and consistent presbyterians. William

shed, wherof he was wary, for conscience sake) by S[r] Arthur Rauden's forming a regim[t] of dragoons, to desert Lisnegarvy, and march to Dublin with his 500 new trained Irishmen.[54]

Edmonston, the first settler at Redhall, was the friend and patron of Brice, the first presbyterian minister who came to Ulster in 1613; and Archibald Edmonston, the last of the family who occupied Redhall, and who died there in 1768, bequeathed to the Rev. John Bankhead, the then presbyterian minister of Ballycarry or Broadisland, "all his religious and history books, except those which had Mrs. Edmondstone's name in writing on them." His wife, Ann Campbell, bequeathed to the same minister, in 1777, the sum of twenty pounds and the parlour clock, "as an expression of her regard for him." See *New Statistical Account of Scotland, Stirlingshire*, pp. 77—80; M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 342, 395; Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., p. 93; the Rev. Classon Porter's *Memoir of the Ballycarry Congregation*, printed in the *Christian Unitarian* for June, 1863, p. 160.

[54] *New trained Irishmen.*—This sir Thomas Newcomen, of Moss Town, county of Longford, was the fifth baronet in descent from sir Edward, the first of that name who settled in Ireland, and who was created a baronet in 1625, being styled of Kenagh, county of Longford. Sir Thomas, mentioned in the text, was an active adherent of Tyrconnell, although he professed to be a sincere protestant. His second wife, by whom he left a large family, was Sarah, daughter of sir George St. George, of Carrickdrumrusk, county of Leitrim. This lady's protestantism was of no doubtful hue, although her husband's was supposed to be mere pretence. In Story's *Impartial History*, pp. 51, 52, there is the following brief notice of her spirited conduct:—"And Sir Thomas Newcomb's house, in the county of Longford, was surrendered upon very good terms, it being held out by his lady against a great party of the Irish, for the house is strongly situated, and she got about 200 of her tenants into it, who defended the place till the Irish brought field-pieces against it, though it was above 20 miles from any of our garrisons." Sir Thomas Newcomen was a family connexion of the Rawdons of Moira, his nephew, the second earl of Granard, having married the sister of sir Arthur Rawdon. He was very anxious that the latter should not be drawn away with the other northern protestants to oppose James II. On this subject he wrote several letters to lady Rawdon, evidently intended to work on her ladyship's fears. In one of these letters, dated 17th Jan., 1688, he says:—"Since my last to you, madam, I am glad to know that, tho' 'twas debated whether the gentlemen I talked of should be proclaimed traytors or no, 'tis resolved to defer anything of that nature till further provocation is given; therefore, my serious advice to Sir Arthur, and the rest mentioned in my last, is, that they do no act that may rise up in judgment against them; for I assure you that the king is expected here in person. . . . . I do advise all Protestants (whose religion is dear to me) to behave themselves, so as to give no offence to the government, till the king's pleasure is known; but if the Protestants in that country go about to disarm Catholics, as Mr. Hawkins (of Rathfriland) threatens, or to hinder the new levies, 'twill be the means to draw down forces thither foot, horse, and dragoons, that may bring [illegible] their to an account. . . . . I was advised by me, he would do as he did in Monmouth's rebellion, offer to raise men to serve the king, and by that means entitle himself to Mulgrave and Seymour's estate in Ireland, *out of which he was so notoriously wronged.*" In the concluding sentence, sir Thomas appeals in a cunning way to the lady's selfishness, and through her to her husband, sir Arthur Rawdon, who was nephew of earl Conway, then lately deceased. The latter had been induced, by some means, to leave his estate of Killultagh to the Seymours, which, of course, was a great disappointment to the Rawdon family, who were more nearly related to him. Lady Rawdon, who was heir and daughter of sir James Graham, son of the earl of Menteith, appears to have listened favourably to sir Thomas's suggestion, and even to have supplied him with important information respecting the movements of northern protestants. In reply to one of her letters, sir Thomas writes as follows, in January, 1688:—"I am bound, madam, to give your ladyship my hearty thanks for your last message received by an express at the head of my men near Dromore; and as for the 7,000 rabble, they did not come at me, and if they had, I would have given them as hearty a reception as I could: and in acquittal of your ladyship's kindness, I thought it my duty to let you know how matters go here in relation to our king's affairs, tho' I do not think it fit to write to you by my own hand, nor own what I now write, lest I might draw an old house upon my own head. . . . . I must tell you, further, that it is agreed on here in the cabinet council that your husband, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. McGill, my Lord Blaney, and others be proclaimed traytors for having gathered men, enlisted, officered, and exercised them without the king's authority. . . . . My serious advice is that your husband (for the memory of whose parents I retain all the respect imaginable) forbear rendezvouzing hereafter, in imitation of his cunning neighbour, sir Robert Colvill, who obeyed my lord Tyrconnel's summons in coming up to town; and let me tell you there are false brethren in that country, for instance Mr. Waring of Clonconnel, who writ up lately that he was afraid some hot-headed young men of his religion and neighbourhood would ruin themselves and others."—*Rawdon Papers*, pp. 296—300. Sir Thomas was smarting, when he wrote this letter, under a rather ludicrous discomfiture which had befallen him at Lisburn. The 'rabble' of which he speaks formed part of the unarmed protestant forces levied in Down, who had determined to seize the arms of Tyrconnell's troops at Lisburn, Belfast and Carrickfergus. Those appointed to do this work at Lisburn, where sir Thomas Newcomen commanded, actually accomplished it, but hearing that their brethren had failed (or rather refused to proceed with it) at Belfast and Carrickfergus, they returned the arms they had taken from Newcomen's men, subtracting however, from his small force 150 protestants, which so alarmed and weakened him, that he was compelled to beat a hasty retreat to Dublin.—*Faithful History of Northern Affairs*, p. 12. Lord Henry Clarendon, *State Letters*, vol. i, p. 17, writes of this sir Thomas Newcomen as follows:—"Sir Tho. Newcomen has desired my leave to go for England, and he will embark within a day or two; you know his dependance, and upon that account I did not think fit to refuse him. . . . . If he does

About this time, the Prince of Orange (to whom a convention of all the three estates in England had devolved y^e^ administration of all affairs) sent over the Commissions for w^ch^ y^e^ Confederat Protestants had prayd.[55]

not gain his desire I shall not be sorry, nor will anybody else here, for I never knew a man more hated; he pursues his brother-in-law's designs (Tyrconnell's), and yet even that party do not esteem him, nor know how to believe him; he is reputed a brave man in his person, but false and treacherous to the highest degree; he is very hot and troublesome at the council board, and in all places where he makes one." Sir Thomas was soon afterwards slain at the siege of Enniskillen.

[55] *Had prayd.*—For the family of the Prince of Orange, see p. 10, *supra*. The junto of five appointed at Comber on Jan. 17, proceeded at once to prepare an address to the prince, imploring the assistance of England for the speedy protection of the protestants of Ulster. Mr. Hamilton of Comber, was generally esteemed the most fitting person to present this address, but, by the manœuvring of his kinsman, James Hamilton of Tollimore, he was set aside and captain Baldwin Leighton appointed. With the address was forwarded also a request that commissions might be granted for twelve regiments, then being raised in the counties of Down and Antrim. On the 10th of February the Prince of Orange transmitted, through captain Baldwin Leighton, the following reply, addressed to the earl of Mount-Alexander:—

"Having received an account from Captain Leighton of what he was requested to represent to us in relation to the condition of the Protestants in Ireland, we have directed him to assure you in our name, how sensibly we are affected with the hazards you are exposed to by the illegal power the papists have, of late, usurped in this kingdom, and that we are resolved to employ the most speedy and effectual means in our power, for rescuing you from the oppression and terrors you lie under; that, in the mean time, we do well approve of the endeavours we understand you are using to put yourselves into a posture of defence, that you may not be surprised, wherein you may expect all the encouragement and assistance that can be given you from hence. And because we are persuaded that there are, even of the Romish communion, many who are desirous to live peaceably, and do not approve of the violent and arbitrary proceedings of some who pretend to be in authority; and we, thinking it just to make distinction of persons, according to their behaviour and deserts, do hereby authorize you to promise in our name, to all such as shall demean themselves hereafter peaceably and inoffensively, our protection and exemption from those pains and forfeitures, which those only shall incur who are the maintainers and assertors of the said illegal authority, assumed and continued contrary to law; or who shall act anything contrary to the Protestant interest, or the disturbance of the public peace in the kingdom. And for further particulars, we refer you to the report you shall receive from Captain Leighton (who hath acquitted himself with fidelity and diligence in your concerns), of the sincerity of our intentions towards you; and so we recommend you to the protection of Almighty God.

"Given at St. James's, the 10th day of February, 1688–89.

"WILLIAM H. ORANGE.

"By His Highness's command,

"WILLIAM JEPHSON.

"To the Earl of Mount-Alexander, to be communicated to the Protestant nobility and gentry in the North of Ireland."—*Historical Collections relating to Belfast*, p. 64.

On the receipt of this document, at Hillsborough, king William III. and queen Mary were forthwith proclaimed in that place, and throughout all the adjoining districts. Captain Leighton soon afterwards returned, bringing with him also the commissions for such regiments as had been recommended by the council, and to which the author refers in the text. These twelve consisted of the eight following infantry and four cavalry regiments:—

1. Earl of Mount-Alexander—A regiment of horse, raised in Down and Antrim.
2. Lord Blaney—A cavalry regiment, raised in the counties of Armagh, Monaghan, and Fermanagh.
3. Mr. Skeffington—Dragoons, raised in Down and Antrim.
4. Sir Arthur Rawdon—Dragoons, raised in Down and Antrim.
5. Sir John Macgill—Infantry, raised in Down.
6. Mr. Hamilton of Bangor—Infantry, raised in Down.
7. Mr. Hamilton of Tollimore—Infantry, raised in Down.
8. Mr. Francis Hamilton—Infantry, raised in Armagh.
9. Sir Wm. Franklyn—Infantry, raised in Antrim.
10. Mr. Upton—Infantry, raised in Antrim.
11. Mr. Lesly—Infantry, raised in Antrim.
12. Mr. Montgomery—Infantry, raised in Fermanagh.

In addition to the above, sir Robert Colville, Mr. Adair, and Mr. Annesley each raised a regiment at his own expense.—*Faithful Narrative of Northern Affairs*, pp. 15, 20, 32. About the time at which this reply from the prince of Orange arrived, the earl of Mount-Alexander received the following letter from a gentleman in London. It has been preserved among the Family Papers at Donaghadee, and is now printed for the first time:—

"London, 8th Feb^ry^, 1688.

"MY LORD,—Nothing but the want of a safe hand has prevented my paying that duty to your Lopp., which your many favours have obliged me to, especially those conferred on me when last in the North, but now that a post is like to be settled through Scotland to Donaghadee, which will not be subject to any interception, I shall presume sometimes to give your Lordship the trouble of a few lines, as any thing here worthy of your knowledge shall offer. I have herewith sent your Lordship an Abstract of the Resolutions of the Convencon, from the time of their first sitting; what we are next to expect is the proclaiming of the Prince, which is now resolved upon, notwithstanding a great interest made against it in both Houses, some being for inviting the king back (but few, and made little appearance) and confining him to certain conditions, others who made a great party, for crowning the Princess of Orange in her own Right, but the most after many debates between both Houses, carryed for the Prince in his own right during life, then to go to the Princess and the heirs male of her body, and for want of such heirs male, to the Princess of Denmark, and for want there, to the Prince of Orange and the heirs of his body, and for want of such heirs to revert to the people for a new election; yesterday and this day have been spent in settling the preliminarys and qualifications of the government before the Prince shall be proclaimed, which lye now before the Lords, the Commons having dispatched them, and have nothing to doo till they are agreed. Your Lordship will find most of the things they have now under consideracon in printed papers of grievances to be redressed; and the other papers which I have sent your Lordship will inform you what different sentiments of things have been published by the Pamphleteers.

"I need not give your Lordship any account of the returns made by the Prince to your Lordship and the other Northern gentlemens Addresses, Capt. Leighton being best able to doe it, and the Prince's Letter, which is sent by him, will show how well it has been accepted, and how well Capt. Leighton has managed his part; and if your lordship and the other gentlemen shall think fitt to employ me here in any further address or representations to the Prince, I shall not disappoint their expectations, but give them a satisfactory account, and by my care and diligence therein approve myself them and, my lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient humble servant,

"ROB. CUNN.

"If your Lordship shall please to honour me with any commands, be pleased to direct for me to be left at Mr. Holford's, Haberdasher, in Pall Mall.

Our Earle, therefore, acting the best that might be, and assisted by y^e^ Lord Massareen,[56] S^r^ Arthur Rauden,[57] S^r^ Rob^t^ Colvill,[58] the towns of Lisburn al^s^ Lisnegarvy, and all the Protestants

"The Resolutions of the 8th and 9th of Feb. (88), over and above what is contained in the general paper.

"Friday the 8th—A Committee, which was appointed to draw up amendments to the vote of the Lords upon a debate of the House, ordered that the Prince and Princess of Orange be proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and Royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said Prince and Princess, during their joynt lives, and after their decease, the said crown and royall dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the said Princesse, and for default of such heirs to the Princesse Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body, and, for default of such heirs, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange (if he should marry again and have issue). And the Commons desired the said Prince and Princesse to accept the same accordingly—carried *nemine contradicente*—and ordered it to be carryed up to the Lords, who took till to-morrow to consider of it.

"Saturday, Feb y^e^ 9th (88)—This day the Lords agreed to the amendments of the Commons, with only this alteracon, sole royall power instead of Administration, and have agreed to the Heads of grievances, tho' altered some words."

The allusion in the foregoing letter to the establishment of a post is curious.

[56] *Massareen.*—This was sir John Skeffington of Fisherwick, in the county of Stafford, who succeeded to the Massereene titles and estates in 1686. On account of his strenuous support of the Protestant cause in Ulster, as evinced by his large contributions towards providing for the defence of Derry, he was one of the persons excepted from pardon in Tyrconnell's proclamation, although he had been very recently appointed governor of the county of Derry and town of Coleraine, and a member of the privy council. Two days after this proclamation, Tyrconnell employed a Presbyterian minister, named Osborne, to come northward and endeavour to reconcile those of his own sect to the policy adopted by the government. Among his other duties whilst on this mission, Osborne wrote a long letter to viscount Massereene, describing Tyrconnell's leniency, who only required the northern Protestants to surrender their arms and horses for the use of the king (James II.), and three of their most influential leaders, to be dealt with as the authorities might deem expedient. If these terms were not instantly complied with, Osborne's letter goes on to inform them that Tyrconnell would, "with a party of his army fight them, which part he intends shall be at Newry, on Monday, the 11th; which will from thence march to Belfast, and from thence to Coleraine and Londonderry, as his excellency intends, and that the country Irish, not of the army, men, women, and boys, now all armed with half-pikes and bayonets, in the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, Tyrone, and Londonderry, will, upon the approach of the said part of the army, and resistance thereto made, immediately enter upon a massacre of the British in said counties; which force and violence of the rabble, his excellency says, he cannot restrain, and fears it may be greater than in 1641." This letter was written in Loughbrickland, on the 9th of March, and received by viscount Massereene, at Antrim, the same night. The following reply, signed by Mount-Alexander, Massereene, and others, was instantly returned:—"We declare our utter abhorrence of the effusion of blood, and that we will use all proper means to avoid it; but cannot consent to lay down our arms, which we were forced to take up for own defence, nor to part with our goods by any other than legal means; and that we are ready to appoint persons to treat on such heads as are consistent with the safety of our religion, lives, and liberty." When Tyrconnell's army, under Hamilton and Sheldon, came northward, a few days subsequently, plundering Hillsborough, Lisburn, Belfast, and Antrim, viscount Massereene's castle was robbed of money and plate to the value of £4,000, besides all its costly furniture. His lordship was also deprived of a vast quantity of salmon which had been stored near the city of Derry, most of it being appropriated by the garrison, and the remainder, about 40 barrels, by the enemy. Lord Massereene died in 1695, and was buried at Antrim. His son, Clotworthy, who succeeded him, was also excepted from pardon in Tyrconnell's proclamation.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 380-4.

[57] *Sir Arthur Rauden.*—Sir Arthur was also one of those excepted from mercy by Tyrconnell's proclamation of March 7, 1688, "in regard," as therein stated, "he had been one of the principal actors of the *rebellion*, and one of those who advised and fomented the same, and inveigled others to be involved therein." He died in 1695, aged 33 years. His wife, Helena, grand-daughter of William, earl of Menteith and Airth, see p. 277, *supra*, is said to have been a woman of exquisite good sense and taste, and of unwearied charity to the poor. She was also a great heiress, her mother being Isabella, eldest daughter of John Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh. Lady Rawdon also inherited the estates of her brother, sir John Bramhall, of Rathmullyan (now Rathmolyon), county of Meath.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 107, and *note*.

[58] *Sir Robt. Colvill.*—See pp. 267, 268, *supra*. Prior to the final rupture between Tyrconnell and the northern Protestants, sir Robert Colville appears to have acted, for a short time, as mediator between the parties. The writer of *A Faithful Narrative of Northern Affairs*, &c., pp. 10, 11, thus mentions the fact:—"Tyrconnel being willing to secure himself against the Northern numbers, prudently resolved to keep up a fair correspondence with them; and in order to it, he invited several of the leading men to attend him at Dublin; but the country not judging it safe to venture many of them, lest they should be detained as hostages, nor politick wholly to despise his summons, concluded that only Sir Robert Colvil should be entrusted with this undertaking; who being very kindly treated by the government, was dismissed with repeated assurances, that if his countrymen would continue quiet in their respective habitations, they should be only charged with the incumbrance of two regiments, but as it soon appeared, Tyrconnell had never intended to keep these promises longer than they served his designs; for immediately upon Sir Robert's departure, he commanded a detachment out of another regiment to reinforce the garrison of the Newry. It's likewise to be presumed, that Sir Robert Colvil promised more in behalf of the Northern gentlemen, than they were willing to make good; for at his return, he found them engaged in a project, which as well in respect of his promise, as in common prudence, he thought himself obliged to oppose; judging it not fit

elswhere, he drew together part of his troopes, foot, hors and dragoons, (which at best were like ill armed militia men, y^e^ shores of Carrickfergus being in Irish hands,) and with these forces he marched to stopp the descent of Maj^r^ Gen^ll^ Hamilton and his army, w^ch^ came by Newry (then a guarison of Irish) to break our forces in this eastmost part of Ulster, and to beleaguer Londonderry (w^ch^ had deny'd entrance to y^e^ Earle of Antrim's Irish regim^t^) but our best hors and other forces from Antrim Lisburn and Belfast, not coming up in time, the contry people with S^r^ Arthur Rauden, and those with his Lo^p^, (whom hee comanded personally) was easy routed on y^e^ 14th of

to incense a government that courted them, especially such an one as he very well knew they could not be able to oppose, should they be reduced to extremity, being sensible that the Northern strength consisted much more in reputation, than in any real force they could make; but all his endeavours were vain, and his advice branded with the epithets of *cowardly and popish!* by those who had afterwards reason to wish they had yielded to such moderate councils." Sir Robert Colville had the character of being very *astute*, and was evidently no favourite with any of the great parties of his time. The following extracts from letters written by Henry, earl of Clarendon, whilst lord lieutenant of Ireland, contain some curious, but not very complimentary, notices of sir Robert:—

"Dublin, 24th January, 1685-6.

"To Lord Sunderland.

. . . . "I send your lordship here enclosed likewise the copy of an information given me by lord Mount Alexander; of which his lordship will give you a further account himself, he being to go for England within a few days. I have advised upon it with my lord chief justice Keyting, that no time might be lost in the prosecution: but he is of opinion, that nothing should be done upon it for the present; the words having been spoken long since, before his majesty came to the crown, and there being but one witness. This Sir Robert Colvill is looked upon as a very great favourer of the fanaticks, though he goes to church himself: he is a man of a very great estate in the north."

"5th February, 1685-6.

"To the Lord Treasurer.

"On wednesday last my lord Mount Alexander went for England: he is better known to you, than to me; and therefore I need say nothing to you of him, that is, not in his behalf. By the small acquaintance I have with him I take him to be a man of honour, and great worth, and perfectly devoted to the king's service. I have had much of his company since my being here; and I have endeavoured to be as civil to him as I could. I could not refuse him leave to go for England for his private occasions; and he has promised me to return in the spring. He gave me some time since an information of one Maxwell against Sir Robert Colvill; which, when I have read, though there appeared to me to be no great matter in it, I thought fit to advise with my lord chief justice Keyting upon it: who is of opinion that, considering the words were spoken of the king, when duke, and several years since, and that there was but one witness, it would be best not to make any prosecution against the person. My lord Mount Alexander tells me that there has been some little difference between Sir Robert Colvill and himself; and therefore he was very cautious in appearing against him: but believing, it would come out some other way, and then that it might not be thought well in him to have concealed such an information, he thought best to lodge it in the chief governour's hands. And, you may believe, I had no great mind to be thought the smotherer of any words which might be interpreted to be against the king; and, therefore, when I had my lord chief justice Keyting's opinion, which I have told you, I sent a copy of the information to my Lord Sunderland in a letter of the 24th past; which letter (because I had not time then to have them copied) I now send you. This Sir Robert Colvill is a man of at least £3,000 per annum in the north of this kingdom, and was for several years of the privy council, till the change upon his majesty's coming to the crown. This last summer he was treating a match for his son with a daughter of Sir Thomas Newcomen, niece of lord Tyrconnel; had that gone on, he would have been a man of merit; but now that is off, he will be represented as a very dangerous man by that lord: which was one reason, which made my lord Mount Alexander resolve to give me the information against him. There are now propositions on foot for a match between Sir Robert's son and my lady Ellen Macarty: the portion is, for the father to be a viscount; which my lady Clancarty thinks she has credit enough with her friends in England to procure. I can say nothing of the gentleman, but as I am told by the different parties here; and why I did not consult Mr. solicitor concerning him, with whom I do, and shall advise in most things, lord Mount Alexander will tell you. When the king has all before him, he is the best judge, whether he will have him prosecuted, or whether he will dignify him with any title. I shall be ready to obey in either case."

"27th February, 1685-6.

"To the Lord Treasurer.

"Sir Robert Colvill came to town on saturday last; and the next day he came to me, full of professions of duty to the king. He told me, though he was not now in the king's service, yet he would always be a good subject; and, if I would give him leave, when he returned into the country, he would give me a constant account of all things in those parts; which you may believe I accepted of. He dined the same day at my lady Clancarty's; for that match goes on; and colonel Macarty frankly undertook, he should be a viscount. I have scarce ever known a man more variously spoken of, than this Sir Robert. Some very good men give him a great character; others, as good, shake their heads, and say, they know not what to think of his principles. All agree that he has a great interest; that is, a great estate. Some, perhaps, envy him for that; and some hate him for the meanness of his birth; indeed, they say he is come from a very vile beginning. When I know more of him, I will give you a further account; you cannot expect I should yet say anything of him upon my own knowledge.

"Before I left London both my lord chancellor and lord treasurer of Scotland severally spoke to me of one David Montgomery of Lanshagh; who, they said, had a small estate in this kingdom as well as in Scotland; that he was in the rebellion with the late Argyle, and was outlawed in Scotland; therefore, they wished he could be found here. I have made all the enquiry I could after him since my arrival here; but could not gain any information of him, till since Sir Robert Colvill's coming to town; who tells me, that this Montgomery went into Scotland sometime before Argyle's landing there, and that he was not heard of his being in this kingdom since; that he lives in the same barony where Sir Robert himself lives; and that, upon that account, he is well acquainted with him; that his estate in this kingdom is very small, and all a leasehold from my lord Mount Alexander; who (by the way) could give no information of him, tho' I spoke to him about it. Such as the estate is, you will find by the enclosed note, which is a copy of what Sir Robert gave me: if you please to direct me, I will order this Montgomery to be outlawed the next term; and so his estate may be seized. I have given my lord President an account of this particular; that I may tell all the good I hear of Sir Robert, as well as the ill I have been informed of."—*The State Letters of Henry Earl of Clarendon*, vol. i., pp. 25, 30; see also pp. 66, 67, 76.

The foregoing extracts do not say much for the neighbourly relations of the second earl and sir Robert Colville. This David Montgomery abovenamed, although owning merely an humble house in Bangor, ranked among the gentry of Ayrshire, being eighth laird of Lainshaw, or Langshaw, in the parish of Stewarton. Having been concerned in the insurrection, with the unfortunate earl of Argyle, in 1685, he was obliged to live afterwards as an exile on the Irish shore, whilst his Scottish lands were swept from him

March, 1688,[59] by y^e^ enemy's trained hors dragoons and field peices (whereof wee had none,) and so Hamilton (without peirceing into y^e^ barony of Ardes and Lecale) marched thro Belfast, Lisburn, Antrim, &c. dissipating our forces[60] (w^ch^ retired towards Derry) whether hee went to beseige it. What was done thereat, and the rescue it had, will be known whilst the history of K. Ja. (who was thereag^t^ it), his acts and disappointm^ts^ are read, so I forbeare them, as not belonging to my narrative; yet, I may remarque the providence of God towards the Protestants,

by an act of attainder, in 1686, and given over to lord Strathallan. The latter, however, resigned his right to the lands of Lainshaw, soon afterwards, and David's son, James Montgomery, got possession of the family estates again, in 1688. In 1690, the forfeiture was rescinded by parliament, and David Montgomery was restored to all his civil rights He was alive in 1692.—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 454.

[59] *14th of March*, 1688.—This was the date of the skirmish at Dromore-Iveagh, an event which is generally known as the 'Break' or Rout of Dromore. Among the collections made by the late Mr. Samuel M'Skimin of Carrickfergus, in his interleaved copy of Harris's *Antient and Present State of the County of Down* (see p. 148, *supra*), is the following letter, without signature, but April, dated 24th 1843:—"From all the information I can collect, I have come to the conclusion that the fight at Dromore took place in the townland of Ballymacormick, immediately adjoining the town. The new line of road that passes through Dromore, from Dublin to Belfast, bisects the battle-field, which occupied but a small space on the south side of the Gallows-Hill. It was not a level, but a kind of glacis, terminating at a bog—a place not ill-chosen for a skirmish, such as we may suppose it to have been, for neither could have had much the advantage as to position. General Hamilton's men were protected on their right by the common bog, and a small party in the narrow (Gallows) street would have been sufficient to keep them from being flanked on their left. The Protestant party had the bog on their left, but their right lay open for attack. About two hundred yards to their rere lay Crowswood, into which they retreated when repulsed; and from thence they dispersed, part of them passing the eastern extremity of the bog, and making their way over Cannon-Hill, on the opposite side of which lay the leading road to Killileagh and Donaghadee, from whence some embarked for Scotland. What road the remainder took I could not ascertain. But the whole action must have occupied a very short space of time, for, according to tradition, a woman went out to see the fight when it commenced, leaving bread at the fire, and on her return after the affray had ended, the bread was not burned. Had any of the inhabitants fallen, their graves would have been known, as the present churchyard was then the only burying-place in the parish. About a mile from Dromore, in a field on the right-hand side of the old turnpike-road leading to Hillsborough, a grave is pointed out, green to this day, and said to be that of Marian De Ell or De Yell, who, for refusing some of James's soldiers a drink of buttermilk, before she had taken off the butter, was drowned by them in the churn, with her head downwards. And about half-a-mile further on, in a field on the opposite side of the road, is another grave, said to contain the remains of one Campbell, a powerful man, who, armed with only an old sword, opposed part of James's army, but was soon overpowered by numbers, thrown over the ditch, and buried there. But, when James's army passed, why did the friends of the deceased suffer them to remain there, instead of having them interred in consecrated ground? However, in this instance, I differ from tradition. I rather think the graves alluded to are those of the two soldiers of William's army, who, according to the Rev. G. Story, 'were 'shot near Hillsboro' for deserting.' Story, or his informant, might have been in the rear of the army at Hillsborough when the account reached him, which may have caused him to fall into the mistake of placing that transaction nearer Hillsborough than Dromore; nor do I think the mistake improbable, as the two places lay only four miles distant, and Hillsborough was a garrison town."

[60] *Dissipating our forces.*—This defeat, which befel the Protestant forces on the 14th March, completely broke up their organization. The army sent by Tyrconnell against them, from Dublin, was numerous and well-disciplined, the infantry being commanded by lieutenant-general Richard Hamilton, and the cavalry by colonel Dominick Sheldon. On the arrival of this force at Newry, sir Arthur Rawdon and sir John Magill, who had garrisons in Loughbrickland and Rathfriland, withdrew them from these places and fell back on Dromore. The latter town was supposed to be a favourable position at which to concentrate the northern forces; but although captain Hugh Magill, from the Ards, and major Baker, led their troops there to support sir Arthur Rawdon, the enemy advanced too rapidly to permit a sufficient number to assemble. On the 14th, lord Mount-Alexander and colonel Upton advanced from Hillsborough on Dromore, but they came to witness the rout of their comrades, and had only time to turn with them and make their escape, the larger portion hurrying away in the direction of Coleraine and Derry. In Story's *Impartial Account of the Affairs of Ireland*, p. 4, we have the following reference to this defeat:—"A little before this, the Protestants of Ireland were in daily expectation of arms, ammunition, commissions, and some forces from England, and it's more than probable that, if they had got them, the business had cost neither so much blood nor treasure as since it has; yet some advised not to make any show of discontent till they had an opportunity, and were in a condition to make their party good by the arrival of succours from England; but the greater part, impatient of delays, begin to list men, and with what they could get, to make a show of forming an army. Against those in the North, Lieutenant-General Hamilton marched with about one thousand of the standing army, and nigh twice as many *Rapparees*, in a distinct body; they met at Dromore, in the county of Down, and, on the 14th March, the Protestants were routed with no great difficulty; and

in moving K. J. heart to send Scottish Gen[lls] only[61] to comand over the Irish in this and in the

no wonder, for they were very indifferently provided with arms, ammunition, and commanders; nor was their discipline any better. This was called afterwards the *Break of Drummore* (a word common among the Irish Scots for a Rout." In the following September, as William's army marched through part of the county of Down, on its way to the Boyne, Story relates, p. 12, that they encamped "at Drummore; the inhabitants had all, or most of them left town, and there was not so much as a sheep or cow to be seen." The writer of *A Faithful History of Northern Affairs* throws the whole blame of this disaster on the earl of Mount-Alexander, who was general in command, and Hamilton of Tollimore, who was always able to exercise a fatal influence with both the general and council. This writer contends that the commander-in-chief could, at any time, have concentrated an army of 10,000 men, and occupied one or two positions which were capable of being defended against Tyrconnell's army for months. Instead of doing so, however, he was induced by the council to keep his forces scattered, and always in motion, "which method," says the writer, pp. 36, 37, "was the great occasion of our ensuing miseries, for the several petty divisions, despairing of any success from their own strength, never durst encounter the enemy, who always marched in a main body. The first instance of this happened at Loughbrickland, a place within three miles of the Newry, where only a detachment of Sir John Macgill's regiment, and an inconsiderable party of Sir Arthur Rawdon's dragoons were posted, who no sooner heard that Tyrconnell's army had entered the Newry, but they retired in such confusion that the whole country seemed struck with the retreat. The enemy, making the right use of this accident, immediately possessed themselves of Loughbrickland, and soon afterwards advanced towards Drummore, which was garrisoned by 300 Horse and some Foot, under the command of Sir Arthur Rawdon and Mr. W———, who, having notice of their march, posted a detachment of Horse at the 2 mile Bridge, with strict orders to skirmish the enemy's Scouts, and to give what other diversion they could to their main body; but, having engaged too far, several of them were cut off and the rest obliged to a hasty retreat. Sir Arthur Rawdon continued in the town, every minute expecting to be inforced with a considerable supply, but was much surprised to receive the general's orders to retreat to Hilsburgh, which was three miles behind Drummore. This sudden disappointment made him resolve upon his own methods; and instead of retreating to Hilsburgh he marched his men within view of the enemy, whom he discovered to be very numerous, and advancing in great haste, but excellent order, which made Sir Arthur halt, and consulting with his officers what was fit to be done, he found his right wing surrounded, and concluding the enemy designed to hem in his party, they all agreed upon a retreat, and the only doubt that remained was who should be foremost. Lieut. Price and two others, after the retreat of the rest, bravely charged the enemy, and Price having shot Colonel Sheldon's horse, by which he very much endangered his life, was afterwards, by the failure of his own, exposed to the revenge of the Irish. The bold attempt of these three men gave a considerable diversion to the whole army, so that in the pursuit of the Protestant party, which lasted full gallop to Hilsburgh, there were not above twenty men killed; but if the Fort had not put a stop to the Irish career, they certainly had cut off the rest, who under that shelter made good for their escape, some to Coleraine, others to Portaferry, every one steering such a course as he judged farthest from the present danger."

[61] *Scottish Gen[lls]. only.*—Brigadier-general Richard Hamilton who commanded against the protestants of Down and Antrim, although a Roman catholic, was of Scottish descent, being fifth son of sir George Hamilton of Donalong, county Tyrone, who was fourth son of James Hamilton, first earl of Abercorn. This Richard Hamilton had served with great reputation in France, but was banished thence "on account of his unpardonable aspiring addresses to the princess de Conti; daughter of the French king."—*D'Alton's King James's Irish Army List*, 1855, p. 173. "The other expedition," referred to by the author, was that sent by Tyrconnell against the Enniskilleners, which was also commanded by a Scottish general, lord Claud Hamilton, third son of the first earl of Abercorn, and uncle of Richard Hamilton above-mentioned. These, instead of Irish leaders, fortunately commanded the two raids northward, and prevented the cruelties which the latter might have encouraged. Richard Hamilton,—probably because his employers found him too lenient for their purposes—was soon afterwards superseded, and the infamous Frenchman named *Rosen* put into command. This change proved most calamitous to the brave defenders of Derry and their various family connexions scattered over the surrounding country. Rosen had the character of unsparing cruelty whilst commanding against the Huguenots of Languedoc, and James II., a mean, cruel monster himself, now selected this officer as the one most likely to inflict deepest vengeance on his refractory subjects in Ulster. In *Memoirs of Ireland from the Restoration to the Present Times*, 8vo. 1716, pp. 217, 218, we have the following account of Rosen's cruelties:—"This officer immediately put in Practice the Military Execution of the French Papists against the Hugonots; and issued out an Order for all the Protestants of *Inishone* and the Sea-Coasts to *Charlemont*, Men, Women, and Children, to be driven before the Walls of *London-Derry*, that the Garrison might be distressed by the taking them in, or their Friends be destroyed by the Canon of the Besieged. The Words of this French Butcher's Orders are these; *That From the Barony of Inishone, and the Sea-Coasts round about, as far as Charlemont, the Faction, be gatherd togeither, whether Protected or not, and immediately brought to the Walls of London-Derry, where it shall be lawful for those that are in the Town (in case they have any pity for them) to open the gates and receive them into the Town, otherwise they shall be forced to see their Friends, and near Relations all Starved for want of Food; he having resolved not to leave one of them at Home, nor any thing to maintain them; and that all Hope of Succour may be taken away by the Landing of any Troops in those Parts from England, he further Declares, That in case they refuse to submit, he will forthwith cause all the said Country to be destroyd, that if succours should be hereafter sent from England, they may perish with them for want of Food.* Pursuant to this Order, the Dragoons and Soldiers first strippd 'em, and then drove the whole Country for Thirty miles about

other expedition, for thereby the best sort of y^e^ British escaped to Scotl^d^, England, or the Isle of Man.[62]

But before y^e^ s^d^ route, w^ch^ was in few miles of Hillsbrough (the place of our magazine,) Col. James Hamilton, of Bangor,[63] being scarce of arms and ammunition, had dispatched my son (then Cap^t^ of foot) to y^e^ Isle of Man; the errand being for military stores, required haste, he therefore went in a skiff to a friggot there (which stood for K. W^m.^ who was now crowned,) and he came back in it to Belfast Roads, and had the news of the said route (called by y^e^ contry people the breach,) and y^e^ friggot helped many merch^ts^ and others to escape from y^e^ Irish.

The next day I saw his Lo^p^ at B. magown,[64] attended by the owner thereof and Cornet Hodges,[65] and his Lo^p^ missing of a vessell at Donnoghadee (to which place he sent my son's groome to

before them, not sparing Nurses with their sucking children, Women big with Child, nor old Decrepid Creatures: some Women in Labour, some that were just brought to Bed, were driven among the rest. The very Popish Officers who executed these Orders, confessd that it was the most dismal sight they ever had seen, and that the cries of the poor People seemed to be still in their ears. They gatherd 6 or 7000, and kept many of them for a Week together, without Meat or Drink. Several Hundreds died in the Place before they were dismissd, and many more on the Way as they went Home again to their Houses; nor were they better when they came there, for the straggling Soldiers, Raparees, and Pilferers that followed the Army, had left them neither Meat, Drink, Household Stuff, nor Cattle; but had taken away all in their absence, by which means the generality of them perished afterwards for Want, and many were knockd on the head by the Soldiers. The Officers who had the Charge of seeing these Orders executed, were the Duke of Berwick, Colonel Sutherland, and Colonel Sarsfield, for which notable Exploit they ought to be remembrd with Infamy."

[62] *The Isle of Man.*—Among those who fled on that occasion from the county of Down were the earl of Mount-Alexander, Thomas Herrington of Comber, William Herrington, jun., of Comber, John Griffith of Comber, John Magill of Tullycarne, William Magill, son and heir to Captain James Magill, Francis Annesly, jun., of Coughnagherycatt, Alexander Brown of Magannon, Hugh Montgomery of Ballymalady, Charles Campbell of Donaghadee, John Farrell of Dromore, Henry Gardiner of Newry, and Samuel Waring of Waringston.—King's *State of the Protestants*, p. 227.

[63] *Hamilton of Bangor.*—James Hamilton of Bangor was grandson of William Hamilton of Castleboy, Newcastle, or Quintin Castle, in the Ards, and cousin of James Hamilton of Tollimore. In Bangor church is the following inscription:—

"SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF JAMES HAMILTON, OF BANGOR, ESQR., DESCENDED FROM THE FAMILY OF THE LORDS OF CLANDEBOYE; AND SOPHIA MORDAUNT, HIS CONSORT, DAUGHTER TO JOHN LORD VISCOUNT MORDAUNT, AND GRAND-DAUGHTER TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH AND TO THE EARL OF MONMOUTH. THIS MONUMENT, AS AN ACT OF FILIAL PIETY, WAS ERECTED PURSUANT TO THE WILL OF ANNE, THEIR ELDEST DAUGHTER (RELICT OF MICHAEL WARD, ESQR., LATE A JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH IN IRELAND), WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE IN DUBLIN, ON THE 17TH DAY OF MAY, 1760."

[64] *B. magown.*—The residence of Hugh Montgomery, son of Mr. James Montgomery, curate of Newtownards and Greyabbey. Ballymagowan is now Springvale.

[65] *Cornet Hodges.*—Cornet Hodges was probably the Marks Hodges attainted by the parliament of James II., and described in the Act of Attainder as "late of Down." (King's *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, p. 214.) "The ancestors of the Hodges family came to Ireland during the commonwealth. A Thomas Hodges was one of those intrusted by parliament with the government of the garrison of Gloucester. He was a member of the house of commons in 1645, and is stated to have advanced £2,300 for the service upon the credit of the excise. In 1651, Mr. Luke Hodges was appointed by the house one of the commissioners of excise; and lands which were granted by patent, in 1669, in county Kilkenny, to John and Thomas Hodges, were probably in payment of the money advanced by Thomas Hodges. A member of this family appears to have been among the followers of William of Orange at his landing at Torbay, on the 5th November, 1688; for on the walls of the remarkable cavern known as *Kent's Hole*, near which the landing took place, there appears carved the name of W. Hodges of Ireland, 1688. In the State Paper Office there is a list of the soldiers in Ireland in 1672, and at Downpatrick there were colonel Vere Cromwell, captain James Stewart, lieutenant Randall Moore, cornet Mark Hodges, quarter-master."—*Family MS.* Among the Family Papers preserved at Donaghadee is a letter written by the second earl of Mount-Alexander to the bishop of Dromore, respecting a Mr. Hodges, who appears to have been a candidate for the then highly respectable situation of diocesan teacher. The letter is creditable to the writer in more than one respect:—

"Dublin, Feby. 28th, 1705-6.

"My Lord,—Tho' by what your Lordship wrote of Mr. Hodges has put an end to my giving you any farther trouble on his account, yet because I would be rightly understood by your Lordship, and that I have a pleasure in conversing with you, I will, with your leave, answer your letter particularly. I thinke that I did not, by what I saide, make Law and Conscience exclusive one of another; but the violation of your conscience being grounded on the violation of the Law, I concluded that if you did not break into the law, you would not think you did any violence to your conscience. This, as I remember, was what I saide. Now, my lord, if the judges and lawyers are of opinion, and have for many years declared that act relating to natives of Scotland null; and that as many years practice h as confirmed this opinion; then I conclude the point of Law determined, and so must the scrup'e of conscience arising from it.

"Your Lordship seems to be of opinion that only one Act of Parliament can repeal another; I submit to that, but Acts of Parliament grow obsolete, when the ground on which they were made are dissolved and gon. The kingdom of Scotland and England were in

look for one,) he rode towards Porteferry,[66] and from thence sailed next day with S^r^ Rob^t^ Colvill (in a great storm) to y^e^ Isle of Man, where he stayed awhile, and thence went to England,[67] his L^d^ having his young son with him.[68]

opposition to other in the reign of Q Elizabeth, but when King James came to wear the crown of both kingdoms, that so changed the scene, that all the Laws of distinction between the two subjects were naturally void;—but to sett this in a clearer light, if your Lordship will read the 10th Car I., you will finde the Act 12 Eliz. repealed.

"I have not heard yett from Mr. Hodges, nor can I tell how he will account to me for refusing the favore your Lordship did him in the equivalent, for which I shall make a suitable return when it shall be in my power. I am fully persuaded your charity and goodness makes not any distinction of country, and I hope you will thinke the same of me;—and I take leave againe to assure your Lordship it came not into my thought.

"The compassion your Lordship has shewn to the episcopal clergy who came from Scotland is a greate instance of your innate goodness, and I wish they may deserve it.

"The advantage of having one to teach a publick school, who, I thinke, is very well qualified, for it was the chiefest motive I had for giving your Lordship the trouble I did, and by the blessing of God, men's fitness for places, and their virtues shall ever be my reason for recommending.

"I did really, my Lord, thinke I had shown a particular regard to your Lordship, for I looke upon Mr. Hodges to be so very well qualified to keepe schoole, that I did hope the schoole of Dromore would becom famous, and by that the towne would improve.

"I have some conscience, and tho' I can't call it a tender one, because I don't understand the word tender so applied, yett I am sure 'tis an honest one, and has all due regard to the Laws of the Land.

"Mr. Hodges does your Lordship justice, and expresses a greate esteem and honour for your Lordship.—I am, your Lordship's most humble and obedient servt.,

"MOUNT-ALEXANDER.

"Pray, my Lord, pardon my making use of another hand, my eyes being very sore.

"To the Bishop of Dromore."

This bishop was Tobias Pullen, who had been a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and was presented by the crown to the deanery of Ferns, the vicarage of St. Peter's, Drogheda, and the rectories of Louth and Bewley, by letters patent, dated 25th April, 1682. He was appointed bishop of Cloyne, 13th November, 1694; and translated to Dromore, 7th May, 1695. Bishop Pullen expended £470 in building an episcopal house at Magheralin. He died in 1713.—Ware's *Works*, edited by Harris, vol. i., pp. 267—580.

[66] *Towards Porteferry.*—The writer of *A Faithful History of Northern Affairs*, at p. 38, has the following reference to the flight of the earl of Mount-Alexander and James Hamilton of Tollimore:—"The general having declared the town (Hillsborough) not tenable, turned every man over to his own shifts. The soldiers were so much surprised with this sudden opinion, that they would not be induc^d^ to a belief of it till their general left the garrison exposed to the rage of the enemy, and in great haste posted towards Porteferry, where he met with the conveniency of being transported out of all danger. Mr. Hamilton of Tollimore having particularly recommended the care of his regiment to their own conduct, hasted towards Belfast in such a hurry, that he left behind him a portmantue of the publick papers, and £150 of the counties stock, tho' he refused the day before to advance so much money as would have brought the forces together. This, with much more plunder of a considerable value, besides 15 barrels of powder, and a brass field-piece, were left as a prey to the Irish, who have since made use of the papers as a publick testimony against the persons concerned in the Association, upon which has been grounded the corruption of our blood, and forfeiture of our estates. Tho Hamilton of Tollimore had been thus careless of what concern^d^ the Publick, yet he shew^d^ more prudence in the preservation of his private fortune; for, very well knowing what would happen, he engaged his brother the night before the Break of Drummore, to hasten home, and provide against the storm that was then gathering." This James Hamilton of Tollimore had thrust himself unduly and prominently into these important affairs, to the exclusion of a better man, named James Hamilton of Comber. When the latter was about to be appointed by the meeting at Comber to carry the Address of the Northern Protestants to the Prince of Orange, James Hamilton of Tollimore was able to get the arrangement set aside, to the great injury, it was supposed, of the cause he had so zealously affected. The following account of this matter is given by the writer of *A Faithful History of Northern Affairs*, at p. 15:—"Several persons were proposed for this expedition, but none so generally approved of as Mr. Hamilton of Comber, who, besides his other qualifications, had a just pretence to the employment, having been formerly chosen for this service by the vote of the whole county; but Hamilton of Tollimore, fearing, perhaps, that he might by this opportunity forestall his designs, set up Captain Leighton in opposition to his kinsman, and by his interest so far prevailed, that the captain was preferred to this honourable errand. Mr. Hamilton (of Comber) seeing himself thus postponed by the contrivance of his own relative, and the honour conferred on his competitor without the least apology for rejecting him, was so highly sensible of the abuse that he soon afterwards quitted the country." In Mr. J. W. Hanna's account of the *Parish of Killough*, printed in the *Downpatrick Recorder*, there is the following notice of Tollimore's descendants:—"James Hamilton of Tollamore died at London in 1701, when he was succeeded by his son James, advanced to be baron of Claneboye of the second creation, and viscount Limerick in May, 1719, and earl of Clanbrassil in 1756. In May, 1730, lord Limerick re-conveyed Erenagh, &c., to Mr. Southwell, and dying 17th March, 1758, left three children, James, his successor, second lord Clanbrassil; Caroline, who died unmarried; and Anne, married in 1752, to Robert, first earl of Roden, whose grandson, Robert, the third and present earl of Roden, eventually succeeded to the Jocelyn and Hamilton estates."

[67] *Went to England.*—On the earl's going to England, he appears to have stayed for a time in or near Chester, from which he forwarded to London the following letter in justification of his own conduct during the disasters that had befallen the protestants of Ulster. This letter, which is now printed for the first time, has been found among the Family Papers at Donaghadee, in the possession of Daniel De la Cherois, esq.:—

"Mar. y^e^ 17.

"My L^d^,—Our misfortunes in Ireland y^r^ Lo^p^ will heare from all hands, as well as from y^e^ account given by me to L^d^ Hallifax and L^d^ Danby: and least the miscarriage may be laide at my doore, I take y^e^ liberty to give your Lordship a full acc^t^ as well as I can remember from y^e^ beginning; and hope y^r^ Lordship will, if I be censured, say w^t^ y^u^ can for me, since I can't att present have opertunity to tell my owne tale. I neede not trouble y^r^ Lordship w^th^ a rela-

His Lo^p, after a considerable stay at London, in solitudes and sufferings (not getting any relief or imployment,) he returned and came to Mount Alex^r A° 1691, living decently and unconcerned in bussynes, for he came not over till K. W^m. left Ireland.

tione of all y^e arts used by y^e government to make y^e Irish fitt for warr, and to putt it in theire power to distroy the Brittish and Protestants, when they would; nor neede I repeate y^t a massacre was intended, of w^ch I am convinced from many circumstances which made selfe defence necessary, though that I may be as little troublesome to y^r lordship as I can, I will begin with what relates more particularly to myselfe. When, my lord, I thought myselfe too unhappy to live where I was known, and hadd determined to go abroade, severall of the gentlemen of note in y^e country pressed me to stay since y^e country was in dainger, and no man of quality in it but my selfe, on whom they seemed to depend. I urged my incapacity of and many other reasons, but to no purpose; I then desired to know what was designed, to w^ch I was answer^d that since the king had deserted us, and left us wholly in y^e power of our enemies, itt was reasonable for us to putt our selves in a posture to defend us from y^e violence and rapine committed in other provinces. This was reasonable, but then I saw no money, armes, nor amunition, and y^e first being wanting, men could not be subsisted, kept together, brought to obedience, or putt in a posture of defence; all this I foresaw and urged (but the Protestants in Dublin and other parts of y^e kingdom depending upon our numbers and assistance were arguments still for doing all we could); besides that we could expect no favoure from our enemys. The people att y^s time every where seemed forward to defend themselves, to w^ch the frequent stealths and robberys encouraged them. Yett when itt came to the push, they in y^s part where I lived, drew back, and what armes they had they heald, and would not inlist themselves. Our Councills were betrayed, and nothing was a secrett but who did it. I was always of y^e Generall Councill for y^e publick safety, w^ch was composed of one from each county w^ch joyned with us. But here a faction was made, and my opinion was but single and over-ruled. The gentlemen of y^e country were divided, and oposed each other, and many petty factions were made, for all would command, and most of my time was imployed to compose and unite, but 'twas ineffectuall. This still engaged me in new difficulty, and y^e greate matter of forming Troopes was obstructed. Sir Ar. Rawdon, who was hott and forward, spoke greately of y^e numbers they had rais^d, but I cou^d never see a Roll of them, and when it came to y^e test, not above 300 appeared where 1000 was expected; all art was used to conceal this from mee, and from w^t is past I may conclude that my countenance was all aimed att, and few cared how I was exposed to share y^e folly as well as fate of my country, both which it was now too late to prevent. I am afraide that some among us persued theire private interests more than y^e publick, whose interests now at Court may take off any reflection from y^m, and fix it on me, whose caracter is more publick, and am without friends. What ever vaine or rash attempts have been made, y^r lordship may conclude was carried by vote against me, soe that, if all be endeavoured to be laide at my doore, it will be very hard. When y^e country was grown flatt and secure by my L^d Tyrconnell's Proclamation, and I saw little could be done in my part of y^e country, there came a letter from Lord Kingston intimating that my L^d Granard had writt to him, to treate w^th him by Commission from y^e Deputys, to which his Lordship wou'd give no answer till he heard from us in y^e North; this still continued our proceedings, w^ch and the constant assurance we had of an army ready to come to us y^e first faire winde from England, w^ch, when the people saw delay^d, they were mightily discouraged. [That I may be as short as possible, my lord, nothing tooke place among us, but what was violent and rash.] All correspondence was taken away; Newry, which is an islett to our province, seized by the enemy, and a strong garrison putt into it. Charlemont in y^e centre also secured; and Carrickfergus behind us; and in each of these was 1500 or 2000 men; so that what men we had cou'd not be brought together in a body, being necessitated to attend the motion of these garrisons. The Commissioners came not to us till a few days before y^e army was come to Newry and Loughbrickland, w^ch is 8 miles from Dromore, where a small party of our horse and foott lay. My Commission being only for Colonell, my orders were then disputed, though y^e countys of Down, Antrim, and Ardmagh had reached before on me to command in chiefe. To instance particularly, when I had ordered those at Dromore to retire to Hillsborough, Sir Arthur Rawdon burnt y^e order and exposed 300 men in an open village to y^e army which could surround y^m as they pleased, w^ch the next day they did, and putt y^m to flight; the first news I heard was of our being beaten, persued to within half a mile of Hillsborrow, where I was; upon which I mounted with about sixty horse and in the Fort about 100 foott. Before I could march, y^e enemy was near y^e towne, and our men flying in crowds down y^e street; I stopp^d what I cou'd, and made shift to draw up about 100 horse in y^e towne, but as I went to give orders, or sent any officers, y^e men slipped away, and y^e officers told me it was in vaine to expect they wou^d stand a charge, for there appear^d seven troopes of the enemy's horse. The night or two before, 3 troopes of my Regiment deserted; S^r J^oh Magill's Regiment totally gon. The men in Belfast and Lisburne wou'd not move thence, nor obey their officers. S^r William Franklin and the most considerable in Belfast fledd into England, and I was informed both these towns intended to capitulate. The inhabitants of y^e townes every where as well as of y^e countres fledd daily w^th w^t goods and provisions they could carry, and now every one inclining to defend his owne. The matter being thus, it was now time to shifte for my selfe, having neither men nor money to carry with me to Derry. So I gott home, and all the stock I cou'd make was tenn pounds, and as much as I have borrowed since. This is the truth of the whole matter, which I thought best to lay nakedly before you. Now, my L^d, I must acquaint you, that Mr. Hamilton of Tullymore, who married L^d Mordant's sister, was the first man apeared in all this affaire, and carried it on his owne way; and because it has been unsuccessful, will, perhaps, lay it on me. If your Lordship finde it so, I hope you will do me all y^e kindness you can. I name him to y^u that y^r lordship may know; and as you finde him my friend, make use of him, or prevent his injuring me; but this I must leave to y^r Lordship's prudence, for, if nobody endeavours to accuse me, I will charge nobody, and only to your Lordship would name persons. It was greate chance that I escaped to this place, where, by cross winds, I have been kept; and my letters, which I intended should have been in London to give y^u acc^t of our affaires (whilst I stay^d privately near Chester till I heard from y^r lordship), are not gon; so that I am to ly under y^e hazard of w^t other men will say, either in justice, prejudice, or for theire owne interest. My poore boy is here, with S^r Robert Colvill, his lady and children, till I know y^r lordship's pleasure; for nothing is left me in Ireland, but all taken away."

The original is without signature or address, and bears evidence, by numerous erasures, that it was the rough draft of the earl's letter to his friend. It is, however, a valuable document, correcting some mistakes and contradicting certain statements then popularly received. The Presbyterian ministers, who were too late in offering their advice at Hillsborough on the 14th March, (for on that very day Tyrconnell's army swept through the district on its way to Derry), spoke of many in their several districts as only waiting an opportunity to venture their lives for William and Mary, and for religion, but the earl testifies that when "it came to the push," the people "in ys part where I lived"—*i.e.*, in the Ards, where the population was almost exclusively Presbyterian—"drew back, and what armes they had they held, and wou'd not inlist themselves." The writer of *A Faithful History of Northern Affairs* has blamed Mount-Alexander for neglecting to concentrate his forces on the approach of the enemy, but the earl has explained in the foregoing letter that his troops required to watch the movements of the garrisons held by the enemy, particularly at Charlemont and Carrickfergus. The earl's allusion to James Hamilton of Tollymore, corroborates the opinion of that gentleman, to wit, that he was pre-eminently slippery and unscrupulous. The author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* represents the earl as landing in the Isle of Man, where he could have remained only a very brief period, as he was in the neighbourhood of Chester on the 17th of March.

[63] *Son with him.*—This son did not long survive the events related in the text. Among the family portraits

After y^e^ hurry of warr was past, his Lo^p^ not being in condition (or otherwise hindred) to goe into England, he employed friends there to sollicit in his behalf, but no fruits followed his labours. His Lo^p's^ pretences at Court not succeeding, either thro y^e^ K^s^ frequent goeing beyond our seas, or thro his agents, or his pretended courtier friends, their insincerity (as to seasonable watchings and applications for him,) or for want of money to grease their palmes, for that regina pecunia ruled much at Court, and deficiente pecunia deficit omne,[69] and this of what was said of Octavius Augustus' Court, viz.

dat census honores;
Census amicitias; pauper ubique[70] jacet.

And also remembers me of another saying,

Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat,
Res angusta domi.[71]

Which I English thus—

Not easily scapes hee drowning, whose home straits
His person (in his swimming) obviates.

And his Lo^p's^ case was such at this time, having expended his stock for y^e^ publiq, and there was no faith nor consideration in the Israel of mony mongers for his Lo^p^, notwithstanding his many former proofes given of honor and honesty.

King W^m.^ had been divers campaignes abroade and his thoughts greatly taken up by the warrs in Flanders; also England was a while governed by his loving Queen and Council, and after her death, by a Committee of y^e^ Nobility (called y^e^ Lords Justices of England,) and our solitary suffering Earle was not minded (as to his preferm^t^) by them, tho applyd to, and so his Lo^p^ continued unregarded (as one dead) till it came to pass that his merits and zealous abilitys shined forth, thro that dark cloud of forgetfulness or willing obscurity.

The time and opportunity of his Lo^p's^ appearance (which shewed what capacity he had) was in y^e^ Parliam^ts^ under Sydneys[72] and Capels[73] governm^ts^, then the learned Clergy and whole number of

in possession of Daniel De La Cherois, esq., of Donaghadee, there is a beautifully executed oil painting by Lilly of a boy about twelve years of age. According to family tradition, this painting was made only a short time before the boy's death, and whilst he was suffering from fatal injuries received by a fall off his pony. The portrait represents the youthful form as indicating extreme debility, yet with such a manly and serious expression of face that the beholder may well imagine the poor little fellow reconciled to his lot. The original was, very probably, the son of the second earl referred to in the text. Family tradition represents him as a son of the third earl, but the latter had two sons, Hugh and Thomas, who became successively the fourth and fifth earls. Another son, however, may have died in boyhood, as the author speaks of these two, with a sister, as the only issue of their parents "now surviving."

[69] *Deficit omne.*—See Horace, *Epistolæ*, Lib. I., Epist. VI., 7 *et seq.*

[70] *Pauper ubique.*—See Ovid, *Fastorum*, Lib. I., 217, 218.

[71] *Angusta domi.*—See Juvenal, *Sat.* III., 162. A simpler translation than that supplied by the author in the text would be—"slow rises worth by poverty depressed."

[72] *Sidney's.*—This was Henry Sydney, born 1641, fourth son of Robert, earl of Leicester. He was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland on the 28th of March, 1692, and landed at Dublin on the 5th of the following August. There had been no parliament in Ireland for the space of twenty-six years prior to Sydney's arrival, except the unacknowledged assembly, held as such, for James II. Sydney, on his coming, forthwith summoned a parliament to raise supplies for the discharge of debts contracted during the war. This step soon led to consequences which rendered him unpopular, and he was recalled in November, 1693.

[73] *Capel's.*—Henry, lord Capel, baron Tewksbury, was associated with sir Cyril Wyche and Mr. Duncombe, as lords justices for the government of Ireland, on the recall of Sydney. Capel's zeal for the interest of English settlers soon enabled him to displace the others, and he was ap-

laick Lords and those of the long robe, who sate in y^e^ upper House of Parliam^t^ with his Lo^p^ soon found (as those of y^e^ Comons House, y^e^ martiallists, k^nts^ gentry, and burgesses, had heard proofes of his Lo^ps^ abilitys to save his K. and contry,) giving wonderfull speedy deferences to his person, and due approbations to his speeches; their esteem was seen in their printed resolves;[74] and their value of him was not misplaced, for he was no bon nor frequenter of taverns, or coffy houses, but more retired and grave.

But Sidney was resolved, and had no kindness for any that would not consent to his opinion about the sole right of raising mony off the subjects without their leave,[75] and Capel (his Lo^ps^ professed friend) died;[76] so he had new acquaintances to make with the succeeding Governors,[77] who a last came to take full notice of his Lo^ps^ merits and sufferings.

The peace with France being concluded, and y^e^ K. returned to England, his Lo^p^ was called to sitt at Council board, and com^n^ was sent for his being Governor of the county of Down, wherein he lived. And Wolseley[78] many months dead, his place, as M^r^ of y^e^ Ordinance, was reserved, and his Lo^p^ (without his own importunate industry) was so effectually made appeare to K. W^m^, that his Ma^ty^ found (now) y^e^ oppertunity (w^ch^ he had wayted and wished for) to shew (at first step of his bounty) the esteem and favour he had kept for his Lo^p^, the hon^ble^ place and great trust of y^e^ Mastership of all y^e^ Ordinance and Military Stores in Ireland;[79] wherein I leave his Lo^p^ for a while, designing to write breifly and no further of him, nor of any other Montgomery of this kingdom, than till 1699, save of one or two familys, whereof y^e^ notices are but lately come to my hand; only I may here incert, that before the transcription hereof and of what follows, I am told that his Lo^p^ is made a Brigadier in the army, and that thereby he is intituled (and also promised) to have

pointed lord lieutenant in 1695. He, in fact, studied the wishes of the English government, and eagerly opposed the claims of the Irish under the Treaty of Limerick.

[74] *Printed resolves.*—From the delivering of his writ in the house of lords, on the 5th of October, 1692, the earl of Mount-Alexander was a leading and most indefatigable member. He was appointed on all the important committees of the house, and appears to have been most regular in his attendance at every sitting. See *Journals of the Irish House of Lords*, vols. i. and ii.

[75] *Without their leave.*—The Irish house of commons considered that they had the indisputable right to determine the sum to be raised as supplies, and also the manner of raising every supply granted to the crown. In violation of this privilege, two money-bills, which had not originated with them, were transmitted from England and laid by Sydney before the house. To resent this encroachment on their privileges they rejected one of them, and from the extreme urgency of the case alone consented to pass the other, but not without having entered very strong resolutions on their journals (21st October, 1692) in support of their rights. Sydney, enraged at their conduct, prorogued the parliament, and made a furious speech, which rendered him so unpopular that the government found it prudent to recall him.

[76] *Capel died.*—During Capel's illness the government was conducted by viscount Blessington and colonel William Wolsley, who were appointed by patent dated May 16, 1696.

[77] *Succeeding governors.*—These were the duke of Ormond, grandson of the first duke, who was appointed lord lieutenant in 1703; the earl of Pembroke, appointed in 1707; the earl of Wharton, appointed in 1709; the duke of Shrewsbury, appointed 1713, and retaining office until 1717.

[78] *Wolseley.*—Colonel William Wolseley, a member of the very ancient and highly respectable Staffordshire family of that name. He greatly distinguished himself as a military officer at Enniskillen, and other places in Ulster, during the revolutionary struggle. At the battle of the Boyne he commanded the Enniskillen men, whose gallantry was supposed mainly to decide the fate of that memorable day. In honour of their exertions, William III. advanced Wolseley to the rank of a brigadier, and also to the command of a regiment of horse, consisting of twelve troops of 1,000 men. Wolseley was soon afterwards appointed master of the ordnance, a privy councillor, and one of the lords justices of Ireland, with lord Blessington, during the illness of lord Capel, the lord lieutenant. He died unmarried in the year 1697.

[79] *Stores in Ireland.*—His first appointment to this office was by privy seal, dated Kensington, Dec. 22, 1698—Patent dated Dublin, Jan. 5, 1698. His appointment continued by privy seal, St. James's, June 27, 1702—Patent dated Dublin, August 13, 1702.—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. i., part ii., p. 103.

a regim[t] of foot, when any falls to want a comander, by y[e] death or other removeall of a Col.[80] These being the beginnings of good aspects towards all our surname, shineing on them, in the person of his Lo[p] (the cheif of that nation or tribe in Irel[d].)

[80] *Removeall of a Col.*—The earl was very much disappointed and disgusted by the neglect of the goverment in connexion with this matter. The following statement drawn up by him on the subject was found among the family papers at Donaghadee:—"In the year 1698—9, the late King William of glorious memory was pleased to make me Mr. of the Ordnance in this Kingdom in consideration of some services which Hee knew I had don him, and appointed me a Brigadier the 14th of July, 1699, but I was not placed on the establishment, it being then full. In the year 1701, when new levys were to be, his Majty. was pleased to give me a Regiment, but was prevailed on after he left London to go to Holland, to dispose of it otherwise. When any regiment fell or new levys were to be made I constantly made application for one, yet was alwaies unsuccessful, and was continued the single instance in Europe of a Mr. of Ordnance who had no Regiment. When Sr. Jon. Hanmer dyed, I was then eldest Brigadier, and made my application to the Lord Lieutenant, to be placed on the establishment, but a Coll. was advanced to be Brigadier and placed on the establishment, tho' at that time I was in the Government. I had the honour to serve in the Government thrice, but never had any allowance for equipage as others had, which put me in debt. I was three years one of the Lords Commissioners of the Greate Seale in the absence of Mr. Methuen, which obliged me to a constant attendance in Dublin and to keep a Family in town as well as in the country, which was very expensive to me, and I had no sort of allowance or reward for that service. In the year 1703–4 when I was in the Government, a new establishment came over, and in that part of it which related to the Ordnance there was an order from Her Majesty by which my authority as Master was intirely taken out of my hands. I suffered this for a time, in hopes to have retrievd it, but I found it was in vaine, and that new hardships were dayly put upon me which made me quitt that honble Post, and content myselfe with a Pension of £500 per annum, which at present is placed on the Tres. Fees. I further beg leave to inform your Excellency that my family suffered very much in the Warres of forty one. My father sold a considerable estate in Scotland for the support of the King's Army, and so incumbered his estate in Ireland that I have been forcd. to sell two thirds of what he left me, and am yet considerably in debt on account. I do humbly pray your Excellency to represent my unhappy circumstances to Her Majty and recommend me to Her favore so as that something may be don to relieve mee, who have faithfully served, and shall alwaies be ready to give the best instance, in my power of my duty and zeale for her Maties service." The writer, the second earl, was one of three, on three different occasions, appointed to administer the supreme government of Ireland. In 1701, he was associated in this important trust with Narcissus, archbishop of Dublin, and Henry Moore, earl of Drogheda. In 1702, he held this office in conjunction with Thomas Erle, major-general, and Thomas Keightly, commissioner of the revenue. And in 1703, his associates were sir Richard Cox, and Thomas Erle.—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. i., part ii., p. 10.

CHAPTER XVI.

AND now, also, before I conclude with his Lo^p I will make another interjection, by writing a few lines of his brother, the Hon^ble Henery Montgomery,[1] of Rogerstown, near Dublin. This Henery was born at Mellifont, in A° 1656, and so named from his godfather unkle,[2] ye Earle of Drogheda. He is of a sweet temper and disposition, affable, curteous and complacent.[3] He hath to wife, Mary Saint Lawrence,[4] eldest daughter of W^m late L^d Baron of

[1] *Henry Montgomery.*—See p. 260, *supra*. This gentleman became third earl of Mount-Alexander on the death of his elder brother Hugh, the second earl, in 1716.

[2] *Godfather unkle.*—Henry Moore, first earl of Drogheda.

[3] *Curteous and complacent.*—An oil painting of Henry Montgomery by Lilly, among the family portraits in the possession of Daniel De la Cherois, esq., of Donaghadee, impresses one with the same idea of the amiability and benevolence of the original, as here expressed by the author. He appears to have been a kind-hearted and excellent man in all the relations of life. On succeeding to the earldom in 1716, he came to reside at Mount-Alexander, the family mansion in the vicinity of Comber, having previously lived at Rogerstown, near Dublin. His younger son, the hon. Thomas Montgomery, married in 1725, and continued with his excellent wife, Mary Angelica De la Cherois, to live with the old gentleman at Mount-Alexander—no bad illustration of the truth of the author's account of Henry Montgomery in the text. During the year 1729, the son required to attend to important business matters in Dublin, and his letters to his father, whilst there, are very creditable to both. Writing on the 18th of July, Thomas Montgomery commences his letter as follows:—"I was favored with y^r Lordsps. of the 14th Instant and you have given soe many proofs of y^r tender affection of conducing to our ease that wee should be the most ungratefull creatures if wee should thinke otherwise than what your Lord^p writes to mee." On the 23rd of September, he says:—"The Pleasure of receiving yo^r Lordsps letter last monday gives me a new reviving spirit in my confinement here in this towne, which to me is much more dismal than a real confinement having not the pleasure of seeing pure nature in its lustre, namely, the green fields, and the full satisfaction of your Lordsps company, the wanting of which is the greatest regret to me imaginable, not only considering the filiall deuty I am by nature obliged to, but the many other tyes you have obliged me in." On the 9th of December following, he writes to his father thus:—"I was favored w^th y^r Lordsps by last post and must allways owne you the best and most indulgent fathers in the whole Universe." Interspersed with such expressions of confidence and affection there are many references in these letters to other matters which, although of trifling moment, are not without interest. Thus, on the 27th of March, the writer says:—"Noe body in the world is more uneasy than I am for not being att home. I hope soon to be home, and make myself very easy." On May 3:—"Most of the things at Rogerstowne are disposed of except the Clock, which is very much undervalued, noe body would give more for it than three guineas, soe thinks proper to send it home to Mt. Alexander." On July 15:—"I have had a letter from Ducker, wherein he tells me he has discovered a Copper mine and has tryed some of the ore, and he informs me it is as good Copper as ever was seen, but how true this is I cannot affirm, I design writing down this post to know the certainty of it from Donaghadee." On the 18th July he writes:—"The Clover must be cutt and made very carefully up. Dictionarium Rusticum can direct y^r Lordsp how to use it. I have had a letter from William Johnston with his former promisses, to make me easy, I design answering it by this post w^ch I believe he will not very much like." July 24:—"I hope wee shall have good weather to make up the Clover. My Lord Dungannon sets out for the North on Sunday next, and I am informed designs waiting on you. My head is soe full of a copper mine and the extracting the gold from it that I am in a strange confusion." On the 25th August:—"I gave your Lordsp an account in my last letter that Capt^n Montgomery of Rosemount had taken the Tythes of the parish of Donaghadee, I have been very busy these three days past looking into the Records to find out whether the Primate has any right to them or not and am in some doubt how clear he can shew his title, as to the presentation of the living of Donaghadee he has none, the retail of all the Schearches I have made in the Rools (Rolls) office would be too tedious." On the 25th September:—"I am glad that all things below are safe. My Lady Antrim was safely delivered last Tuesday of a fine boy, to the great pleasure of Mr. Magill." (This lady was Rachel Clotworthy, who married as her first husband the fourth earl of Antrim, and after his death became the wife of John Hawkins Magill, esq.) On the 7th December:—"'Tis hard for me to know what sort of Bullocks Lawnies can bee, if he had sent you word what the price of them were and what size, I could have given a more particular guess what to write to your Lordsp about them, I doe not propose paying for them Immediately nor in less than four months after delivery, w^ch if Lawnie likes you may send to see what sort of cattle they are, and one may easy judge whether he asks too dear for them or not."—*MS. Letters preserved at Donaghadee.*

[4] *Mary St. Lawrence.*—Eldest daughter of William, twenty-fourth baron Howth, and Elizabeth, widow of

Howth, A° 1672, and a great portion (3000 Lib) was due, w^ch he rec^d by gales in ten yeares, taking but y^e interest for y^e principall. It seems he was as little covetous or carefull, and almost as much affectionat to his wives family (w^ch needed not) as my self was compassionate to y^e 2^d Earles deplorable circumstances, in the like case of portion; onely his wisdom exceeded mine, in that he had his whole sum payd as afors^d, wheras I took but y^e half due to me (and from our marriage in 1660 to 1674, was not fully paid that mony) without interest required for want therof.[5]

He built a faire house and made improvements at Rogerstown, his brother Houth's lands, within a mile of Lusk (w^ch the contry people call y^e yolk of Fingale)[6] and laid out therein 1500 Lib.

colonel Fitzwilliam. The marriage of Mary St. Lawrence and the hon. Henry Montgomery took place in 1672. This lady died suddenly, whilst at dinner, on the 26th August, 1705, eleven years prior to her husband's succession to the earldom.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 203. There is a fine oil painting of this lady, by Lilly, among the family portraits in the possession of Daniel De la Cherois, esq., of Donaghadee.

[5] *For want thereof.*—The following Release from the author to the first earl was found among the Family Papers preserved at Donaghadee. It is a document quite characteristic of the writer :—

"To all Christian people to whom those Presents shall come to be read, greeting in our Lord God everlasting. Wheras I, William Montgomery, in the county of Down, Esq., did of my love and affection to the right Honoble Hugh, now Earle of Mount-Alexander, compound with his Lordship's Commissioners (appointed to manage his affaires) for and concerning a marriage portion due unto mee in right of y^e Honoble Elizabeth Montgomery, his Lordship's Aunt, my wife, as also for and concerning severall summes of money layd out by mee in the Exchequ^r in part payment of the subsidys or rents due to his Matie out of the said Earle's estate: And wheras also on account and reconing with the said Earle for the remainder of the said marriage portion, and other the moneys compounded for as aforesaid, in consideration of my love and affection continued to his Lordship, I have accepted of and agreed to receave the summ of three hundred pounds sterlg., to be payd to me in hand, for which I have now received Bill on Robert Colvill, of Mount Colvill, in the county of Antrim, Esq.,: Therefore bee it known unto all men by theis presents, that I, the said William Montgomery, have remissed, released, and altogether for mee, my heirs, executors, and administrators, forever by theis presents acquited, discharged, and quite claymed unto the said Earle, his heirs, executors, and administrators, all, and all manner of actiones, as well reall as personall, suites, bills, bonds, obligationes, acts, reconings, strifes, debates, controversys, trespasses, claims, and demands whatsoever, whether in law or equity, which against the said Earle I ever had, now have, or at any tyme hereafter shall or may have, for or by reason, colour, or means, of y^e said marriage portion and money layd out as aforesaid: And the said William for mee, my heirs, &c., doe hereby covenant, grant, and agree to and with the said Earle and his heirs, that if his or their learned councell in y^e Laws shall judge the above discharge unsufficient in law, and that the same shall happen soe to be, then and in that case one or other acquittance, release, or discharge shall be sufficiently perfected by mee, the said William, my heirs, or executors, to y^e effect above written, by his or their signing or sealing and delivering thereof, as myn or their act and deeds when the same be reasonably drawn and tendered by y^e said Earle, his heirs, executors, or administrators. In witness whereof, I the said William have hereunto putt my hand and seale this third day of September, A°. dni. dei 1675.

"WILL. MONTGOMERY.

"Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us whose names ensue,

"PAT MONTGOMERIE.
"D. CAMPBELL.
"JAMES KENNEDY.
"JO. FFRANCKS."

[6] *Yolk of Fingale.*—The following account of this locality is kindly supplied by the Rev. Dr. Reeves:—"Rogerstown is a townland of 345 acres and a half, in the parish of Lusk, lying on the north bank of, and giving name to, the estuary called Rogerstown harbour, or bay, across which the Dublin and Drogheda railway runs on an embankment and bridge. It is the estuary you cross going southwards before you reach the Malahide one. Rogerstown is held by Lord Howth, under the see of Dublin. It is in sheet 8 of the ordnance survey of the county of Dublin. The old name *Villa Rogeri* is of frequent occurrence in ancient records. It is derived from some Anglo-Norman occupant soon after the English invasion. The adjoining townland, now called Whitestown, but formerly, and more correctly, Knightstown (being in early documents *Villa Militis*), has an old chapel and cemetery, with a holy well adjacent, dedicated to St. Maur, the favourite of the Norman heroes (whose day is Jan. 15). Rogerstown harbour served as the most ready port for Lusk and the interior. And still there is a small quay and store there, from which all the coal that is used in the parish is supplied. Hamilton Rowan, the refugee of '98, lay hid in Rogerstown for three days, awaiting his opportunity of getting off in an open boat, which, luckily for himself, he effected. In 1355, Johannes Holywood de Rogerestoun (recitans quod Johannes archiepiscopus Dublinensis, nuper in curia Regis coram justiciario Hibernie, recuperavit versus ipsum portum de Rogerestoun qui vocatur Rogereshaven, ut parcellam manorii sui de Swerdes) remittit dicto archiepiscopo et ecclesie sue pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum, totum jus et clameum que habet in dicto portu.—*Calendar. Rot. Cancell. Hib.*, vol. i., p. 56 *b*. As to the name 'Yolk of Fingale,' I may mention that Fingal is the maritime part of the county of Dublin, extending from the nothern bound of the county, *i.e.*, the Delvin river, to Clontarf; and Lusk parish is an important portion of it, the inhabitants calling themselves *Fingallians*. Rogerstown is a very rich and fruitful townland, whose lands let at £4 an acre; and it may be that as the yolk is the richest part of the egg, so Rogerstown was regarded as the tit-bit of the country. The unexpired term of the lease of the townland was sold in the Encumbered Estates Court about ten years ago, when a Mr. Wakefield purchased it, and he has let the townland in two lots—one of which, consisting of 100 acres of the poorest portion, was taken on a lease by a Mr. Deane at £3 an acre; the rest was let even higher. There is a good dwelling-house on it, built by Mr. Seaver, the lessee under Lord Howth; and about the house there are remains of old hedges, &c.,

He hath lived hitherto without publiq imploym^t^ saving his being a Justice of y^e^ Peace in the county of Downe, when he dwelt therein.[7]

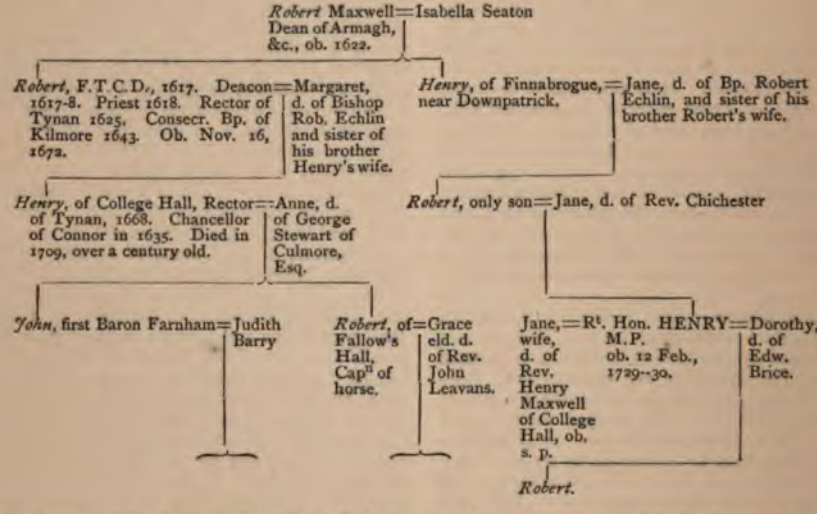
which indicate a good old occupation. There is a small townland in the parish of Lusk, very near Rogerstown, which belongs to a family of the name of Montgomery—it is called Raheny." Fingall, or Fine Gall, denotes the 'district of the strangers,' or Danes, and English settlers were planted in it, probably soon after the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. "According to O'Sullivan (*Hist. Cath.*, p. 35), the Fingallian was a compound of English and Irish. Sir Wm. Petty states that, in his day (1672), it was neither English, Irish, Welsh, nor Wexfordian."—*Pol. Anat.*, p. 371, Dublin, 1769. But, according to Stanihurst, who was a better judge, both in Wexford and Fingall, "the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer Anglish were kept—thus, they named a 'spider' an *attercop;* a 'wisp' a *wad;* a 'lump of bread' a *pocket*, or a *pucket;* a 'sillibucke' a *coprous;* a 'fagot' a *blaze;* a 'physician' a *leech;* a 'gap' a *shard;* a 'household' a *meanie;* a 'dunghill' a *mizen;* &c."—*Cambrensis Eversus*, edited, with translation and notes, by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, vol. i., p. 188, note *n*. To the above list might probably be added the old English word *yolk*, which, if used in reference to the district, would mean fatness. It is used in Northamptonshire, at this day, to denote the oiliness or greasiness of wool. See Baker's *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words and Phrases.* It is also used in the same sense throughout Ulster, being generally pronounced Yŏk. Or, the word may have been originally applied as descriptive of the yolk-like shape of some hill or headland in the district. In Scottish parlance, 'yolks' are those round, opaque crystallizations which are formed in window glass, in consequence of its being too slowly cooled, and which are, doubtless, so called from their resemblance to the yolk of an egg. As to the probable meaning of the term in the text, however, we prefer the suggestion of Dr. Reeves.

[7] *When he dwelt therein.*—Earl Henry's will is dated 9th August, 1725, the year in which his son, Thomas, was married, and it was intended to facilitate the arrangements for that event. The following are extracts from it:—"If I happen to Dye in Dublin, or in the County of Dublin, it is my Will that I be Buryed decently and Privately in the Parish Church of Houth; or If I dye in the County of Down, then to be Buryed by my ancestors. Having made ample and sufficient provision for my said Eldest son, Hugh, Lord Ards, commonly called Lord Montgomery, by Deeds Indented bearing date the Twenty ninth day of September, One Thousand Seven hundred and Eighteen, made between me, the said Henry Earl of Mountalexander, and my said second son Thomas Montgomery of the one Part, and my said Eldest son Hugh, Lord Montgomery, of the other Part, as by the said Deed Relation thereunto had may more fully appear. *Item*, I give and Bequeath to my said second son Thomas Montgomery the debt of Nine hundred Ninety Seven Pounds Ten Shillings, due to me from Thomas, Lord Baron of Houth, by Bond dated the Tenth day of December, One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and two, and all the Interest due thereon, my said son Thomas allowing to the said Lord of Houth all the money his Lordship paid me on account of the said Debt, And the rent of the land of Rogerstown, in the county of Dublin, that shall at my death appear due from me to the said Lord of Houth. *Item*, I the said Henry, Earl of Mountalexander, by virtue of a Tripartite Deed Indented of Release dated the second day of August, One thousand seven hundred and eighteen, made between Jane Meredyth of Mountalexander, in the county of Down, spinster, of the first Part, and me the said Henry, Earl of Mountalexander, and my said Eldest son Hugh, Lord Montgomery, and my second son Thomas Montgomery, Esqr., of the second Part, and Charles Campbell of the city of Dublin, Esqr., of the third Part (upon payment of the sum of Four Thousand Four Hundred and Eighty Pounds, and on the payment of such other sums of money and the Interest thereof as the said Charles Campbell shall lay out and advance on account of or for payment of the debts due by my brother Hugh, late Earl of Mountalexander, deceased, at the time of his death), am Entituled to the Reversion and Remainder of the Towns and Lands of Lissara, Crossgarr, and Lisnamara, and all other the lands of Inheritance in the parish of Killmore, that did belong to my said Brother Hugh, late Earl of Mountalexander, at the time of his death, and to the Towns and Lands of Ballyhays, Ballymoney, and Carneyhill, in the Parish of Donaghadee, and to the House and Demesnes of Mountalexander, containing by comon estimation Two Hundred and Twenty acres or thereabounts (be the same more or less), and to a chief rent of Four Pounds per annum, Issuing and Payable Yearly out of the lands of Cherrivally, with Horse Cource in the said lands of Cherrivally, in the parish of Cumber, and to the Tythes ariseing and renewing in the said Lands, all scituate, lying, and being in the Parishes of Killmore, Donaghadee, and Cumber, in the County of Down; And by the said Tripartite Deed of Release I am also entituled to a moyety of some Lands and Tythes which my said Brother Hugh, late Earl of Mountalexander, held by Lease from the Bishop of Down and Connor, in the Parish of Killimore, and to a moyety of the Four Score acres of Land adjoyning to the Demesnes of Mountalexander, held by Lease from Mr. Ross, likewise scituate, lying, and being in the County of Down, and Likewise Entituled to a Debt of Thirteen Hundred Ninety Eight Pounds Nine Shillings and Ten pence, due by my said Brother Hugh, late Earl of Mountalexander, to the said Jane Meredyth, by Bond dated the Thirteenth Day of November, One Thousand Seven hundred and nine, and to the further sum of Three Hundred and Ninety Pounds, due from the said late Earl to the said Jane Meredyth on the Ballance of her account with him (to which my said Brother Hugh made his estate Subject and Lyable), as by the said Tripartite Deed Indenture of Release may more fully appear. *Item*, My Will is and I devise and Bequeath unto my said youngest son, Thomas Montgomery, for and during the term of his naturall life, all the said Towns and Lands of Lissara, &c., &c. [the abovenamed properties recited], subject nevertheless to the Payment of the said Sum of Four Thousand Four Hundred and Eighty Pounds to the said Charles Campbell, and to such other sums as the said Charles Campbell shall advance or lend on my account or on the account of or for the Payment of the said late Earl of

The Earle (his brother) gave him lands for his portion, near Newtown in the great Ardes, which he sold to Mr. Ro[t] Maxwell,[8] and he to Sir Rob[t] Colvil for 3000 Lib (double the portion left

Mountalexander's Debts, and also subject to the Payment of all the Just Debts that I shall owe at the time of my Decease, and to my Funeral Charges, and to the Annuity of Twelve Pounds hereinafter mentioned. . . . . I further devise and Bequeath to my said youngest son Thomas Montgomery all my Stock of Cattle of any sort or kind soever, and all my Plate and Household Goods of any sort soever, and all my corn that shall at my Death be in or out of the ground to dispose thereof as he shall think fitt. . . . . *Item*, Whereas my neece Jane Montgomery hath now a suit depending for the Recovery of the benefitt of a Mortgage made to her father, James Montgomery, Esqr., deceased, by Hugh Riley, late of Ballinlogh in the County of Meath, Gent., Deceased, for Two Hundred Pounds and Interest, It is my Will that if my said neece, Jane Montgomery, shall not before my Decease or within Twelve Calendar months next after my Decease, Recover the full benefitt of the said Mortgage, In such case I devise to the said Jane one Annuity or Yearly Rent Charge of Twelve Pounds ster., to be issuing out of all my said Real or Personal Estate, free and clear without any Deductions or abatement for Taxes, every year during the naturall Life of my said son, Thomas Montgomery." The latter was appointed sole executor by his father, the earl's "very good friends, Valentine Jones of Lisburn and County of Antrim, Esqr., and Patrick Hamilton of Cumber and County of Down, Clerk," being 'overseers.' This Will was "Signed, Sealed, and Published in Presence of James Hamilton, Patt: Hamilton, Wm. M'Gowan."—*MS. preserved at Donaghadee.* Earl Henry made a second Will, dated 21st October, 1731, confirming all the above-mentioned bequests, and leaving his elder son, Hugh, who inherited the estate, the sum of £20 in lieu of all legacies and demands.

[8] *Mr. Robert Maxwell.*—The lands sold by Henry Montgomery to Mr. Maxwell were those of Rafry, Aughendaragh, Ravara, Ballycloghan, and Creevy. The following table of this Mr. Maxwell's family descent is kindly supplied by the Rev. Dr. Reeves:—


Robert Maxwell = Isabella Seaton
Dean of Armagh, &c., ob. 1622.
Robert, F.T.C.D., 1617. Deacon 1617-8. Priest 1618. Rector of Tynan 1625. Consecr. Bp. of Kilmore 1643. Ob. Nov. 16, 1672.
= Margaret, d. of Bishop Rob. Echlin and sister of his brother Henry's wife.
Henry, of Finnabrogue, near Downpatrick.
= Jane, d. of Bp. Robert Echlin, and sister of his brother Robert's wife.
Henry, of College Hall, Rector of Tynan, 1668. Chancellor of Connor in 1635. Died in 1709, over a century old.
= Anne, d. of George Stewart of Culmore, Esq.
Robert, only son
= Jane, d. of Rev. Chichester
John, first Baron Farnham
= Judith Barry
Robert, of Fallow's Hall, Cap[n] of horse.
= Grace eld. d. of Rev. John Leavans.
Jane, wife, d. of Rev. Henry Maxwell of College Hall, ob. s. p.
= Rt. Hon. HENRY M.P. ob. 12 Feb., 1729-30.
= Dorothy, d. of Edw. Brice.
Robert.

College Hall is a townland in Tynan parish, where Robert M., about 1630, built a house, and fixed his residence. See Archdall's *Lodge* for Maxwell family, vol. iii., p. 390. Some transactions between Mr. Maxwell and the second earl of Mount-Alexander had called forth the criticism of the notorious archdeacon Matthews. The earl thought it necessary to vindicate himself in the house of lords. The following is his speech on that occasion, a copy of which is preserved among the Family Papers at Donaghadee. It is here printed for the first time:—"My Lords,—I must beg y[r] Losps. favore and patience to heare me a little; did I not thinke my honor and reputation concern[d] I shou'd not give you trouble. Y[r] Losps. have had articles exhibited before you against my chaplain, Mr. Maxwell, accusing him of coming unduly by the parish of Cumber and that of Donaghadee, to both which I presented him. Nor is it only so, but in Cumber he is charged with lessning the Sallery, and in Donaghadee with suffering the Tythes to be sett to the prejudice of the Incumbent. The Arrow is shott at him, but I thinke 'tis plaine the chiefe designe is to wound me, for had he been guilty I could not have been innocent. But I thanke God that it has appeared that I have clean hands and a pure heart; and I can defy mallice itself, w[ch] with symony inhabits here, to lay corruptione att my doore, from my youth up even to this day. But this is not the first time that indeavours have been made to sully my reputatione, tho' 'tis the first time it was attempted openly. He who ownes it has rendered him-

to him); then he removed, to be near his mother in law (y^e^ Lady Dowager of Howth) and her other daughter, and other allyances thereabouts.

He hath issue now living Elizabeth,[9] a marriagable accomplished lady, fitt to govern a family, and also

Hugh, his eldest sonn,[10] a comely propper man, heir-presumptive (after his father's death)[11]

self below my scorn, and for any who act behind the curtaine they are beneath my resentment. I weare armoure to defende myselfe which they know nothing of; I mean honor and honesty, which, were not the contrivers of these articles wholly straingers to themselves, they would not so vainly have atacqu^d^ me; but dogs will bark att the moon tho they cannot pull it down. I can't but wonder at the imprudence of those who offer to throw dirt att me when they can't but be conscious to themselves that I can throw stones at them would I take the pains to do it; but were I never so forward to do so, I must confess they themselves have prevented me. It is naturall (I have hearde) for those who have the plague to spitt their infection att others; and some men, like the Fox in the fable, because his taile was cutt, would have others cut theirs too. But it wont do, and would be very strainge if in this case it should. Have I sold 2 thirds of that large patrimony my father left me, even to my very doore, to preserve the honour of my ancesters and family, and to answer my owne justice; and can it be supposed I could have ever stoop^d^ to so low, mean, and detestable a crime for so poore a gaine. No, my Lords, 'tis too well known to the world that my Mantle is scarce large enough to cover me, and sure I would not bring such a moth into it to eate and make it less: but what reasone can stopp y^e^ malice of of Arch D. M.; he, my Lords, who is content to sit on the ground neede not take such meanes to raise himself. Had he ever studied religion seriously, or with considera-tione ever reade one religious booke, I am persuaded he could not have found a conscience which would have suffered him to act so fond a piece of malice. But I thanke him for giving me this oppertunity of being better known to the world, tho in this I thanke him for nothing, because I'm sure he never designed me the kindness. My Lords, I am very sensible my forwardness to have the irregularities of the diocese reformed has beene the occasione of this, and 'tis possible that Arch D. M. may yet thinke he hath behaved himself a very good Arch D., but I am sure he has acted like a very ill Divine if I may take the Royale Psalmest's words, who tells who he is who shall abide in the Tabernacle of the Lord, and who shall rest upon his holy hill. It is he who walketh uprightly & dos righteousness, and speaks the truth from his heart; he who backbiteth not with his tongue, nor dos evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour. But as these are rules which this gen^m^ has never, in all his life practised, so they are characters which belong not to him—as has been evidenced to y^or^ Lordships. And I wish I could say that his crimes were all that have appeared, but such have appeared to you as I'm sorry there ever was occasion they should be told in Gath or publish^d^ in the streets of Askelon. You have meet with those here who have spoken with double hearts, and have flattering lipps with which they thought to prevaile; but God has risen because of the oppression of the poore; and for the sighing of the needy; and there is no room to doubt but that your Lordships will be his instruments to deliver every one from him who swelleth against him, and sett him at rest, in which I hope to have my share. My Lords, *calumniare audaciter* is not the principle of an honest man, and when I consider the person who has indeavoured to calumniate me I can't feare that any blemish will rest on my reputatione—a person who has run counter to all the rules of justice, honesty, and charity; and I can't be unconcerned at his attempt, for I am of Solomon's opinion that a goode name is better than greate riches; & I had rather live and dye a poore and honest man than enjoy millions of gold and silver without that character. How greate, then, must I think the injury this gen^m^ indeavoured to do me, since 'tis a crime in him and a greate one, & none such has escaped y^or^ Lordship's just reprehensione, & tho he bee not here to receive it, yett I hope it wont be passed by in silence. I must now begg y^or^ Lordship's pardon for taking up so much of y^or^ time, & I hope my just concern for my integrity will obtain it. My Lords, yee have done me so much honor & justice that I should be ungrateful shou'd I not return my thanks; and I may very well be satisfied by what has been said, but that I can suffer anything easier than being whispered to death."

[9] *Elizabeth.*—This lady died unmarried.

[10] *Hugh, his eldest son.*—Hugh, described in the text as a "comely propper man," became fourth earl on his father's death. In 1703, he married Elinor, daughter of sir Patrick Barnwell of Crickstown, by whom there were five children, who all died in childhood. The fourth earl died on the 26th of February, 1744, and was buried at Howth.

[11] *His father's death.*—The third earl, Henry, died (according to Mrs. E. G. S. Reilly's *Genealogical History*, p. 58) in the year 1739; but it appears from a manuscript leaf in a copy of Harris's *County of Down*, at Hillsborough Castle, he died in 1731.—*MS. Notes of colonel F. O. Montgomery.* This earl made his will on the 21st October, 1731, in which he left to his eldest son, Hugh, £20, in lieu of all legacies and demands, and all his personal property to his younger son, Thomas, whose settlement on his marriage with his wife, Mary Angelica Gruber, alias De la Cherois, in 1725, earl Henry thus confirmed. Among the Family Papers at Donaghadee is the following bond on which judgment was entered, in 1719, against the earl (Henry) and his two sons:—

"Know all men by these Presents that we, the R^t^ Hon^ble^ Henry Earl of Mount-Alexander, the R^t^ Hon^ble^ Hugh Lord Montgomery, eldest son and heir apparent of the said Henry Earl of Mount-Alexander, and the Hon^ble^ Thomas Montgomery, Esq., second and younger son of the said Henry Earl of Mount-Alexander, are held and firmly bound unto Charles Campbell of the city of Dublin, Esq., in the sume of eight thousand pounds sterl., good and lawfull money of Great Brittain, to be paid to the said Charles Campbell his exec^rs^, &c., To the which payment well and truly to be made we bind us and every of us, our and every of our heirs, exec^rs^, &c., joyntly

to our Earle of Mount Alexander, and hath Thomas,[12] a pritty nimble witty boy, so called from his mother's brother, y^e^ present L^d^ of Howth. All whose characters, when they are departed and shall be seen no more on earth, must be had from another pen than mine, for I begg of (and hope in) God, I may never see that day to do it, or to have need to write more of this kind, for I desire

and severally firmly by these presents. Witness our hand and seals this second day of August, One thousand seven hundred and eighteen.

"The Condition of the above Obligation is such, that if the above Henry Earl of Mount-Alexander, Hugh Lord Montgomery, and Thomas Montgomery, or any of them, shall well and truly pay, or cause to be paid unto the above-named Charles Campbell, the sume of foure thousand pounds sterl., good and lawful money of Great Brittain, on the second day of February next ensuing, the date of the above Obligation, with interest for the same at the rate of six pounds per cent. per annum, That then and in that case the said Obligation to be void and of no effect, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

"MOUNT-ALEXANDER.
"MONTGOMERY.
"THO: MONTGOMERY.

"Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us,
"ALEX. NESBITT.
"WM. COLVILL.
"AND. CALDWELL."

[12] *Thomas.*—This boy became fifth and last earl, on the death of his elder brother, Hugh, in 1744. He was named after his uncle, Thomas St. Lawrence, twenty-fifth baron Howth, who died in 1727. He married Mary Angelica Gruber, alias De la Cherois, in 1725. His marriage settlement is dated the 25th of May in that year, and was made between Henry, earl of Mount-Alexander, and the hon. Thomas Montgomery, his son, of the first part, Valentine Jones and Daniel De la Cherois of the second part, Luke St. Lawrence and Lewis Crommelin of the third part, and Daniel De la Cherois and Mary Angelica of the fourth part. By this document the lands of Donaghadee (including the town), Ballybuttle, Templepatrick, Ballynova, Ballywilliam and other denominations were settled on certain trusts for his wife, with whom he received a large marriage dowry. This earl left his estate and other property to his countess, excepting an annuity of £20 to Isabella, widow of captain William Montgomery (the author's grandson) during her widowhood, and £50 to each of her daughters, Elizabeth and Helena. He died in the eightieth year of his age, on the 7th of April (of March, according to an interleaved copy of Harris's *Account* of Down, in Hillsborough castle), 1757. At his death, the titles of viscount Montgomery of the Great Ards and earl of Mount-Alexander became extinct. By the following will of his countess, Mary Angelica De la Cherois, the reader will see how the remnant of the vast Mount-Alexander property descended to the families of De la Cherois and Crommelin :—

"IN the name of God, amen, I, Mary Angelica, Countess of Mount-Alexander, being of sound and disposing mind and memory, do make, publish, and declare this my Last Will and Testament, in manner and form following, that is to say—Imprimis: I leave and bequeath to my dearly beloved cousin, Samuel Delacherois the elder, and Nicholas Cromelin of Deriachy, both near Lisburn, in the County of Antrim, Gent^n^, and their heirs male for ever, All my lands, tenements, hereditaments, and all my real estate of what nature and kind soever, situate lying and being in the parishes of Comber and Donaghadee, in the County of Down, to be equally divided between them, share and share alike,* subject however to all the following legacies and bequests, which are not expressly entered to be paid out of my personal estate :—

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my dear cousin, Daniel Delacherois, eldest son of the aforesaid Samuel the elder, the sum of £700 sterling.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my dear cousin, Nicholas Delacherois, second son of the aforesaid Samuel the elder, the sum of £700.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my dear cousin, Samuel Delacherois the younger, third son of the aforesaid Samuel the elder, the sum of £700.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my dear cousin Judith Delacherois, daughter of the aforesaid Samuel the elder, the sum of £600.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to the aforesaid Nicholas Cromelin, who was godson to my late dearly beloved husband, Thomas, late Earl of Mount-Alexander, the sum of £100.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my dear cousin and godson, Delacherois Cromelin, brother of the aforesaid Nicholas Delacherois, the sum of £1000.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my dear cousin, Mary Cromelin, elder sister of the aforesaid Nicholas Cromelin, the sum of £600.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my dear cousin, Mary Ann Cromelin, younger sister of the aforesaid Nicholas Cromelin, the sum of £800.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my cousin, Mons^r^ Coullet, Catharine and Louisa Coullett, son and daughters of my uncle Coullet, late of St. Quintin, in Picardy in France, the sum of £100 each.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my executors hereinafter named the sum of £400 in trust, for and to the sole use and benefit of my cousin, Jane Jameson of New York, widow of Peter Jameson, late one of the Managers of the Cambric Manufactury at Dunfalk, and her children, the interest to be equally divided among her children, share and share alike.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my executors hereinafter named the sum of £200 in trust for the sole use and benefit of Mary Ann Cromelin, otherwise M'Cullogh, daughter of William Cromelin, late of Lisburn deceased, and her children, the interest thereof to be paid to the said Mary Ann during her natural life, and after her decease said £200 to be equally divided among her children, share and share alike.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to my executors hereinafter named the sum of £400 in trust, for and to the sole use and benefit of Bernard O'Neill, gentleman (who was a relation of my late husband Thomas, late Earl of Mount-Alexander, and lived some years ago on Arbour Hill, in Dublin), his wife, children, and grandchildren, the interest thereof to be paid to the said Bernard O'Neill and his wife during the life of the longest liver of them, and after their decease said £400 to be equally divided amongst his children and grandchildren, share and share alike.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to Willoughby Osborn and Sarah Osborn his sister, both of Newtown, in the County of Down, the sum of £100 each.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to Mr. Hill, who lives with Mrs. Clayton, relict of the late Bishop of Clogher, and was a relation of my late husband Thomas, late Earl of Mountalexander, the sum of £50.

Item—I leave and Bequeath to my God-Daughter, Mabel Huston, Daughter of the Reverend Mansel Huston, when she arrives at the age of 21 years, the sum of £100, the Interest thereof to be paid her yearly, till she arrives at the age of 21 years as aforesaid, or sooner dies.

Item—I leave and Bequeath to John M'Mullan, a poor orphan, the sum of £50 a year, till he arrives at the age of 21 years, and then the sum of 10 Guineas.

Item—I leave and Bequeath to the Reverend Mansel Huston, curate of Donaghadee, the sum of 10 Guineas, to be paid out of my personal Estate.

Item—I leave and Bequeath to the Reverend William Wynne, Dissenting Minister of Donaghadee, the sum of 5 Guineas, to be paid out of my personal Estate.

Item—I leave and Bequeath to my servant, Martha Hamilton, the sum of £200, to be paid out of my personal Estate, immediately after my decease.

Item—I leave and Bequeath to my following servants to wit, Henry Beatty, Hugh Cathcart, Thomas Murdock, Ann Wee, and Ann Gowdy, the sum of 10 Guineas each, over and above what wages

* For Deed of Partition, see Appendix *M*.

not to bee the Visc[t] by the death of any of these 4 males,[13] much less of them all, or that the line or title of y[e] late Noble Earle should faile, (as our neighbour Viscounts, Ardglass, Conway, and Clanbrazils are, sonnless;[14] and y[e] estates of y[e] two last named gone out of their posteritys hands,) but that it may encrease and thrive, and see many joyfull years, as they have felt hard times; and that this dutyfull history may be preserved and continued by our future generations, whilst the sun and moon endure (if God will allow it), and then there will be no need of such records.

I wish also that this Henry and Mary may be remembred and well spoken of, for the care and love they have of entertaining in their house (and their present endeavors to recover what is

shall be respectively due them at the time of my decease, to be paid out of my personal Estate.

Item—I leave and Bequeath to my Executors, hereinafter named, the sum of £100, to be laid out in repairing the parish Church of Donaghadee, to be paid out of my personal Estate.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to the minister and Church Wardens of the Parish of Cumber aforesaid, the sum of £20, to be distributed in such manner as they shall think fit among the necessitous Housekeepers of the aforesaid parish of Cumber, to be paid out of my personal Estate.

"Item—I leave and bequeath to the Right Rev. Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Down and Conner, his Vicar General of the Diocese of Down, or his officiating Surrogate of the same Diocese, all for the time being, and their successors, Bishops of Down, Vicar Generals, or officiating Surrogates of said Diocese of Down for ever, the clear yearly sum of £120 a year, to be paid out of my real Estate, both in the parishes of Cumber and Donaghadee; and I do hereby make my said real Estate, and every part thereof, chargeable for ever, with the same Intrust for and to the several uses and purposes hereinafter named, that is to say, £20 a year, part of said £120 to be paid to a licensed English schoolmaster, who shall be of the Protestant religion as by law established, and who shall instruct thirty poor children yearly in reading, writing, and the four common rules of Arithmetic, without any other fee or Reward, save the £20 a year above mentioned, which said school master shall be appointed by the said Bishop of Down, the Vicar General, or officiating Surrogate, and subject to their visitation; and I do hereby empower and authorize the said Bishop, his Vicar General or officiating Surrogate, to remove said Schoolmaster, as afterwards to them shall seem just cause, and to appoint another qualified, as above set forth, in his stead, or when a vacancy shall happen by death or otherwise: also, £30 a year, a further part of said £120 a year, to be laid out in Clothing said 30 poor children: also, £10 a year, a further part of said £120, to be divided into apprentice ffees for such of said children as shall be apprenticed out to Protestant Tradesmen: also, £50 a year, a further part of said £120, to be, at every Christmas, divided Equally, share and share alike, by my Executors hereinafter named, to twenty five poor housekeepers, who have been at least 7 years resident in the Town of Donaghadee, or in my Estate in the Parish of Donaghadee, before they shall be entitled to any distributive share thereof; and I do hereby empower and authorize the Vicar of Donaghadee for the time being, and his successors, Vicars of Donaghadee, or his or their Curates, to nominate and apprentice out said poor children, and the said Vicar or his resident Curate shall, on or before the 20th day of December in every year, nominate to my Executors hereinafter named, the 25 poor reduced Housekeepers who shall be entitled to a Distributive share of said £50, and it is my Will that widows shall always have the preference; and also, that £10, the remaining part of said £120, be paid yearly to the officiating Clergyman of Donaghadee for reading morning prayers on every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year in the Parish Church of Donaghadee aforesaid, and that my Executors hereinafter named shall account yearly, and every year at the annual visitation held for said Diocese of Down, before the Bishop, his visitor, Vicar General, or officiating Surrogate, for said sum of £120 a year, and that the receipts signed by the Schoolmaster, officiating Clergyman, and for clothing and apprenticing out said poor children, and for the £50 distributed yearly to reduced Housekeepers, shall be as full and sufficient as if the same had been signed by the Bishop, Vicar General, or officiating Surrogate; and in case my said Executors, hereinafter named, don't pay said respective sums, and account as aforesaid, then I empower and authorize said Bishop, his Vicar General, or officiating Surrogate, by a power under their, or any of their, hands and seals, to distrain my said real Estate, or any part thereof, for said sum of £120, or for so much thereof as shall appear to them to remain unpaid, and that they may pay the same when levied to the several persons and uses according to the true intent and meaning hereof.

"Item—It is my further will and pleasure that all my personal Estate, of what nature or kind soever (after all my just debts, funeral charges, and the legacies hereby particularly appointed to be paid out of my said personal Estate, are discharged) shall be divided into two Equal Shares and proportions—one moiety whereof I leave and Bequeath to the aforesaid Samuel Delacherois the Elder, Daniel Nicholas Samuel the younger, and Judith Delacherois, his children, to be divided among them share and share alike, and the other Moiety thereof I leave and Bequeath to the aforesaid Nicholas Cromelin, Delacherois Cromelin, Mary, and Mary Ann Cromelin, the said Nicholas' Brother and Sisters, to be equally divided amongst them share and share alike.

"Item—I order my Executors hereinafter named to bury me in the church yard of Donaghadee, between the hours of 10 and 12 in the forenoon, without any funeral pomp whatever: And Lastly, I nominate, constitute, and appoint my dearly beloved Cousins, the aforesaid Samuel Delacherois the Elder, and the aforesaid Nicholas Cromelin, Executors of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking and making null and void all former will or wills by me made, and I do declare this to be my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand seal, the 30th day ofMay, in the Year of our Lord God, 1764.

"MARY ANGELICA, MOUNT ALEXANDER. (SEAL).

"Signed, Sealed, published, and declared by the Testatrix as her last will and testament, in the presence of us, who have subscribed the same in the presence of said testatrix, and of each other.

"BERNARD WARD, HENRY WARING, HU. WHITE."

[13] *Four males.*—The 'four males' were the second, third, fourth, and fifth earls already referred to. The author's prayer here expressed was granted, as he only lived until the year 1706, whilst the last-mentioned of the four died in 1757. Had the property remained in the family, it is probable that a descendant of the author would have had the titles revived.

[14] *Sonnless.*—Vere Essex Cromwell, the seventh baron, and fourth earl, of Ardglass, died in 1687, leaving one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Edward Southwell of Kinsale, county of Cork, and King's-Weston, near Bristol. By her father's death the title became extinct, and by her marriage the estate was carried to the family of Southwell, in which it remained until the death of Edward Southwell, the last descendant in the male line, in 1832. The property, known as the De Clifford estate, was soon afterwards sold by Edward Southwell's heirs to the late David Ker, esq. The title of earl of *Conway* became extinct by the death of the first and only earl in 1683. He had no issue, and bequeathed the vast estates to his cousins, the Seymours, passing over lady Rawdon, his sister. The second and last earl of *Clanbrassil*, of the first creation, then alive, had no children, and his estates were inherited by other branches of the Hamiltons. He died in 1675.

due to) Jean Montgomery,[15] y^e^ only living offspring of their unkle, y^e^ Hono^ble^ James Montgomery, hereafter to be mentioned in this narrative.

[15] *Jean Montgomery.*—See clause in earl Henry's will relating to Jean Montgomery, p. 292, *supra*. This lady was daughter of the hon. James Montgomery, a son of the second viscount, who was born at Dunskey in 1639, and died at Rosemount in 1689. Among the family papers preserved at Donaghadee are several letters addressed to Jean Montgomery, at Mount-Alexander, by Thomas Montgomery, who became the fifth and last earl, and his countess, Mary Angelica De la Cherois. Jean Montgomery had lived in the family of Henry at Rogerstown, and when the latter succeeded to the earldom in 1716, she came with the family to Mount-Alexander. It is evident from the tone of these letters that she was a useful and much trusted kinswoman. Thomas, who resided at Mount-Alexander from the time of his marriage in 1725, until his father's death in 1731, occasionally visited Dublin, and it was during these visits, that he and his lady often wrote to Jean Montgomery. Many letters to her from the last countess have been preserved. They generally refer to domestic matters, and indicate on the part of the writer a very unsophisticated and practical mind. We here give a few of her little notes, reminding the reader that when they were written, in 1729, the countess, who was by birth a French lady, had not acquired the power of expressing herself fluently in English:—

"D^r^ JANNY,—Not receiving an answer to my last, and you saying in yours you was ill of the hed ack, make me fear it continues with you, so dont stand on forms, but writ you two for one, tho I am still plague with the pain in my eyes, that make writing very uneasy to me, so obliges me to writ short letters; besides ther noe news here. I see your capt but very seldom. God knows how he dispose of his time: I fear it ent in serving him.

"robin Meinilly must paye Will, and I take care to get it allowed here, or an order to him to doe it, for it dont come to five sheling. As I hate to disapoint you, I wont fixt a time for coming til am very sure of it; and I assure you it is against my inclinasion I stay. Mr Montgomery give his service to you, & we both pray you to present our most humble duty to my lord, and be persuade I am, with sincere friendship, D^r^ Janny, yours,

"MARY MONTGOMERY.

"May 17th, 1729.
"For M^rs^ Jane Montgomery, These."

"D^r^ JANNY,—I received yours, and am glad my letters comes to you even after delays, it luckly there noe secrets in them. it is a great satisfacion to me to hear my father continues to be better. I believe you begunne to emagine that I am setteld here for good, & I am almost of that oppinion too, for I cant tel yet when we be home, but can assure you sincerely ther nothing I wish for more, & that I am continually teezing Mr Montgomery to make all the hast possible: and besides the pleasure of seeing you all, I regret every fine day I loos, or att least but half enjoy in towne

for my part that dont look on God marcy faull with a lover eye. I thing (think) it was very rude of him to leave the country without takeing his leave of you, tho it seems you give a more favourable enterpretasion; but to leave off triffling, and come to domestick affaires, you must certainly be mistaken when you say ther is butt one bulluck fatt. I caut remember exactly how menny ther was when I came away, til I see the account I have att home; but I fancy there must be more. If ther is not, you must look amonst the dry cows if ther is any fit to sell, and use them, & if ther is not, let me know it: the 16 of next month Rachall time is out, so plase to give her warning against then. I wod a done it before, but stil flatterd myself of been home, for I will not be plagued with her any longer, so let her provide for her self. It is now full time to beginne to stil: as for the rok water you know how that made; for the milk (?) water the herbs that are in it is mint, angelica baum, cardus, wormwood, and merigold. polly shaw kows the quantity ther must be of each herb, and how the stil must be manege, so recommend it to her care. ' there nothing worth writing here, so must end in desiring you to give our humble duty to my lord, and assure his lordship we long extremely for the pleasure of been with him. the squire and the bishop give their service to you, and believe, sincerely, D^r^ Jenny, your friend,

"MARY MONTGOMERY.

"Kiss pet lin and nest for me a thousand times.
"June 19th.
"Mrs. Jane Montgomery, at mountaliexander, near belfast."

"DEAR JEANNY,—I had the pleasure of yours, and I am very glad that you are well, and evry thing goine so, but could wish and desires you to give me a more pertuculer accoute sparilly of the gardens, how the new gardener behaves, and he dus lords improving, and if ther is much frute; if ther be pray send some as often as you can, and cumberes to mrs mecartney. I hope by this time that the cows is come for the people: I need not recommend you to manage them to the best advantage. I can assure you I long to be home more than you to have us, and is sore against my will I am here, and am teasin Mr montgomery every day to goe, but he cant as yet fix a time as for news I suppose you have heard by this time of the surprisen way of the king death, which will occion a uneversel morning for a year, but it is not yet know what the leaders will take. since I wrot you last I was at hoath to see this new lord, where I saw molly Stephney how (who) I like extremly. she seems to be an agreable good-natured geal; she inquire very much after you. hoath is a pretty place if it was improved. I did not stay all night. you wer sacing you wer sorey you was not here when my lord died, but you not heved seen him, for he wold not see no dody (body), and refused to see my lord and lord Montgomery. my lord is at rogerstowne. Mr. montgomery gives his service to you. I saw the last letter you rowt to him. I am surprise you give attention or take notice of what megie says. pray order the horse to be turned of the grond, for he was to take imediatlly away. as for hinds I wonder you shold emagine I was angry att his goine away, since it was by my consent and order. let me here from you as soon as possible. pray let me know how the pigeons thryiv, and believe me, your

"MARY MONTGOMERY.

"June y^e^ 24.
"To mrs Jane Montgomery, at Mt Alexander, near Belfast."

"DR JEANY,—I recevied the pleasure of your tow letters, and hav a great one to hear you are perfectly recovered of your indisposition. I flatter my self that you wod be glad on evry account we were home. I give you my word none can wish it more than I. It very easy for people that don't know one Inssiness to wonder whey we don't come home to try the coals. I find that our not coming when we have so menney calls is a sure proof we cant; as for my part that I am not encline to flater my self, the saycing that he has found a coper mine give me noe joy, and he assure, he was here last week, if it be true it well be a agreeable disapointment. I well tell you a piece of news well surprise if you have not heard, I am sure it did me, which is that cozin nancy crommelin came here yesterday, with mrs. sam; you may believe a littel transported to see Dublin, it been what she so ardently wish for, tho I fear it will not answer her high raisd expectasion, for besides that things seldom dus, the towne is almost emtey, so of consequence but littel divertsion more than that. I hope our stay will be short. I am resolved not to tale one word of rachel in this, and cant forbear laughing, tho it wont become me for the future, for I have this day lost one of my fore teeth, which is no small affliction to me, and yet as I say I cant forbear when I think rachel has been a consent subject with us in very latter: her domestic affairs must be minded. I believe it is cheper to buy vessels then to have them made, considering we must feed the cask. I hope M^rs^ Meredeth well leave us a good legece if she dys, I am sure she augh. I am concerned my lord is so melancoly he certainly has a dull time of it, but I hope we soon meet. Since the accot is out and you know I have a monkey, I must tell you his perfections— first, for his person I wod only wrong it to discribe it for it is past my docing, and to give you a idee of his wit or ingenuity, as you please to call it, I must tell you he washes all the china, and I dought he shall save a servant by putting him in tom place; I am sure neither lenny nor en will preserve ther in your good grace when you see him. Ill (I'll) buy your missling. I need not tell you after haveing wrot all this trash that had thing here that could have furnished me with the pleasure of entertaining you, I was a wrot it you, so after desire you to present my most humble duty to my lord, giving you the service of all here named, I conclude I assure I am D^r^ Janny, your assured friend,

"MARY MONTGOMERY.

"July 24."

In the interim, I must here again interpose a few lines of our present Earles and this Henry's full sister, the Lady Jean, of whose death and buriall in Chester you have heard.[16]

She was born in Newtoun house in 7^{br} A^{o} 1649. She had her name from her grandmother by y^{e} father, and yet y^{e} Presbiterian ministers refused to baptize her (so they call y^{e} administration of that sacrament, (as I now think,) improperly; for neither ours nor theirs in these cold climates use immersion of infants, but sprinkling) for they had a pique at her father, for acting by the K^{s} com^{n} and not by their directions and authority; and so he must have stood in y^{e} stoole of repentance (as they call it) before y^{e} congregation, and, in it, must have accused his obedience to y^{e} K^{s} com^{n} as a sinn comitted by him, ere they would christen his s^{d} daughter; and must hold her up too, and promise for her and himself what they wold please to impose, but his Lo^{p} disdained their usurped jurisdiction and would not comply.[17]

The above letter is addressed by the writer's husband Thomas Montgomery, as follows:—"For the Queen of Scrabo, alias Jean Montgomery."

"DEAR JENNY,—By the date of your letter, I aught to have got it a munday, but receved but a wedenday. Considering how maney is lost, it well one gets them a tall. In your one before that, you mention a maid, which, by the character you had, yoñ think her quallifide for our service. I wish you had writ me where she had lived; we could better guise (guess) what she can doe. I think to wait til I come home, which time I can't yet fixt, for I have disappointed you so offen that I wont pretend to say it til I am certain of it. Noe dody wish is for it I am sure much as my self. I am pleased and sorry that the harvest is in, for it amused my lord hows time is, I believe, dull at present. It vext me extreamly to here you say he had not gott a letter from me this month, for one honour I writ tow, which I had the honour to my self. By this post I promised you some time agoe to give some news of your aunt stepney and her familly. The are all well except molly, that has hurt her brest to that degre that the fear it will turn to a cancer. The are strangely divided amonst them self. I don't know for what reasons; but charls has left his mother, and betty is gone to live with her upon some deferances the have had that is all I can learn of it. My lord and lady carteret are expected evry moment, soe that the towne will soon be gay, of which I shant pertake much till then I have noe news. I hear lady conway and the jouny ladys are gone for England, but not my lord. Pray let me know if it true, for ther is so meany lees wan don't know what to believe. I alsoe am told for a sure thing that mr. blackwood is soon to be marryd to mrs. grace mecarteny, which wod give me a great deal of pleasure, for, besides that, I believet wod be very hapy. She wod be a very agreable nebour. I should wrote you this news from here, tho' in returne you writ me a thing that should a passed here, which I heard nothing of before, of crack (?) haveing made a young lady make a fauls step. He is not unlikely to doe such a thing, but if is it has made noe noise. I have enquird for musling. It is chaper to buy it from the pedlers. As for the apples, what the room wont hold the must be put in the cider house. I know of no other place. Mr. cromlin leave this to-morrow, and cozin delacherois only wait for a wind to goe for England. Nanny stays til I goe. She gives her service to you, as dus the sqr and the bishop, and believe me, as usual, Dr Jenny, your sincere friend,

"MARY MONTGOMERY.

"7^{ber} 11th, 1729.

"Pray take care of the peys for seed.

"Mrs. Jane Montgomery."

[16] *You have heard.*—Unfortunately, the portion of the *Manuscripts*, containing an account of this lady's death and burial at Chester, has been lost. There is no trace of an inscription to mark her grave in the cathedral church at Chester. The registry of deaths kept in the cathedral does not extend further back than the year 1680.

[17] *And would not comply.*—The first earl's mother, who always adhered to the presbyterian form of worship, had requested some one or more of the ministers of that body to baptize this child—a request to which she supposed no doubt they would accede, through respect for herself, their constant friend But in that year, 1649, had occurred the great and irreparable quarrel between lord Montgomery and the presbyterians of Ulster. See p. 186, 187, *supra*. We are told in the text, that the ministers refused to baptize his child, even at the request of their tried friend, the second viscountess, hoping no doubt that they might in this way be able to wring from her son an acknowledgement of, and an expression of repentance for, his "malignancy." But Montgomery spurned their pretensions to authority, which was a serious matter to attempt at that period in Ulster. The presbyterians of this province gloried in carrying out every command or custom of the parent church in Scotland, and "Y^{e} stoole of repentance" was an engine of presbyterian power which few in Scotland or in Ulster then dared to withstand. In that very year, 1649, lord Montgomery, afterwards seventh earl of Eglinton, was compelled to give "satisfaction" publickly for endeavouring to assist the royal cause by signing the "Engagement" against England. The Scottish nobleman thus acknowledged the sinfulness and unlawfulness of his conduct, and obtained what was called the *privilege of publickly* acknowledging his errors. During this exhibition, he was compelled to sign the covenant and bond, and to listen whilst publickly rebuked from the pulpit.—Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 71. The records of the parish of Auchterhouse in Forfarshire, contain the following entry at "Sunday, 14th April, 1650: James, Arle of Buchan, did stand up in his daske, and there declared before the whole congregation, that he was Sory and grieved that hee did ever adheare, or have any dealing with these wha went into Ingland, in that unlawfull Ingadgment; also did hold up his hand and sweare to yee Covenant, and Subscrive it."—*Edinburgh Topographical Magazine*, p. 152. The "Engagement" so abhorrent to the dominant party then in Scotland was the invasion of England by the marquis of Hamilton, with the object of rescuing and restoring Charles I. when a prisoner in the Isle of Wight. See p. 173, *supra*. Several other noblemen submitted to clerical censures for the same cause, among whom were the earl of Glencairn and lord Boyd of Kilmarnock. These censures were submitted to that the delinquents might escape the more fearful penalty of excommunication, which extended not only to their spiritual but temporal concerns. See *Minutes of the Presbytery of*

His Lo^p was not displeased that they denyd his mother's request in that behalf, as they had formerly renounced their duty to y^e K. when they deserted himself. So a legall minister, named M^r —— Mathews[18] (whom they had turned out of his office and benefice ag^t law, as they did all the other legall clergy) christnd her according to y^e Service Book, as all his Lo^pps other offspring were.

You have likewise heard of this young lady's comlyness, and removalls in those troublesome times.[19]

After her mother's death, she was put in good hands, especially her s^d grandmothers,[20] and when her father remaryed, she was under the s^d good Countesses[21] view and care, and had the best education Dublin could afford.

You have heard how she was provided for in a portion and she playd on y^e guitarr, and sang rarely well and with great art, and her voice was very harmonious, agreeable and charming, as her outward behaviour and humor of mind also was, for she was pious and devout in her closet and y^e church, so that there must needs be admirers and servants to those perfections which adorn'd her; by which means she was left out of (and was untouched by) all lampoons, which vexed most of ye maryed and unmaryed ladys of that town. Her friends may happen to see (if they desire it) the elegy I have made on her death. It may partly serve to shew what other young ladys of our family (to whom and to y^e males thereof, these my writeings are devoted) should bee, and how to dress themselves by her as at a mirroir.

And now I return to conclude this view of our 2d Earle, with as imperfect a character as it is

Irvine, as quoted in the *Scottish Journal of Antiquities, Topography, &c*, vol. i., p. 244. Delinquents of high rank were accommodated with a particular 'stand,' or prominent place in the church, whilst those of an humbler class were compelled to mount "y^e stoole of repentance." The earl of Dartmouth, who edited Bishop Burnet's *History of his own Time*, has the following note at vol. i., p. 281, (edition of 1833):—"This puts me in mind of a ridiculous story Duke Hamilton told me of the old Earl of Eglinton, who had done penance, and the fourth Lord's Day came and sat there (in a front seat on the gallery, opposite to the pulpit, the place set apart for delinquents of rank) again, which, the minister perceiving, called to him to come down for his penance was over.—'It may be so,' said the Earl, 'but I shall always sit here for the future, because it is the best seat in the Kirk, and I do not see a better man to take it from me." Very slight delinquencies were sometimes punished with a stand on 'y^e stoole.' Thus, on the 15th of June, 1647, Mr. William Russell, minister of Kilbirnie, complained to the presbytery, that John Braidine, one of his parishioners, had contemptuously designated his doctrine "*dust and grey meal.*" The said John was summoned before the presbytery, compeared on the 29th of June, and ingenuously confessed his fault. The presbytery, however, "considering how prejudicial such speeches were to the whole ministrie," after mature deliberation, ordained that first upon his knees "he make ane confession of his fault before the presbytery, and yn after to goe to his own congregation, and there in y^e public place of repentance, make ane acknowledgment of his fault likewise; and Mr. Hugh M^cKaile to go to Kilbirnie to receive him." He submitted and was absolved.—*Kilbirnie Books of Adjournal*, as quoted in Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 107, 108. This Hugh M^cKail was sent by the Scottish kirk as a commissioner to Ulster in 1644, and acted a very vigorous part in the interests of presbyterianism at Belfast. See Adair's *Narrative*, p. 120. He was executed in 1666, for complicity in the rebellion of that year, which was crushed at Rullion Green, near the Pentlands.

[18] *Mr — Mathews.*—This was Andrew Matthews, A.M., who, after the Restoration, held the rectories of Ballyurkegan, Kilmegan, Kilcow, and Kilkeel.—*MS. Status Diœcesis Dunensis*, 1693. A *MS. volume* of this clergyman's sermons, very beautifully written, is now in the possession of the Rev. W. MacIlwaine, D.D., Incumbent of St. George's, Belfast. This Mr. Matthews was probably related to the well-known Dr. Lemuel Matthews, who was tried before an ecclesiastical commission at Lisburn, in 1694, for non-residence, and suspended from his numerous church preferments. See earl Mount-Alexander's speech in House of Lords, p. 292, 293, *supra*. In 1744, the Rev. Dr. Edward Matthews resided at Mount-Panther, near Dundrum; Edward Matthews, Esq., resided at Newcastle, and George Matthews, Esq., at Ballymagown, now Springvale, in the Ards.—Harris's *County of Down*, pp. 15, 68, 80.

[19] *Troublesome times.*—The memoirs of lady Jean here referred to by the author are lost.

[20] *Said grandmothers.*—'Said grandmother' was Jean Alexander, the lady of the second viscount.

[21] *Good Countess.*—Catherine Jones, step-mother to lady Jean Montgomery.

short, and I would not (if I could) do it more fully to his comendation than as is hereafter, because all his due praise (now he is living) would seem flattery, and but a return for his love to my sonn, on whom I leave that task of gratitude for his Lo^ps^ kindness and respects to him (he being much y^e^ younger of the two.)

And I pray God to give them both many happy years, that his Lo^p^ (as is very likely) may furnish more and more noble matter for such a theam, and that so my son may gaine the better experience and the more credit in performing this enjoyned duty.

The remarks I have made in y^e^ 2d Earle[22] of Mount Alexander, in w^ch^ he resembles his most worthy patern and parent, the late Earle, I observe to bee these.

[22] *Ye 2d Earle.*—The following is a copy of the second earl's will, which explains portions of the third earl's will, already introduced :—

"In the name of God, amen, I, Hugh, Earle of Mountalexander, being in perfect health and memory, God be praised for the same, but calling to mind the frailtye of Mankind, and that death, sooner or later, seizeth on all men; For the disposeall of my estate, real and personall, doe make this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former wills by me made; as, alsoe, all settlements of my estate, and do, by this my last will and testament, failing issue of my own body, leave, devise, and bequeath all my lands, Tythes, and fee-farm rents issuing out of the same, or any of them, and all my Tenements and Hereditaments whatsoever, except what is otherwise disposed of, by this my will, to my brother, Henry Montgomery, during his natural life; and after his decease, to his son, Thomas Montgomery, during his natural life; and after the said Thomas, his decease, to the first son of his body, lawfully begotten, and to the heirs males of the body of said first son; and for want of such issue, to his second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and every son and sons, and the heirs male of his and their bodys, lawfully begotten, during their natural lives, the eldest of such sons and the heirs males of his and their severall bodies, always to take place before the younger of such sons, and be preferred before him; and for want of such issue, to my Cozen, James Montgomery of Rosemount, during his natural life; and after his decease, to his son, Wm. Montgomery, during his natural life; and after the said William's decease, to the first son of his body, lawfully begotten; and to the heirs male of the body of said first son; and for want of such issue, to his second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and every son and sons, and the heirs males of his and their bodies, lawfully begotten, during their natural lives, the eldest of such sons and the heirs males of his and their severall bodies to take place and be preferred before the younger of such sons; and for want of such issue, to his Bror^r^ my Cozen, Edmunston Montgomery, during his natural life; and after his decease, To the first son of his body, lawfully begotten, and to the heirs males of the body of said first son; and for want of such issue, to his second, third, fourth, fifth, sivth, and every son and sons, and the heirs males of his and their bodys, lawfully begotten, during their naturall life, the eldest of such sons and the heirs males of his and their severall bodies, always to take place and be preferred before the younger of such sons; and for want of such, to my own rightfull heirs for ever. My will further is, and I do hereby will and direct, that if any person to whom I have committed my estate by this my will shall profess the popish religion, or have mass, or marry a papist, that the estate to him committed by this my will shall immediately thereupon pass from him and go to the next person in remainder by my will; and that such person next in remainder be from thenceforth seized of such an estate as the person who professeth the popish religion or heard mass, or marryed a papist, were naturally dead. I will, order, and direct, and my will is, that the Land and tythe I hold by lease from the primate descend, remain, and be settled according to the several limitations of my estate hereinbefore ment^d^ I do devise and bequeath to my faithful servant, Mrs. Jane Meredith and her heirs for ever, all my land of Inheritance in the parish of Killmore, she the said Jane Meredith and her heirs paying yearly to my heirs Two pounds sterl. and no more. I do also devise and bequeath to the said Jane Meredith and her heirs the lease of lands and Tythes I hold from the Bishop of Down. I do also devise and bequeath to the said Jane Meredith and her heires for ever, my house and demesne of Mount Alexander, and the Lease of the four-score acres adjoining to it, which I hold from Mr. Ross of Portovo, and also the four pounds chief rent payable to me out of Cherryvalley, with the horse course reserved to me; and alsoe, all privileges, conveniences, and advantages whatsoever, reserved to me out of the mannor of of Cumber, *alias* Mountalexander, in as ample a manner as I myself do or ought to enjoy the same. I do likewise Devise and bequeath to the said Jane Meredith, and her heirs for ever, the Townlands of Ballyhays, Ballymoney, and Carnyhill, she, the said Jane Meredith and her heirs, paying to my heirs yearly, out of each Townland, forty shillings stg. and no more. I do alsoe devise and bequeath to the said Jane Meredith, and her heirs, the lease of my house in Dublin, and the lease of that ground whereon my stables in Dublin are built. I do also devise and bequeath to the said Jane Meredith all my stock, goods, and chattels of what nature or kind so ever, and all rents, and arrears of rents, that shall be due to me at the time of my decease, over and above what payeth the interest of my debts then due, and my funeral expenses, which I order and direct do not exceed £100, for I will be buried privately and decently only. I do constitue the above-named Jane Meredith my sole Executor. Item, I bequeath to my Cozen, Mrs. Jane Shaw, £10 10s. yearly, to be paid her out of the rents of the manor of Donaghadee, during her natural life, and after her decease to her daughter, Sarah Shaw, alias Montgomery, £10 yearly during her natural life to be paid her out of the rents of the manor of Donaghadee as afs^d^. I do leave and bequeath to each of my servants one Quarter's wages over and above what shall be due to them at the time of my decease, to be paid within six months after my decease. To the poor of the parish of Cumber I leave £5; to the poor of the parish of Donaghadee I leave £10, to be distributed as the minister and church warden of each parish shall think fit; To the poor of the parish of Newtown I leave £5, to be distributed as the minister and church wardens of the said parish shall think fitt. I do devise and bequeath to my faithful servant, John Meredith, and his heirs for ever, the house and garden, and outhouses, and the four acre park, all now held and enjoyed by James Johnston, in the town of Donaghadee, and also the seven acre park called Crofts, which is now in my own owne hands, lyeing in the manor of Donaghadee, be the said John Meredith and his heirs paying yearly to my heirs 10s stg. for the said premises, and no more. I do devise and bequeath to my cozen, Jane Shaw, the house and garden, and outhouses, that is now held and enjoyed by John Hipperson, Glover, in the said town of Donaghadee, and also the Eight acre park, commonly called Morriss hill, formerly held and enjoyed by Chas. Campbell, Esq., during the term time and space of 41 years, to her, the said Jane Shaw and her heirs, to Commence from my decease, she paying to my heires 10s yearly, and no more: and I do hereby charge and subject all my real estate to the payment of my debts and legacies, and order, and will, and my will is, That if any of my Creditors sue my Executrix, Jane Meredith, and recover against her any debt, and the same be paid out of my personal estate, That my said Executrix be reimbursed the same out of reall estate, with interest for the same till paid, and all costs she, the said Jane Meredith shall be put to on account of such suite; and whereas I am indebted to the above named Jane Meredith, my Executrix, by bond dated the 13th Nov., 1709, in the sum of £1398 9s 10d stg. I do hereby will and direct, and my will is, that she, the said Jane Meredith, be paid the said sume out of my reall estate, and interest for the same until she is paid both princl and interest; and I do hereby make my said real estate liable to ye payment of ye same, together with what other sume may appear to be due to the said Jane Meredith upon ballance of accounts, notwithstanding of the before bequests to her, and of her being Executrix of this my will; and I earnestly desire that my cozen, Mr. Justice Caulfield, and my very good friend, Chas. Campbell, Esq., or the survivor of

Imprimis. His upright justice, in paying his fathers and his own creditors. So the late Lord sold all his lands in Scotl[d] to defray his fathers and grandfathers debts, with use upon use (called the annualls, and the custom in Scotland so to charge debtors) and the principall debt, and the charges of sending out men to the warrs according to his lands.[23] In all which, his late Lo[p] was imposed upon neatly by his receavers and agents (they are called factors and doers in Scotland) both here and there, when y[e] accounts of many yeares came to be taken of the estate for and during y[e] warrs of Ireland. So this present Earle acted good and suffered loss on y[e] like account as his father did for justice sake.

2dly. His frugality, and yet he kept a gentile table in his adversitys.

3dly. His Christian fortitude, in bearing crosses, vulgarly called misfortunes.

4thly. His liberality in his former prosperitys.

5thly. His being a beneficiall true friend seasonably, and in the best manner.

6thly. His penning letters gentilely, as to y[e] reason and succinctly as to the words of them.

7thly. His doeing devotion and alms, without a trumpett or any ostentation.

8thly. His constant adherence to y[e] lawfull Church wherin he was christened and bredd.

9thly. His right martiall way commanding and governing the royall fort at Charlemont;[24] his s[d] company and troops, towards which he was carefull and kind; w[th] his faithfulness in his present imploym[t] over the artillery to save charges to the King, as well as his former prudent and assidous endeavors and struglings ag[t] y[e] Irish.

10. His goodness to servants, in preferring them to places, or enabling them otherwise to live comfortably and creditably.

11. His complacency and winning behavior in conversation, and generous hospitality.

12. His great ingenuity in poesy, which will appeare, when his modesty will permitt him to shew to others the peices of his composure; some of which I have read with an approveing admir ation.

13. His ability for Council and speech at y[e] Board and on the Earles Bench, w[ch] doth also appear in his next qualification, to wit:

14. His judgem[t] in positive and polemic learning, and his apposite ready expressions of his sentim[ts] therin, and on all subjects, as well occasional as premeditated, is beyond most of those who have studyed or dared to be teachers in pulpits.

In all these premises (at least) with skill in riding, fenceing, danceing, musick, y[e] French tongue and mathematics (which are endowments gained by God's blessing, on his endeavour to acquire and make them habitual virtues or accomplishments;) I say, in all these, and, as I believe, in more things, his Lo[p] doth truely patrizare, according to the old proverb, viz. patrem sequitur sua proles, which is the same with our common saying, As the old cock crows the young cock learns.

Besides and over the aforesaid lovely resemblances, our present Earle hath an excellent hand

them, will be aiding and assisting to my said Exe[x] in the due performance of this my last will and testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal to two parts of this my last will, the one part whereof I have left in the hands of Chas. Campbell, Esq., and the other part in the hands of my Executrix, this 21st day of January, 1746--17.

"MOUNT ALEXANDER. (SEAL).

"Signed, sealed, and published by The Rt. Honble Hugh, Earle of Mountalexander, as his last will and testament, in the presence of us and subscribed by us, as witnesses, in ye said Earle's presence.

"PATT. HAMILTON, ALEXR. LAING."

[23] *According to his lands.*—See p. 256, *supra.*

[24] *Charlemont.*—See p. 270 *supra.*

in faire writing and true orthography for spelling words, and ingraving coats of armes, cyphers and flourishes on copper, brass, silver, or gold.

And as his Lo^p^ is a skillfull artist in minature, with pen, pencil and crayoon; his Lo^p^ is likewise a (scarce matchable) artist at violin, flute, recorder, cornet, hautboys, and the huntsman's musical instrum^t^, playing on them all, not by help of his nice well tuned eare onely, but by y^e^ diversity of their propper sett noats also, with wonderful skill and dexterity, to y^e^ extraordinary satisfaction of discerning hearers.

All which utensills for y^e^ ey and eare are laid aside or hung up and slighted (like as the Jewish harps were at Babilon) or are with his neglected recreations with y^e^ muses, thrown into unseen places, ever since council board, parliament, assizes, and session business, were his avocations, from those painting and musical divertisements of his melancholy.

Furthermore, at his own or a friend's house, and before a select company (in the time of his retired condition,) he did condescend (sometimes) to shew some rare fates of legerdumain, and did act the mimick, both which he did to admiration, but in the latter of these he personated a drunken man, and lively counterfeited one, that a person of quality who knew his temperance (coming unexpected) wondered extreamely and believed him really fudled to the last degree; wee humored y^e^ mistake till his Lo^p^ reeled to y^e^ window and rubbing his face of a sudden returned to y^e^ table as sober as he was at his rare showes, which were hushed up at y^e^ news of the incomers being come to visit his Lo^p^.

His Lo^p's^ recreations abroad are now (mostly) doeing the K. and contry service, and tending y^e^ affaires of his grand mastership, and so they are at home; but at leizure times, in the neighbourhood and in and about doores, he entertains himself with requisite visits, or in angling, or in useing the setters for partridge, &c. or by walking to take fresh aire, or in viewing his orchards and plantations and stables, or discoursing with visitants, or peruseing books, or trying experiments and problems in the mathematicks, or doeing private bussynes for himself or friends.

As for meate, drink, and sleep (in which his Lo^p^ is temperate to a miracle) and a few of y^e^ last named actions, they are the refreshm^ts^ and recruiters of his natural, vital, and animal spirits, when exhausted by his sedulity in the affairse of his station.

To conclude these remarks, this our present Earle hath gained all his posts to his foot company, to his troope, to his government of Charles Mount, and to his Mastership of y^e^ Ordinance, and title of Brigadier to his chaire in Council Chamber, to the Government of our county, and Custosship of its Rolls, all as afores^d^ without procurement of his father's, or mother's or lady's friends, or their help, and without mony bribes, but by his own merits; and like the spider (out of his own bowels) hath wrought these webbs, ordinary care, foresight and applications (always herein onely excepted.)

And now I have done with this part of my bold undertaking, tho' I have waved and forgott much, and but meanly expressed my rehearsed notions of his Lo^p^; yet I doe averr and believe my foregoeing assertions of him to be demonstrable truths.

Lastly, as for his Lo^p's^ age or era of birth, lett y^e^ next relators speak more fully, when his Lo^p's^

life is fulfilled, yet in gen[l] and on the whole matter, I repeat what Solon said to Cræsus, in all his riches and glorious grandeur, viz.

Ante obitum nemo supremaq, funera debet dici beatus.

Wee no man fully blest or happy call, before his pious death and funerall.

It may also be observed, from the first to the last part of my narrative of y[e] Montgomerys of Ards, that y[e] first of them who chose our motto, *Honneur sans Repose*, and the descendants from him, who have arrived to any name or esteem in these kingdoms, have had great troubles and toyles and losses before, together with, and after attainement of any honors they gott; so the motto (or ditton) hath been a prophesy, or rather a caveat for us in all future adventures, that wee should not, cedere malis sed contra audentior Ire; y[e] Scottish proverb is Sett a stout heart to a stay brae.

Be the motto the one or the other, much good may y[e] affectors of honorable titles have with the uneasyness it brings. I never courted any advancem[t] of that sort, els I might have been a Kn[t]. and a Barr[t]. too, before many my inferioures, both by birth and by my fathers merits, and my own sufferings for the King, who is the fountain of honor.

I now remember a reflection I had on y[e] s[d] motto, viz.

Restless, resistless, are the keen attacks
(In towring minds) which Roman honor makes;
They, loves, cares, envy, loss, pains, value not;
Bodys, souls, nor God, so that fame be gott:
Fals, fickle, fleeting fame (ambitions' goale)
Vain, vulgar voice! betrays poor mortal fools.

Or, in short, thus:

To all of high rank, birth, or place,
Honour is still a restless race.

The Lord Visc[t] Claneboy chose for y[e] motto of his arms (nothing quadrating with y[e] coat) these words, viz. *Invitum sequitur honos.*[25] But to speak freely of both Braidstane and Mr. Ja. Hamilton, I believe neither of them had been Lords if they had not sought to be so. And now I must subjoin to this Lord's life (w[ch] is but partly described) an appendix,[26] w[ch] relates to his Lo[p] and to his ancestors and sister and the first Countess, laying aside what his Lo[p] hath done since he first was Lord Justice of Ireland; he being now, Ao. 1704, in his 3d Consulship of that office.[27] I hope his Excellency will furnish memoires from his own penn, and give them to my sonn (on whom I lay the task) that he may finish what I cannot doe herein.[28]

[25] *Invitum sequitur honos.*—It would have been impossible for James Hamilton to have taken a more inappropriate motto than this. The earls of Clanbrassil adopted the motto *Qualis ab incepto*, which also was hardly less appropriate than the former.

[26] *An appendix.*—This Appendix, if ever written, has been lost.

[27] *Of that office.*—See p. 288 *supra.*

[28] *Cannot doe herein.*—If the second earl ever wrote any family memoirs, they are probably lost. He died as already stated, in 1716.

CHAPTER XVII.

SOME MEMOIRES OF SIR JAMES MONTGOMERY, KNT.

HAVING already given a summary account of the two first Viscts.[1] and the next two Earles[2] (Montgomerys) I cannot (for I ought not) neglect to remember y^e^ other posterity of y^e^ Laird of Braidstane,[3] the founder of this family, of and in the great Ardes.

In doing whereof, memoires now (at least) fall due[4] (if not sooner) unto y^e^ second sonn of y^e^ first Viscount, viz. to y^e^ Hon. Sir James Montgomery, Knt. which title was no advancement of his preheminence in heraldry,[5] but a particular mark of the King's favour to him his meniall servant (as his being Gentleman Usher of y^e^ Privy Chamber in ordinary, was also.) And as to his being

[1] *Two first Viscts.* — The memoirs of the second viscount are wanting. See p. 1, 150, 151, *supra.*

[2] *Next two Earles.*—Or the third and fourth viscounts.

[3] *Laird of Braidstane.*—This was the Scottish designation of sir Hugh Montgomery, afterwards created first viscount Montgomery of the Ards.

[4] *Memoires now fall due.*—We have here proof that the memoir of sir James Montgomery was written subsequently to those of the two viscounts and two earls, and ought, therefore, to be placed *after* them in any accurately arranged collection of the author's manuscripts. In the printed volume of 1830, the memoir of sir James was introduced immediately after that of the first viscount, probably under an impression that sir James, being a son of the first viscount, had succeeded his father as *second* viscount. When the gap, occasioned by the missing memoir of the second viscount, presented itself—(see page 150, 151 *supra*)—a search was made in various quarters for the recovery of this lost portion, and the memoir of sir James, being the only one discovered, was made to supply the place intended by the author for that of the second viscount. This is probably the meaning of the following statement which occurs in the preface to that volume :—"Copious extracts from the original MSS. of the Lords Mount Alexander and of Captain George Montgomery were first published by the *Belfast News-Letter* of the years 1785 and 1786, with the consent of the late Daniel Delacherois, of Donaghadee, Esq. (in whose family they had been preserved), when a great portion of the original MS. became missing, and after repeated searches to recover them, it was found that a copy of them had been taken, which being traced out, was obligingly communicated. When compared with the parts printed in 1785 and 1786, they were found exactly to correspond, and have been used in completing the present publication"—pp. v, vi. The mistake in using the memoir of sir James for that of the second viscount was, probably, in a great measure, occasioned by the fact that the former has frequent references to public events occurring immediately after the death of the *first* viscount. In the volume printed in 1830 there is a reference at the commencement of sir James's memoir to an Appendix, in which probably it was intended to give some additional explanation of this matter, but the Appendix was never written. The account of sir James Montgomery, here reprinted from the volume of 1830, was taken from a copy found at Portaferry, and is evidently but a mere fragment of the author's original memoir of his father. In the *original* account (now in the possession of Mrs. Sinclair) of his *Incidentall Remembrances of the two ancient families of the Savages*, the author refers to pages 209 and 210 of his *Life of Sir James Montgomery*, whereas what we have here would scarcely fill fifty of the closely written quarto pages of his manuscript. The original memoir of sir James never seems to have been placed among the manuscripts kept at Mount-Alexander, and afterwards in Donaghadee, but was, no doubt, among those retained at Rosemount, and afterwards carried by the author's great-great-grandson, captain Frederick Heatley Montgomery, to Australia, where he settled about the year 1820.

[5] *Preheminence in heraldry.*—Sir James Montgomery's talents early attracted the notice of the court party, and in him the cause of royalty ever found an honest and most able supporter. He was appointed gentleman usher of the privy chamber, a member of the privy council, and created a knight, at a comparatively early period in life, all which honours, it would appear, being conferred by royal favour, constituted "no advancement of his preheminence in heraldry."

Collector, it might signify much dureing his commission (especially in the field) to give him a higher place, than as he was a Lord's second sonn. But let that case bee as it will, it is left to be determined in y^e^ court of honour.

He was (as you see) personally dignified by these designations to be eminent in peace and warr.

Wherefore, with Virgil and Lucan, *Arma virumque cano, et bella plusquam civilia:*[6] because his life was divided (partly per palo) between those states of legall and military governments, wherein he was exercised almost in a continual warrfare ever since he could manage the pen, or wield the sword; and had also his death in hostility upon another element[7] than that wherein he was born and bred, as will appear in the pursuits of this history, and his actions were so much concerned for three first Viscounts, his father, brother, and nephew, that they are necessarily interwoven herein before, so that there is little left to say of him hereafter, but some past passages must be transiently touched to make the relation now regular of one piece.

This Sir James Montgomery's birth was at Braidstane, anno 1600: the said Hugh, the 6th Laird, and Dame Elizabeth Shaw[8] aforesaid, were his parents: Sir James Montgomery's sister Jean being married (as hath been already said) unto Patrick Savage, of Portaferry, Esq. anno 1623.[9] The said Patrick's estate was much in debt, and not one stone walled house in that town, till match (as was often credibly told me) only some fishermen's cabins and an old Irish castle[10] out of repair near it, nor any mills, and very little grain to employ one (that country being much wasted (till our Viscount's plantation, which was not suffered to spread into that little Ardes till their own greater was furnished with inhabitants; and no trade by sea (nor encouragement for it) before the said year 1623.

The most effectual way he took was to get the wastes filled with Brittish planters in the lands, and builders of stone houses in the town and mills on the loughs,[11] which soon brought traffic and merchandize wares to Portaferry, and afterwards so perfected the prosperity of that town and estate, by passing two several patents to remedy Mr. Savage's defective titles, the first of them dated —, the other is tested by[12] —

[6] *Plusquam civilia.* See *Æneid* I. 1, and *Pharsal* I. 1.

[7] *Another element.*—The author here refers to the fact that sir James was slain at sea by pirates.

[8] *Elizabeth Shaw.*—See p. 11, *supra.* It is remarkable that we have no reference whatever in the *Manuscripts* to the time or circumstances of this lady's death. She was interred at Newtown, in the Ards, inside the church built there by her husband, the first viscount. See p. 247, *supra.* Her son, James, was named, no doubt, after her father, or brother, James Shaw of Greenock.

[9] *Anno* 1623.—See p. 89, *supra.*

[10] *Old Irish castle.*—The following is a notice by Harris of this castle:—"The Castle of Portaferry was the ancient Seat of the Savages, and is now (1744) inhabited by Andrew Savage, Esq. Considerable additions were made to this Castle, and finished in the Year 1636, as appears by an inscription on the Arms of the Savages over the door. From the high lands about Portaferry are fine prospects extended over the whole lake, the barony of Ardes, Lecale, the Sea, and the Isle of Man; and the Castle, together with the town, from the opposite side makes a beautiful landskip."—Harris, *Antient and Present State of the County of Down*, p. 46. From the account given by Harris of the town of Portaferry in 1744, it is evident that the improvements introduced by sir James Montgomery in 1623, must have been carried out to a considerable extent by the inhabitants afterwards. The additions to the castle were no doubt superintended by sir James.

[11] *Mills on the loughs.*—The loughs here referred to had almost entirely disappeared from the Little Ards in the time of Harris, as he mentions none by name, but speaks of "small lakes in morasses near the Eastern coast." He tells also that there then existed "several scopes of boggs and morassy grounds in this tract, many of which the proprietors have of late set about reclaiming."—P. 42. These "scopes" had been in early times the sites of loughs which became "small lakes in morasses," and in the lapse of time disappeared. The morasses became boggs, and the boggs eventually disappeared also, being converted into arable land.

[12] *Is tested by.*—At the death of Rowland Savage, elder

The other thing memorable of Sir James[13] Montgomery (before the grand Irish rebellion) is his concerting with our two Viscounts,[14] how only such as they thought best, should be elected Knights of the Shire, to serve in the Parliament anno 1640.[15]

Their Lordships, both in affection and prudence, pitched on their brothers, the said Sir James and John Hamilton, Esq.[16]

Those gentlemen were (as is required by the writt) Idonii,[17] fit persons, and fully qualified to sit in Parliament, each of them had been for 23 years conversant and employed in business of the county (of which they had exact tallys and keys) and of the respective familys therein, and those two Lords plantations did now surmount all wastes, so that these gentlemen's good conduct could not fail to have the farr major number of votes in the election, although the *Trevors*,[18] *Hills*,[19]

brother of Patrick Savage, the Portaferry estate had fallen into confusion and decay. In arranging the property, on the marriage of Patrick to Jean Montgomery, it was first of all necessary to ascertain by inquisition, what lands really belonged to the estate at the time of his brother's death. On the thirteenth of December, 1617, Rowland Savage alienated the following lands to John Pitt, viz. Ballyconton, Tolleharnan, Tewshalley, alias Ballytewsheliee, a moiety of Ballytawragh, and Carrowmallett. This alienation, appeared by an inquisition held at Newtown, county of Down, on the 25th of January, 1625. *Ulster Inquisitions*, Down, No. 14, Jac. I. A royal letter, dated 7th August, 1626, was addressed to the lord deputy Falkland, directing letters patent to be passed to Patrick Savage of Portferry, of all the possessions of which he was reputed to have been seized. Accordingly, on the 14th January, 1627, a grant was made to him of the manor of Portferry, *alias* Ballymurphy, and the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the same county, found by inquisition to belong to the said Patrick, with several chief rents, customs, duties, privileges, and services, of which he was seized on the 7th August, in the second year of his Majesties reign, and found by inquisition to belong to him; with a court leet and court baron, and all profits, and services thereunto belonging, and all fines and amercements therein imposed, goods and chattels of felons and fugitives, felons of themselves, waifs, strays, and wrecks of the sea happening within the manor, and by the inquisition found to belong to Savage or his ancestors; license to hold a weekly market on every Thursday at Portferry, and a fair on the 26th of July, to hold for two days.—Morrin's *Calendar, Reign of Ch. I.*, pp. 20, 157, 312. The following are the lands thus granted to Patrick Savage, in 1627; Portferry alias Ballymurphy, Tullenecreevy alias Cregroddan, Ballynewlack, Ballytollenerussally, Ballytolleboord, Ballederry, Ballecoroge, Ballhearley, Ballyhenry, Ballycouton, Balletwshilly, Ballenetawrogh, Ballefowna, Ballewarrod alias Tollenegore, and Ballyminishe alias Ballyvickenishe, with the appurtenances, all lying in the county of Down, with three quarters of Parsenhale, Ballycoll alias Ballynycoll, quarter of land of Carrownemallet, quarter of Carynepolle. The above lands were granted in the first patent referred to in the text, dated January, 1627, but the date of the second patent we have not ascertained.

[13] *Memorable of Sir James.*—Another rather memorable event in sir James Montgomery's life prior to the rebellion, although not mentioned in the text, was his appearing as a witness against the defendant in the great trial of the earl of Strafford. As the evidence of sir James contains some curious details respecting Strafford's arbitrary conduct in the matter of the *Black Oath*, we give it *in extenso*, in Appendix N.

[14] *Two Viscounts.*—Hugh, viscount Montgomery of the Great Ardes, and James, viscount Hamilton of Clannaboy.

[15] *Anno* 1640.—This parliament met on the 27th of February, 1639, *old style.*

[16] *John Hamilton, Esq.*—John Hamilton was third brother of the first viscount Clannaboy, and owned landed property at Coronary, county of Cavan, and Monella, (known later as Hamilton's Bawn) county of Armagh. On the 29th of July, 1629, he obtained letters patent of denization. At the same time, also, a royal grant was made to him, and his heirs, for ever, of the small proportion of Kileloghan, in the barony of Clanchie, county of Cavan; the small proportion of Kilruddan, in the barony of Fues, county of Armagh; and the small proportion of Maghereintrim, in the same barony and county; to be held as of the castle of Dublin, in free and common soccage. According to the terms of this grant, the lands in the county of Cavan were erected into a manor, called the manor of Coronary, alias Hannesborough, and the lands in the county of Armagh were erected into a manor, called the manor of Johnstowne, *alias* Drumergan, with power to create tenures, and to hold 400 acres in demesne, court leet, court baron, free warren, park and chase, pursuant to the conditions of the plantation.—Morrin's *Calendar, Reign of Charles I.*, p. 478. Although John Hamilton was elected to serve in the parliament of 1639-40, with sir James Montgomery, he never sat in it, having died on the 4th December, 1639, *old style*, at Killileagh, county of Down. Sir Edward Trevor, of Rose-Trevor, was elected in his stead.—*Hamilton Manuscripts*, p. 63.

[17] *Idonii.*—For *Idonei.*

[18] *The Trevors.*—See pp. 132, 139, *supra.* The property of the Trevors lay principally in the territory of Iveagh, the principal place being known as Rose-Trevor. It had previously belonged to the family of Magennis.

[19] *The Hills.*—See pp. 78, 79, *supra.* The principal families of this surname, in 1640, resided at Hillsborough, Castlereagh, and Hill-Hall. For notices of these several places, see Harris, *Antient and Present State of the County of Down*, pp. 72, 95.

M'Gennisses,[20] *O'Neills,*[21] *Bagnall's,*[22] and other interests were com[illegible]ed against them: diverss sham

[20] *McGennisses.*—The influence wielded by the *Magennisses* throughout the county of Down, although much diminished at the date referred to in the text, was still very considerable. The numerous grants from the crown, obtained by gentlemen of this surname early in the reign of James I., were probably in possession of their families, with few exceptions, in the year 1641. In the month of February, 1611, the following grants were made to Magennisses:—1. Sir Arthur Magenis of *Rathfrillane*, knight, received a grant including 57 townlands, with power to hold court leet and view of frank-pledge, also a court baron, a Tuesday market and a fair on Trinity Monday, and for two days after, and another fair on the Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, and the following day, at Rathfrillan. See the Inquisition of 1629 on the Estates of Arthur viscount Iveagh. *Ulster Inquisition*, Down, No. 13, Car. I. These lands are situated in the parishes of Drumgath, Clonduff, Drumballyroney, Drumgooland, and Dromara, in Upper Iveagh. 2. Ever Mac Phelimy Magenis *of Castlewillane* in Iveagh, gent., received a grant of eleven townlands, constituting the Castlewellan estate, at the yearly rent of £11 Irish. These lands are in Kilmegan and Drumgooland parishes. 3. Brian MacHugh Mac Agholy Magenis, of *Munteredy*, gent., received a grant of seven and a half townlands, known as the Bryansford estate, and now held by the earl of Roden in virtue of his descent from Brien or Brian Magenis aforesaid. This grant was accompanied with common of pasture through the whole mountain or waste of Bennyborfy (anciently *Beanna-Boirche*) in Iveagh, the yearly rent being £7 10s. Irish. These lands are included in the parish of Kilcoo. 4. On the 10th December, 1610, Brian Oge McRowrie Maginis of *Edenticullo*, near Hillsborough, received a grant of the entire cantred, lordship, precinct or circuit of Kilwarlin, containing forty-three townlands, at the yearly rent of £20 Irish, to hold for ever, in common soccage. This is now the Kilwarlin estate of lord Downshire. The late Geo. Stephenson's mother was a Magenis, lineally descended from this Brian Oge McRowrie, and he held the original patent which had been handed down in the family. These lands are situated in the parishes of Hillsborough, Blaris, Dromore, Dromara, and Annahilt. 5. Glasney Mac Agholy Magenis of *Clare*, in the county of Down, esq., received a grant of the lordship of Clanconnell, including thirteen townlands, each containing two hamlets, the yearly rent of all being £13 Irish, with power to hold a court baron on Monday every three weeks at Ballyenclare. These lands are situated in the parishes of Tullylish and Donaghclony. *Clare* is in Tullylish. See Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 304. 6. Arte Oge Mac Glasney Magenis of *Ballinderrie*, gent., received a grant of the five townlands of Ballyenderry, with the island and lough thereof, with four other denominations. These lands are now known as Islandderry, near Dromore. Islandderry is now only one townland. They were situated within the parcel or circuit called *Leighquirrine* in the grant, otherwise *Cuillie*, now Quilly. Quilly is now a separate townland of 800 acres. The yearly rent was £5, and the tenure similar to that in the grants already mentioned. 7. John Magenis of *Corrocks*, in the county of Down, gent., received a grant of eight and a half townlands, situated principally in the parcel called *Clanawlie*, with common of pasture in and through the mountain or waste of Crotlewe and Beanieborphies (Beanna-Boirche) in Iveagh, at the yearly rent of £8 10s. Corrocks is now *Carrogs*, which, with the rest, is in the parish of Clonallan, Upper Iveagh. 8. Ever Mac Art MacRowrie Maginis of *Shanchall*, gent., received a grant of twelve townlands, all situated in the precinct of Shanchall, at the yearly rent of £12 Irish. These lands are now Shankhill, in the parish of Aghaderg or Loughbrickland. 9. Murtagh Mac Enaspicke Magenis of *Corgirrie*, gent., received a grant of ten townlands, all within the precinct called Clanagan. To hold for ever, at the yearly rent of £10 Irish. These ten townlands are now all in the parish of Donaghmore, Upper Iveagh. 10. Arte Oge MacBrian Oge MacBriane Mac Edmond Boy Magenis of *Loughbrickland*, received a grant of ten townlands in the precinct of Loughbrickland, with the castle of Brickland, at the yearly rent of £10 Irish. The said Art agreed to give to the rector of Aghaderick and his successors for ever, the moiety of one of the townlands adjoining the church, which should be assigned to it by the bishop of Dromore. 11. Hugh Mac Con Mac Glasney Magenis of *Miltone*, gent., received a grant of eight townlands, part of Clanawlie with common of pasture on the mountain of Crotlewe and Beanieborphies, at the yearly rent of £9 Irish. These lands are in the parish of Clonallan, Upper Iveagh. 12. Rowrie Oge Mac Rowrie Mac Collo Mac Hugh Magenis, of *Handmoyle*, received a grant of the island and five adjoining townlands, at the yearly rent of £5. Islandmoyle and the others are all in Clonduff, Upper Iveagh. 13. Con Boy Mac Phelomy Mac Hugh Magenis of *Glasequirin*, received a grant of eight townlands, at the yearly rent of £8 Irish. These are in the parishes of Leapatrick (Banbridge) and Magherally, Lower Iveagh. All the abovenamed lands were granted by the crown for ever, and held, in every case, *in capite*, by the twentieth part of a knight's fee. In every grant, the townland in which the mansion-house or family residence stood, was exempted from all risings out, and from any future composition to be established in Ulster. The head or chief of the clan, in 1610, was sir Arthur Magenis, who, from his large estates, granted to him by the king (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.*, p. 190. *b.*), made the following grants to gentlemen of his own surname:—viz. 1. To Brien Mac Donell Mac Brian Magenis of *Glasquirrin*, four townlands, parcel of Leighquirrin, (in the parish of Dromore, Lower Iveagh,) at the yearly rent of £10 13s. 4d. Irish, payable to sir Arthur at Rathfrillan. 2. To Brian Mac Art Mac Ever Magenis, of *Longädegan*, gent., five townlands, (in the parish of Aghaderg, Upper Iveagh,) at the yearly rent of £13 6s. 8d. Irish, payable to sir Arthur. 3. To Glassney Roe Magenis, of *Ballesmunie*, three townlands, at the yearly rent of £8 Irish, payable to sir Arthur. 4. To Ferdoragh Mac Feilney Mac Prior Magenis, of *Clanvarraghan*, gent., three townlands (in Kilmegan parish, Upper Iveagh,) at the yearly rent of £8 Irish, payable to sir Arthur. In the foregoing grants also the lands were demised forever, and held of sir Arthur Magenis of Rathfrillan, as of his castle of Rathfrillan, in common soccage and suit of court twice a year, within one month after Easter and Michaelmas. —*Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.*, pp. 181, 188, 190, 193. In 1640, the date of the election mentioned in the text, sir Con Magennis was head or chieftain of the

freeholders being made to encrease their number of choosers, which the dexterity and diligence of those gentlemen discovered before y^e^ face of the county, to the utter shame of the servants and agents who had practised the cheat, to sett up other pretenders who stood to be Knights for the Shire.

It was contended much in the fields, and there you might have seen the county divided into four parties, each having him mounted on men's shoulders whom they would have their representative, and neither of them would yield y^e^ plurality to y^e^ other; and the sheriff would not determine y^t^ controversy on view, but like a skilfull gardner, brought all the swarms into one, and so the poll (carefully attended, & y^e^ truth of each man's freehold searched into) ended the difficulty by the reckoning made of them: which gave it by a great many votes to Montgomery and Hamilton, many of the Lord Cromwell's tenents[23] appearing to their sides, the rest of them being newters, or absent.

I was told (as I remember) by persons acting at that election, that Sir James Montgomery had many more voices for him than Mr. Hamilton, for not a few joyned him, out of the other partys, which were all generally for him to be as one chosen: so that his business lay most to strengthen the Hamiltons, who brought a third part more voters of their own people than Sir James could conduce of his brother Montgomerys; but all the Savages,[24] with their interest, the Fitz-

whole families of this surname in Iveagh. The residences of their leading gentry were situated at Castlewellan, Dromore, Newcastle, and Glynwood.—Harris, *State of the County of Down*, pp. 80, 82, 86.

[21] *O'Neills.*—For the names of the O'Neills and other influential persons pardoned in the county of Down, at the commencement of the reign of James I., see Appendix B. Although the principal family of this surname had lost its inheritance, there were, in 1640, several influential gentlemen of the clan scattered throughout the county of Down, among whom were Con Oge, sir Brian O'Neill, and a colonel Brian O'Neill, who made himself infamous for his cruelties in the following year. See Harris, *State of the County of Down*, p. 35.

[22] *Bagnalls.*—The Bagnalls of Newry, descended from Nicholas Bagnall and Ellen Griffith, daughter and heiress of Edward Griffith of Penrhyn, North Wales. Their eldest son, Henry, born in 1556, was created marshall in 1583, thus succeeding his father in that most influential office. Their youngest daughter, Ursula, eloped with, and married, Hugh O'Neil, earl of Tyrone. The reader may find several curious letters relating to this affair in the *Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, new series, vol. i., p. 298, *et seq.* Henry Bagnall was killed at the battle of the Blackwater, in 1598. His eldest son, Arthur, married Magdalen, daughter of sir Richard Trevor of Trevalyon, Denbighshire. Arthur's son and successor, named Nicholas, died in 1712, without issue. By his will, dated 13th November, 1708, he bequeathed his vast landed property to his cousins, Edward Baylie of Gorsenen, in the county of Caernarvon, and Robert Needham then in Jamaica. On the 3rd and 4th of February, 1715, a partition of these lands was made, according to which Baylie obtained the Louth estate, together with certain townlands in the county of Down, whilst Needham took the property situated in and around Newry.—*Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, new series, vol. iii., p. 187.

[23] *Cromwell's tenants.*—See pp. 218, 219, *supra*. Cromwell's tenants were those only on the Downpatrick estate, as Thomas, the fourth baron Cromwell, had sold the lordship of Dundrum to sir Francis Blundell, and the estate in Kinalarty to Matthew Forde, in the year 1637. By and with consent of the crown, he sold the moiety of Kinalarty to Matthew Forde of Coolgreany, county of Wexford, for the sum of £8000; and in the month of July of the same year, the patent passed the broad seal vesting these lands in the Forde family. This baron Cromwell was created viscount Lecale, in 1625, and first earl of Ardglass in 1644. He died in 1653, leaving four sons, Wingfield, Vere-Essex, Thomas, and Oliver. Wingfield succeeded as fifth baron Cromwell, and second earl of Ardglass. He died in 1668, leaving a son Thomas, and a daughter Mary, the latter of whom died unmarried. Thomas succeeded as third earl of Ardglass, and dying without issue in 1682, was succeeded by his uncle, Vere-Essex, the fourth and last earl of Ardglass. The latter died in 1687, leaving one child, a daughter, who married Edward Southwell. See p. 264, note 18, and p. 295, note 10, *supra*.

[24] *Savages.*—Several respectable families of this surname, besides that of their chief, held lands throughout the Little Ards and Lecale, in 1640. In 1602, the heads of these families in the Little Ards were Patrick Savage, Rowland Savage, Richard Fitzrichard Savage, George Fitzpatrick Savage, Patrick Fitzedmond Savage, Henry Fitzedmond Savage, Rowland Fitzedmond Savage, Henry Fitzrichard Savage, Henry Fitzwilliam Savage, Owyne (John) Macferdoragh Savage, Redmond Oge Savage, Owyn Fitzgeorge Savage, and Ever Fitzsimon Savage. In Lecale, the principal men of this name were Edmond

symonds,[25] the Echlins;[26] also Mr. Wards,[27] and most of Kildare's[28] and Cromwell's tenents, were for him and his colleague partys.

Our two Viscounts (who though present) behaved as spectators only. This election was evident proof, what their Lordships could atchieve by their own Scottish interest; and so their regard was the greater with the Governors and Parliament.[29]

Macowen Savage, Richard Savage, Jenkin Boy Savage, Henry Savage, Owen Macredmond Savage, Patrick Savage, James Oge Savage, and Richard Macwilliam Savage.—Morrin's *Calendar, Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 628. In 1640, these men, or their sons, were active supporters of sir James Montgomery.

[25] *Fitzsymonds.*—Kitclief was the head-quarters of the Fitzsymonds, who were kinsmen of the Savages, having been the descendants of some Simon Savage, but they seem to have been known in 1640 as a distinct sept. Their leading men in 1602 were—Morris Obikine Fitzsimons, Walter Fitzrichard Fitzsimons, James Fitzgerald Fitzsimons, Obikine Fitznycholas Fitzsimons, Richard Fitzredmond Fitzsimons, Jenkin Fitzwilliam Fitzsimons, Henry Bane Fitzredmond Fitzsimons, Richard Fitzwilliam Fitzsimons, William Fitzgilligromey Fitzsimons, Edward Duff Fitzgilligromey Fitzsimons, Morris Fitzgarret Fitzsimons, Garret Bane Fitzpiers Fitzsimons, John Duff Fitzjenkin Fitzsimons, James Fitzpiers Fitzsimons, Sampson Fitzgilligromy Fitzsimons, James Fitzgilligromy Fitzsimons, and Patrick Fitzgilligromy Fitzsimons.—Morrin's *Calendar, Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 628.

[26] *The Echlins.*—See p. 137, *supra*. The principal family of this surname in the Ards was that of Ardquin, but their various marriage connexions were influential in 1640. In 1633, John Echlin of Ardquin, eldest son of the bishop, "in consideration of the loan of £1000 (for four years) obtained a lease, for 61 years, from lord Cromwell (Thomas), then viscount Lecale, of the lands of Inch (part of which projecting into the Coile river is still called Echlin's Point), Ballyrenan, Dunanelly, and Magheracranmony, and also of the Ferry and Ferry Boat of Portillagh, with liberty of fishing on Loughcoan, (now the marshes) at the annual rent of £110; with a proviso, that if said sum and interest were not paid within said term of four years, then Mr. Echlin was to hold the lands for 1000 years from the expiration of the said term of 61 years, at a certain rent. Mr. Echlin afterwards assigned his interest in the entire lands to his brother-in-law, Mr. Maxwell."—Hanna's *Account of Inch, in Downpatrick Recorder*. The lands above-named adjoined the property of Finnebrogue, which Mr. Echlin then also owned, and which, together with his grant from lord Cromwell, must have given him much influence at a county election.

[27] *Mr. Wards.*—In 1640, there was a large and influential connexion of this surname in the county of Down, the grandsons of sir Robert Ward, who had been appointed surveyor-general of Ireland in 1570, and settled at *Carrickna-Sheannagh*, 'foxes' rock,' now Castleward, near Strangford, which he purchased from the earl of Kildare. The eldest of these grandsons, Bernard, succeeded to the family estate at Castleward. The second, Robert, who married a daughter of John Echlin of Ardquin, had large landed property at Killough, and was created a baronet by Charles the Second for his loyal services to the crown.—Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., pp. 68, 69.

[28] *Kildare's tenants.*—George Fitzgerald, the sixteenth earl of Kildare, was born in 1612, and succeeded to his titles and estates when he was only eight years and nine months old. He was the first Protestant earl of his family, having been brought up in the communion of the established church by the duke of Lennox to whom he was given in ward, in the year 1620.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 107. He inherited extensive lands in Lecale from his ancestors, which, tradition affirms, were originally acquired by an earl of Kildare from the family of Maginnis, in gratitude for his having protected the latter against the usurpations of the Savages.—*The Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare, vol. i., p. 244; Harris, *State of the County of Down*, p. 22. It is more probable, however, that these lands came into the Kildare family by the marriage of Gerald, the eighth earl, with Alison Eustace, grand-daughter of sir Janico D'Artois, a noble Gascon chief, who had served as seneschal of Ulster in the years 1408, 1413, and 1422. At his death, in 1426, it was found by a post mortem inquisition, that he was in possession of "eight messuages and four carucates of land in Bright and Rasteglas, assigned to him by John Dongan, bishop of Down; Ardglass and Ardtole, the lands of Gilberton, now Ballygilbert, the gift to him of the abbot and convent of Inch; and a carucate in Nunton, now Ballynagallagh, the gift of the prioress and convent of the blessed Mary of Down, all lying in the parish of Bright. . . . On the attainder of Silken Thomas, the tenth earl of Kildare, in the reign of Henry VIII., his possessions in Lecale were seized into the hands of the crown, and farmed out to sir William Brabazon; and after his death, 9th July, 1552, to others. Gerald, the eleventh earl, was restored in blood and to the family estates, in 1552, being afterwards confirmed in them, by letters patent of queen Mary, the 13th May, 1554, and a further patent first and second Philip and Mary, 1555, to hold all which had been the inheritance of his father in use or possession at any time, by the service of one knight's fee. The lands are not set out in these patents; but it is quite apparent that from the high favour in which this Gerald stood with the sister sovereigns, Mary and Elizabeth,—receiving from the former, 28th October, 1557, a reversionary grant of the priories of Inch and Saul, of St. John, and SS. John and Thomas, and St. Patrick in Down; and from Elizabeth, in 1583, such a lease of the tithes—that any attempts on the parts of the bishops to reclaim Bright and Rossglas would have been perfectly useless."—Hanna's *Account of the Parish of Bright* in the *Downpatrick Recorder*. The Ardglass estate remained in the Kildare family until the year 1808, when it was sold by the right hon. Charles Fitzgerald, vice-admiral of the red, created baron Lecale, to his step-father, William Ogilvie, esq., whose great-grandson, Aubrey De Vere Beauclerk, now possesses it.

[29] *Governors and parliament.*—The two knights, sir James Montgomery and sir Edward Trevor, received

Now omitting (as much as I can) rehersall, I come to the 23d of October, 1641.[39]

13s. 4d. each per diem, for their services in Parliament. Irish members ceased, about the year 1666, to receive wages for their Parliamentary services.

[39] *23rd October*, 1641.—See pp. 151, 152, *supra*. The following letters, written a few weeks after the commencement of the rebellion, supply information not elsewhere to be found respecting the state of affairs in the baronies of Ards and Castlereagh. These letters were preserved among the Eglinton papers, having been originally addressed to the sixth earl of Eglinton. The first was written by a Scottish officer, named Hew Montgomery; the second, by the second viscount Ards; and both have been printed in Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., pp. 243-246:—

"My right honorable Lord—My most humble dewtie and service being remembered to your lordship: I thocht befor now to have wrytin to your lordship: but seldome falls it out that anie goes from heir to Scotland, neither is ther so muche as one considerable gentleman that comes ather to contribute his advyce, or to easy my Lord of Airdes of the smallest part of that infinit burthen and cair which lyethe upon him at this tyme, except Craybuye, a young gentleman, and William Shaw, who is Mr. Georg his brother in law; and they have more than eneuche to doe with the charge of ther two companies which they have in the regiment. As for us who are other officers under his lordship, your lordship knowethe we can be but small helpe in that which concernethe the countrie. His lordship was pleaset to keep up his Lewtenant Collonels place for me after he received yowr lordship's letter, for whiche amongste the rest of your lordship's singular favours, I stand humblie bonde to your lordship; but he had placet the shiref of Gallowayes sone his Major befor we cam; but to satisfie yowr lordship according to yowr lordship's letter, he appoyntet Captain Logane, his oldest Captain and Quarter-master. The strenthe of the rebels can not be known, nether doe they nor can they know ther owne strenthe; for all of them that can winne runes to them, and we know that they ar hudg numbers of men for the whole paele is out, who have a number of good armes quhiche they had gott from the lords at Dublin, and now refuse to restore them;—for their masters excuse themselves, and say that ther tenants ar gon out in rebellione with them. Dublin is very hard bestead; for all the Brittishe and uthers that ar protestants have send ther wyves, bairnes, and goods away. The rebells interceptet a good daile of armes and uther ammunitione that was cumming from Dubline (as we heir) for insetting of Tredathe; and increase daylie in strenthe, and goes on in ther former crewelties withe all sorts of persones, young and old; and except speidie assistance be sent from Scotland, be all outward appearance they will find but few of ther cuntrie men to welcom them, and verie evile landing heir; for we ar few and verie naked for want of armes to withstand them. My Lord of Airds his strenthe at Cummer will be 4 hundrethe foot, with sythes, cornforks, stafs, and few pykes, and about ane hundrethe and threttie muskets, whereof ane hundrethe cam yesterday to us from Dubline. My lord hathe lykwys 60 horsmen armed as they may be. Sir James lyethe at Downpatrick with ane old cumpanie of foot, ane other of horse, his owne regiment, and his troupe is about our strenthe, and so armet: he hes a matter of 60 horsmen of my lord Clandebuoys, and Sir Arthur Tyringhame lyethe at Lisnegarvie with a matter of eicht hundrethe men, wherof ar three old troupes of horsmen. This is our whol strenthe, and our fortificationes suche as Kilwinning and Irving. The rebells burne and kill everie uther night within a myl two or three unto us, nether can we helpe it; for what they doe is in the night, and if we send out a partie they have centinells on all the hills, and will not stand but reteir to the woods. We ar informet they ar divyding themselves in three; Sir Philome Oneil in two; wherof one half ar appoyntet for Lisnegarvie, and the uther for us, and Sir Conne Mc Gonnies and Mc Cairten for Down; yet it were but a small matter, if we had fyv thousand of such men and armes as wer at Newcastle, to marche towards them and give battel to threttie thousand in the open fields; for they ar a confuset multitud: but what resistance we ar able to mak, yowr lordship may judge be the former part of this letter. We heir Langshawes brother is killett but we ar not suir. Mr. Georg his house, and what was ther is all burnt. So praying the Lord whose aid we must onlie relye upon, to assist yowr Lordship and us, I rest, and shall whil I leive remaine, yowr lordships humble and obedient servant,

"Hew Montgomery.

"Cummer, the 17th of December, 1641.

"I must humble intreat yowr lordship to putt in a word for the Captaines meines quhat rests to me as yet, quhen yowr lordship finds occasion fitt; for notwithstanding of the outward appearances of our destructione befor your assistance cum, yet I am verie houpfull, by the grace of God, to be yowr lordship's humble servant quhen ther stormes ar over.

"To the right honourable and my verie noble lord, my lord the Erle of Eglinton.—Delyver thes."

[*Craybuye* abovenamed was the son of Patrick Montgomery of *Creboy* or *Craigbuoy*, in the parish of Donaghadee, brother-in-law to the first viscount Ards. See p. 28, *supra*. *Mr. Georg* was captain George Montgomery of Ballylesson, married to Grizzel, daughter of sir John McDowall of Garthland, in Galloway. See p. 94, *supra*. *William Shaw* was probably son of John Shaw, of Ballyannaway; he had also married a daughter of the laird of Garthland. *The shiref of Gallowaye* was sir Patrick Agnew, who had three sons, Andrew, James, and Alexander. The two younger were soldiers, and as James had a command in Scotland, Alexander was, most probably, the "Major" appointed by Lord Montgomery at "Cummer."] The second viscount Ards writes as follows:—

"Right honourable and my very good Lord—If I have not written to your lordship soe often as in duty I am bound, impute it not to any slackness or carelessness in me, whoe might alwise acknowledge myself more bound to your lordships favour nor to all the world beside, His Majestie being excepted. My lord, the trueth is, we are keept exceeding busy with the rebells, whoe burne and kill within a myle and a half to this place; insoemuch as from the Newry to this, ther is not a Scotts or Inglishe dweller; this being thirty four myles; nor from Downpatrick to Killyleagh, nor from thence hither. At Lisnegarvy ther is a garisone of seaven or eight hundred men, and some two troupes of horse; at Belfast ther is a garisone of a matter of three or four hundred men; at Carrickfergus ther is likewise a troupe of horse and some sex or seaven hundred foote; at Mosryne I hear ther is gathered together a matter of one thousand men. Heer I lye with a matter of eighte companys of foote and three troupes of horse. At Killyleagh ther is the Lord Clandeboyes, whoe, to speake truely, is extreame weake, onlye that he hes a stronge house. Upon Wensday last Major Barclay, Captain Inglis, and Mr. Elliott, went abroade with ellevin or twelve score men, as the report comes to me, wherof there wes seaven score musquetiers and the rest pikemen, some fyve or sex myles from Killyleagh. They mett with a party of the rebels, whose custom is to fall one with a great shout or cry, whereupon the most parte of the soldiers that wer with Barclay and Inglis fled before ever the rebells charged them; soe as these two or three gentlemen, with the moste parte of all the men, together with ther armes wer losed. Captain Alexander Hamilton wes come to the Newtone the day befor upone some occasiones, soe as now I beleeve my Lord Clandeboyes hes not above one hundred men with him. That night I sent out my Lewtenent Colonell and Major Crawford, with a party of 300 foote and 80 horses whoe marched all night, and in the dawning came to the Leigure, wher the rebells lay that ar on this syde of the countrey, whoe we did not think to have bene soe stronge as indeed they wer. But, praised be God! they returned home yester night with the losse only of two or three foote soldiers and four or fyve wounded, whoe, I hope, will not be the worse. They brought with them a prey from the rebells of a matter of twelve or thirteen score cowes, and had the cutting aff of above fifty of the rebells, who wer upwards of 1000 men. Major Blare being heer accidentally went out upone the party with them, he will acquent your lordship with the manner of the service. The rogues raised ther cry, but I thank God it wrought not upone our men. My brother Sir James lyes at Downpatrick, with a matter of sex or seaven companys, of his owne and a troupe of horse; and soe my lord this is the strength of these two countys for matter of soldiours. The people that are fled of the countys of Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Monoghan, and these of this county itself, from the Newry all the way to this place, ar soe burdensome that in trueth we much fear ther will be scarsety. My lord, the intelligence that we had from the neighboring counties of Ulster is cut aff by Sir Phelemy O'Neall, soe as I can give your lordship noe good account what the estate of the British is towards Colraine and Londonderry. By sea we have received intelligence from Dubline that all the lords

Sir James, as you heard, the summer of this year, had defeated *Daniel O'Neill's* mischief threatening designe,[31] and was now a widower at home,[32] assisting in his brother George Montgomery's[33] and Patrick Savage[34] their affairs, and minding his own, when the said rebellion broke forth; and having opportunity of Mr Galbraith,[35] he wrote to the King, then in Edinburgh, and by the same hand received the (yet extant) Commission for his regiment and troops, (which he raised by his own money and credit). He armed and otherwise fitted them for service, and went into the barrony of Lacahill[36] about the beginning of December, 1641, and subsisted his men by

of the pale are in armes and that the papists all over the kingdom are also up: that Tredath, which is within 20 myles from Dubline, is besieged, wher the Lord Moor commands some four or fyve troupes of horse, and Sir Harry Touchborne, a very brave gentleman, a regiment of foote. The passage to them by sea being blocked up; the Lord Moore's house of Mellefant taken by the rebels, with the loss of some men on each syde, sex hundred men that were sent from Dubline to Tredath wer cutt off by the way. It is reported that they rob, burne, and kill neer to Dubline. It is likewise said that ther ar 10,000 Englishe landed at a place in Monster called Yoghill; that 20,000 li. of moneys is likewise sent over; and that the Londoners have contributed 10,000 li. to the maintenance of the ware. By advertisement from my brother Sir James, I understand that Sir Cone Maginis, Turlogh O'Neall, Sir Phelemy's brother, and M'Carten ar joyned together, having at least 2500 horse and foote ready to enter into Lecale. The rest of all the strenthe of the countrey heer are likewise ready to fall down upone these parts, soe as we cannot give assistance one to another. Notwithstanding that I have several tymes ayded Lisnegarvey, they refused to goe out with me against these rebells, though for the present they ar pretty and stronge; soe as all of us doe severally lye upone our guards, expecting the setting on of the rebells. In a word, my lord, our present conditione is as hard as can well be imagined; and the harder that we want armes and amunitione. By your lordships favour I have had the supply of some gentlemen that I must needs comend to be proper men and good soldiers, which makes me the more grieved that we should want such provisiones as might enable us to performe that service which might be expected from such commanders; for supply wherof, if it please God to send it in time, under whom I doe relye on your lordship; for which ther is no security that your lordship is pleased to draw up and send unto me but I will sign whatsoever comes unto me. I must supply my brother with a parte of it, for which I will take his security. My lord, all the supply of armes I have had from the beginning hes come unto me out of Scotland, by the means of a private friend of myne, who is well knowen to your lordship; from the Lords Justices and State heer I have only had a matter of 100 musquetts; wherof I have sent a parte to my brother from His Majesties store at Carrickfergus. I have been refuissid of a supply of amunitione; they wrote unto me that the store house was ill provyded, and that they hoped I might be supplied from Scotland. I know your lordship now expects to be informed what provisions is to be had heer for the intertayning of the forces that shall come from that Kingdome; my lord, all I can say to that is, that ther is yet some reasonable store of cornes and other provisione in these corners that the rebells have not yet marched over; but if the armye be long a coming, the shorter the provisions will be every day. The more ground the rebells gain on us, the shorter our store must be, and if we shall be cutt aff before the supplyes come, the les safety will be for ther landing. And soe, my lord, craving pardon for this my tedious letter, praying God to bless your lordship and all yours, and to protect us, I remayne, your lordships affectionat cousen and humble servant,

"MONTGOMERY.

"Mont-Alexander, the last of December, 1641.

"It is certain that these gentlemen ar cutt aff to my Lord Clandeboyes, and 100 musquetts lost with other armes; wherewith the rebells fought the next day against the party I sent out."

[31] *Mischief-threatening design.*—See p. 84, *supra*. The portion of the *Manuscripts* explaining this affair is unfortunately lost. After Strafford's removal and execution, sir James Montgomery appears to have been engaged in undoing whatever plan had been commenced by the former to compensate or reinstate Daniel O'Neill, son and heir of Con O'Neill of Castlereagh.

[32] *A widower at home.*—Probably after the death of Margaret Cole, his second lady. Sir James Montgomery's first wife died early in 1635, and his third in 1648, but we have not been able to ascertain the date of his second wife's decease.

[33] *George Montgomery.*— See p. 94, *supra*.

[34] *Patrick Savage.*—See p. 89, *supra*

[35] *Mr. Galbraith.*—See pp. 158, 159, 164, *supra*. In the following letter written by sir James Montgomery on the 6th of December, 1641, and now for the first time printed, the writer speaks of Mr. John Galbraith as a trusted agent between the government and the British officers in Ulster. This letter was addressed to Ormond immediately after sir James had received his commission from the king:—

"RIGHT HONBLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD—The manyfold experiences that I have had of your lordship's undeserved favor, and the Noble Expressions your lordship has been pleased to make of your future resolutions to doo me good, makes me now confident that at this tyme when his Majestie has been pleased to honour and make me happie so much under your lordship's command, that I shall now find the continuance of your reall and noble favoure, And by the assistance of Almightie God your lordship shall see that I shall acquit my self of this imployment and trust his Majestie has given me, as it becomes a gentleman and a souldior, if wee get such tymelie supplies from the State as are absolutely necessarie for our subsistence, the good of his Majestie's service and the safetie of these parts: And that the State may the better know in what Condition wee now stand in these parts, and what the supplies are which wee must presently have, my Lord Montgomerie and I have imployed this Gentleman, Mr. John Galbraith, of purpose to make the same known unto the Lords Justices and your Lordship, to whose relation (that I may be the less troublesome) I remit the same, and am your lordship's most humble servant,

"J. MONTGOMERIE.

"For the Right Honble. The Earle of Ormond, Lieutenant generall of his Majestie's Army in the Kingdome of Ireland—These."—*The Carte Papers*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. ii., p. 87.

[36] *Lacahill.*—Anciently *Leth-Cathail*, 'the portion of Cathal,' a native Irish chief who lived about the year 700. Lethcail or Lecale has been the name of this district since about the year 823. The Rev. Dr. Reeves was the first to put this forward, and the reader may see his clear and learned argument therefrom as to the age of the *Book of Rights* cited by O'Donovan in his preface to that work, p. xi. The earlier name of Lecale was *Maghinis* 'the insular plain,' so called from the fact that its boundaries, with one exception, are so well marked by the sea. In the Annals of Ireland, it is mentioned by its earliest recorded names of *Maghinis*, under the years A.M. 3529 and 3942; and by its name *Lethcathail*, under the years A.D. 823, 850, 891, 892, 908, 927, 942, 1004, 1006, 1022, 1147, 1177, 1226-7, 1276, 1333, 1391, 1427, 1468, and 1469.—Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, pp. 203, 205. Lord Leonard Grey, the lord deputy, who made an expedition into this territory, in the year 1539, has the following account of his journey:—"For so much as Mr. Treasurer

the grain which the enemy had deserted on his first appearance (which was wonderfull soon); and by help of the grain of substantial Brittish inhabitants living next the Ardes, and by preys of cattle taken from the Irish beyond Dundrum.[37] Thus he protected Lacahill for diverse monthes

was farmer of the king's country of Lecayll, and that Savage, chyeff capitayn of his nation, would not pay his farm into the Treasurer; and besides the said Savage brought into the said country divers Scottys, which had much of the said country in their subjection, it was concluded betwixt the said Mr. Treasurer and me that we should have gone towards the said Lecayll. And so with the host we set forward and entered into the said country, and took all the castells there, and delyvered them to Mr. T., who hath warded the same. I took another castell, being in McGynous' countrey, called Doundrome, which I assure your lordship, as it standeth, is one of the strongest holds that ever I saw in Ireland, and most commodious for defence of the whole countrey of Lecayll, both by sea and land; for the said Lecayll is invironed round about with the sea, and no way to go by land into the said country, but only by the said castell of Doundrome. . . . . I assure your lordship I have been in many places and countries in my days, and yet did I never see for so much a pleasanter plott of ground than the said Lecayll, for the commoditie of the land, and divers islands in the same, invironed with the sea, which were soon reclaimed and inhabited the King's pleasure known."—*State Papers* (Ireland), vol. iii., p. 155. See also Brewer's *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, p. 49. Sir Thomas Cusake, lord chancellor of Ireland, has the following notice of Lecale in his letter to the duke of Northumberland, bearing date the 8th of May, 1552:—"The next country to the same eastward is Lecaill, where Mr. McBrerton is farmer and captain, which is a handsome plain, and champion country of 10 miles long and 5 miles breadth, without any wood growing therein. The sea doth ebb and flow round about that country, so as in full water no man may enter therein upon dry land but in one way which is less than two miles in length. The same country for English freeholders and good inhabitance is as civil as few places in the English pale."—Brewer's *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, p. 242. The following is sir Henry Sidney's account of Lecale in the year 1575:—"Leavinge that Countrie, I passed thoroughe *Lecale*, which is my Lord of Kildares Landes, and there found dyvers verye honest Freholders; but moche of the Countrie wast, but nowe on the mendinge Hand, and far the better since the Earle of Essex had it and that by his Planting of Tenauntes, and Placinge of Soldiours; so that it doth verye well defend itself."—*Sidney Letters and Memorials of State*, vol. i., p. 76. Marshal Bagenal's *Description of Ulster*, in 1586, contains the following notice of this territory:—"*Lecahull* is the enheritance of th' Erle of Kildare, geven to his father and his mother by Quene Marie; it is almost an island and without wood. In hit is the Bushop's Sea called Downe, first built and enhabited by one Sir John Coursie, who brought thither with him sondrie Englishe gentlemen and planted them in this countrey, where some of them yet remayne, thoughe somewhat degenerate and in poore estate; yet they holde stil their freeholdes. Their names are Savages, Russels, Fitzimons, Awdleis, Jordans, and Bensons."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 153. The following account of Lecale about the year 1597, or 1598, is printed by Dubourdieu in his *Statistical Survey of the County of Antrim*, vol. ii., p. 627, from a Manuscript in the possession of the late dean Dobbs, the original of which is preserved in the Lambeth Library:—"*Le Cahell* is the inheritance of the Earls of Kildare, given to his father and mother by Queen Mary, at their marriage, and the earl's restitution to his blood and lands, in place of some of his living given away to others by patent by king Henry the eighth, in the time of his attainder. It is almost an island, and no trees in it. In it is the bishop's seat, called Downe, first built and inhabited by one *Sir John Courcey*, who brought with him sundry English gentlemen, and planted them in this country where some of their posterity yet remain. Their names are, Savadges, Russels, Fitzimmons, Audlies, Jordans, Bensons." The modern barony of Lecale, which is coextensive with the ancient territory, includes the towns of Downpatrick, Dundrum, Strangford, Killough, and Ardglass.

[37] *Dundrum.*—The rock now occupied by the ruins of Dundrum castle was a military position from the remotest times. The bay is mentioned in an ancient historical Tract entitled *Cathreim Chonghail Childiringnigh* or 'Battles of Congal Claringneach,' recording the principal events of a civil war in Ulster, at the commencement of the first century. The inner bay is also mentioned as *Loch Rudhraidhe*, in a note to the metrical calendar known as the Feliré of Aengus.—O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials for Ancient Irish History*, pp. 262, 429, 634. The annals of Ireland record a great battle fought at Dundrum in the year 1147, between the Ulidians on the one side and the Cinel-Eoghan and Airghialla, on the other. A century later, Dundrum was known as *Dundroma Dairinne*, 'the Fort of Dairinne's Ridge,' being then the scene of a conflict between the Irish and their Anglo-Norman invaders. The last-mentioned name appears in a poem composed by Gilbride Macnamee, the poet and friend of Bryan O'Neill, king of the Northern Irish, during a part of the thirteenth century.—*Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, p. 159. John De Courcy rebuilt Dundrum castle for the knight's Templars, by whom it was held until the abolition of their order in 1311. After their expulsion, the castle and manor were granted to the priory of Down, and occupied by that religious house, until its suppression. The next owner was Gerald, earl of Kildare, after whom the Magennisses again reappear as possessors of their ancient fortress. They were finally expelled, and their lands forfeited, on the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion. Dundrum, and its seven townlands attached, were then granted to sir Edward Cromwell, by whose grandson, Thomas Cromwell, lord Lecale and first earl of Ardglass, it was sold to sir Francis Blundell in 1636. The lands, including the castle, are now owned by the Downshire family as the representatives of the Blundells. The castle was in good condition when sir James Montgomery drove out the Magennisses and Macartans in 1642. In 1652, the garrison placed in it was removed by order of Oliver Cromwell, and the castle immediately afterwards dismantled.

against all the great body of the Irish dwelling on *Mr. Bagnal's*[38] and the *M'Genisses*[39] estates, and those in Kinalerty[40] and Iveagh[41] Barronys, who were assisted by their neighbours in the

[38] *Mr. Bagnal's.*—See p. 306, *supra.*

[39] *M'Genisses.*—See p. 306, *supra.*

[40] *Kinalerty.*—Kinelarty, was the country of the Macartans. It is the ancient *Cinel-Faghartaigh, i.e.*, 'Race of Fagartach,' the tribe-name of the Mac Artans of Kinelarty.—Reeves's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, pp. 213, 368. "They derive their name from Faghartach, son of Mongan, son of Saran, of the race of Ross, king of Ulster. From Artan, the grandson of this Fagartach, they took their hereditary surname of Mac Artain, in the tenth century."—*O'Donovan's Note in O'Daly's Tribes of Ireland*, p. 60; *Book of Rights*, p. 206. Of the Macartans in the sixteenth century, O'Daly speaks in the following very depreciatory terms:—

> "The Cinel-Fhaghartaigh are the men!
> Remnants of curses and lies,
> Large, soft, dastardly men,
> Blind, crooked, shin-burnt."

James Clarence Mangan has the following versified paraphrase of this passage:—

> "Big fellows the Kinelarty are, with fat eyes,
> They are growlers and grumblers even over their tumblers;
> For snapping and snarling, and quarrelling and lies,
> You might travel a long time to see their
> Bare equals on earth—or perhaps in hell either!"

—*Tribes of Ireland*, pp. 61, 95.

Sir Thomas Cusake, lord chancellor of Ireland, in his letter to the duke of Northumberland, dated 8th May, 1552, mentions the territory of Kinelarty as follows:—"The next to that country is Mac Cartan's country, a man of small power, where are no horsemen, but kerne; which country is full of bogs, woods, and moors, and beareth the captain of Lecaill."—Brewer's *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, p. 242. Sir Hen. Sidney, in 1575, thus speaks of Kinnelarty:—"From thence I came to *Kinnaliartie*, or *Mac Cartains* Countrie, which I found all desolate and waste, full of Thieves, Outlawes, and unreclaymed People; none of the old Owners dare occupie the Lande, because it hath pleased her Majestie to bestowe the Countrie upon Capten *Nicolas Malbye*, tied, nevertheless, to soch Observacion of Covenannt and Condicion, as Chatterton had his. Al be it I could wish *Malbie* a farre better good Torne, both in Creditt and Commoditie, then that Countrie is, or can be to hym (for so I think him worthie) yet for that I see there is no Possibilitie in hym to do any good, but to spoyle and wearye hym selfe, and bourden his Freindes, and make the Countrie wast, and altogether abandoned of Inhabitauntes. I would wishe that some reasonable Recompence were offered hym for his good Contentment, and that the Quene should resume the Landes, into her own Handes, and then Profitt of Rent and Service would be made of it, where nowe no Benefitt arryseth at all to *Malbye*, nor none ells; but contrariwise, beinge held as it is, breadethe moche Trouble and Inconvenience to the good Neighborhoode, and commen Quiet and Securitie of the Countrie."—*Sidney Letters and Memorials*, vol. i., p. 76. The following is Marshal Bagenal's account of this territory:—"*Kinalewrtie*, otherwise called McCartan's countrey, is likewise a woodland and boggy; it liethe betweene Kilwaren and Lecahull. In tymes past some interest therein was geven by Sir N. Malbie, but never by him quietlie enjoyed: nowe the Capten thereof is called Acholie McCartan, and doth yeld onlie to the Quene. He is able to make aboute 60 footemen, but no horsmen."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 152. The following account of Kinelarty about the year 1597 or 1598, occurs in a MS. belonging to the Lambeth Library, and was printed in Dubourdieu's *County of Antrim*, vol. ii., pp. 626, 627, from a copy in possession of the late dean Dobbs:—"*Kineleartie*, otherwise called MacCartaney's country, is likewise a woodland and bogg; it lieth between Kilwarlin and Le Cahell. The captain hereof is called *Acholy MacCartan*, and did yeald to the queene, but now adhereth to the Earl of Tyrone, as one of O'Neal's vassals. He is able to make two hundred and sixty footmen, but few or no horsemen, by reason that the country is so full of woods and boggs."

[41] *Iveagh.*—The ancient territory comprised the two modern baronies of upper and lower Iveagh. It was the country of the Magenises. See a full account of the origin of the name, and its early chiefs, in Reeves's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, pp. 349—352. Upper Iveagh contains the towns of Newry, Rathfriland, Loughbrickland, and Rosstrevor. Lower Iveagh includes the towns of Dromore, Magheralin, Hillsborough, Moira, Warringstown, and Gilford. In 1641, several protestants, the descendants of English settlers, and others, resided in Lecale, whilst the adjoining baronies of Kinelarty and Iveagh on the north-west and west, contained a population almost exclusively Irish. The protestants in Iveagh, Kinelarty, and Lecale, who escaped massacre, fled, generally, into the Ards, where the Montgomerys had hastily raised such a force as not only protected their own district, but under the command of sir James Montgomery, advanced into Lecale, driving the Irish from that barony, and thus protecting the settlers from massacre. The following notice of this territory is contained in sir Thomas Cusake's letter to the duke of Northumberland, written on the 8th of May, 1552-3:—"The next to O'Hanlon is McGynnes' country aforesaid, where in the Nivonye Mr. Marshal's farm is situated. The same McGynnes is a civil gentleman, and useth as good order and fashion in his house as any man of his vocation in Ireland, and doth the same Englishelike. His country is obedient to all censes and orders. The same Iveaghe hath been parcel of the country of Downe, and he, being made sheriff thereof, hath exercised his office there as well as any other sheriffs doth."—Brewer's *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, p. 242. The following is sir Henry Sidney's account of Iveagh, in the year 1575:—"Next I came to *Ferangh*, or *Mac Dennesse* (Mac Genness) Countrie, which is not yet recovered, but feeleth still the heavye Burden of former Spoyles, and impeached with present ill Neighborhoode, and speciallye of those twoe Countries before remembred; and the worsse planted, manured, and inhabited, for that he is not sure of it by any certeine Estate, and therefore desireth by Peticion (which here inclosed I send your Lordships) that he may have it confirmed vnto him from her Majestie. He hathe since the first Tyme I brought hym out of Subiection to *Oneill*, remayned a constant and assured good subiecte, growen civill and verye tractable, accompanied me this Jorney hym selfe, and his Force, with that forwardnes to serve her Majestie, as there wanted

Fews[42] and other places of the county of Ardmagh, Sir James being desired to return thither, as he did on the 20th of April, 1642.[43]

This Dundrum is an old castle, five miles from Downpatrick, and belongs to the Blondells,[44] a family of knightly degree. Sir James had placed a strong garrison there, and from thence had sent

no Token of good Will, wherein he might expresse any Note of assured Fidelitie and Obedience."—*Sidney Letters and Memorials*, vol. i., p. 76. Marshal Bagenal, in his *Description of Ulster*, mentions this district as follows:—"*Evaghe*, otherwise called McGynis countrey is governed by Sir Hugh McEnys, the cyviliest of all the Irishrie in those parts. He was brought by Sir N. B. from the Bonaght of the Onels, to contribute to the Q. to whome he paiethe an anuall rent for his landes, which he hath taken by letters patentes, to holde after the Englishe manner for him and his heires males, so as in this place onelie of Ulster is the rude custom of Tanestship put awaie. Maginis is able to make above 60 horsmen and nere 80 footmen; he lyveth verie cyvillie and Englishe-like in his house, and every festivall daie wearethe Englishe garmentes amongest his owne followers."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 152. The following account of Iveagh is contained in a MS. belonging to the Lambeth Library, and is printed in Dubourdieu's *Antrim*, vol. ii., p. 625, from a copy then in the possession of dean Dobbs:—"*Eveagh*, otherwise called Magennis's country, was lately governed by Sir Hugh Magennis, the civilest of all the Irish in these parts. He was brought off by Sir Nicholas Bagnall from the bonnoght of the O'Neille, to contribute to the queene, to whom he did pay an annual rent for his lands, which he took by letters patents to hold after the English manner for him and his heirs male—so as in this place only of Ulster the rude custom of thanistship was taken away. But this old knight being dead, his son hath succeeded, who being a young man hath joined himself with Tirone his brother-in-law (for Tirone hath to his wife the sister of this Magennis), and thereby he hath cast away his father's civility, and returned to the rudeness of the country. Magennis is able to make eighty horsemen, and near two hundred footmen."

[42] *The Fews.*—From *Fiodha*, 'woods.' The name was written *Fedan* by the English in the sixteenth century. See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ix., p. 131. The ancient district of *Fiodha* included the two modern baronies of the Fews, upper and lower. The Fews mountains (whose name is totally a different word from the name of the barony) were the natural defences of Ulster in that quarter against incursions from the Pale. The town of Markethill, and the villages of Belleek and Hamilton's Bawn are situated in the lower Fews. Of this territory sir Henry Sidney gives the following account in 1575:—"The *Fews*, the Countrie of *Phelim Roos* sonnes, and *Orerye* (Orier), the *Chalons* (O'Hanlons) Countrye, I found in extreme Disorder; not onelye for universall Wast of theim selves, but for the intolerable Annoyaunces and spoyles of their Neighbours in both Borders, as well Englishe as Irishe. The Landes of bothe which Countries were geven by her Majestie by Indenture, to Chatterton, who nowe remayneth there in Englande, I suppose halfe dismayed, of the vntowarde successe of this Enterprise, and the little Possibilitie he findethe, either in himselfe or his Partners, to do any good, but wast theim selves, and sett up ther Restes of Vndoinge, before they bringe any Thinge to good Effecte."—*Sidney Letters and Memorials*, vol. i., p. 75. Marshal Bagenal speaking of this territory, in 1586, says:—"*Fewes* bordereth upon the English Pale, within three miles of Dundalk; it is a very stronge countrey of woode and bogg, peopled with certeyne of the Neyles, accustomed to lyve much upon spoile of the Pale. It was of late appointed to contribute to the Erle of Tyron. They are able to make some 30 horsmen and 100 footemen."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 150. Before the settlement of sir Nicholas Bagenal at Newry, the territory of the Fews was comparatively waste, "and Shane O'Neille dwelling within less than a mile of the Newrie, at a place called Feidem, suffering no subject to travel from Dundalk northward: but, sithence the building and fortifications made there by the said Sir Nicholas, all the passages were made free, and much of the country next adjacent reduced to reasonable civilitie; till this late rebellion of Tirone hath stopped again all the said passages, and laid the country in a manner waste, as it was in the said time of Shane O'Neille."—*The Lambeth MS.* as quoted in Dubourdieu's *Antrim*, vol. ii., pp. 624, 625.

[43] *20th of April*, 1642.—Sir James Montgomery was recalled from Lecale on that occasion to protect the country around Comber and Dundonald, daily threatened by the Irish under Con Oge O'Neill. He returned at the request of his brother, Hugh, second viscount Montgomery.

[44] *The Blondells.*—Sir Francis Blondeville, or Blundell, the founder of the Irish branch of this family, was appointed, in 1610, to the office of surveyor, estimator, and extender of all manors, lordships, messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments, woods, possessions, and revenues of the king in Ireland, to have and enjoy said office, when the same shall happen to be vacant by the surrender or death of sir William Parsons, to whom said office was granted in December, 1602, to be exercised by the said Blundeville, or Blundell, or his efficient deputy, for life, and to receive for the exercise thereof the fee of £60, English, in as ample a manner as Galfrid Fenton, knight, and William Parsons.—Erck's *Patent Rolls, Reign of James I.*, pp. 751, 752. In 1625, sir Francis Blundell was appointed to the office of treasurer and general receiver of Ireland at a salary of £63 13s. 4d. About the year 1627, Thomas Cromwell, afterwards first earl of Ardglass, sold to sir William Blundell, probably a son of sir Francis, the manor or lordship of Dundrum; and in 1629, sir William obtained a license to hold a weekly market at Dundrum every Friday, and two fairs, one on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, and the other on the feast of St. John the Baptist. The patent recites that the grant was given "for the public good of the inhabitants residing in or near Dundrum, and with the intention that they may have trade and commerce among themselves, and with other liege subjects, in buying, selling, and exchanging commodities and merchandise, by which the

divers parties, which drove preys from the Irish, beyond this place, which galled them to the heart, and they watched all opportunitys for revenge, (which he knew well enough they would do); but was not thereby deterred from laying seige to Newcastle,[45] where the Irish had a garrison, it being a pass to secure the sea coasts towards Carlingford,[46] which was fully in their possession; also it was an inlet for all the Irish in that tract to come into Lacahill, and to settle themselves in the castles of *the Russels*, and of others,[47] whom Sir James had expelled out of that barrony.

rude and country people of that region may be led to a more humane and civil mode of life, and the more easily procure a provision of all necessaries."—Morrin's *Calendar, Reign of Charles I.*, pp. 2, 452. The fourth and last baronet, sir Montague Blundell, born in 1689, was created baron of Edenderry and viscount Blundell. On his death in 1756, these titles expired.—Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*, p. 600.

[45] *Newcastle.*—"The ancient name of Newcastle was Ballaghbeg, *Bealachbeag* 'the little road' or highway, which is still the name of the townland wherein it is situated. It is said to derive its present name from the castle erected by Felix Magenis, in 1588; but this is not reconcileable with history, for we find mention made of it by the name Newcastle (*Fearsat an Chaislein nui*, 'the ford or pass of the new castle') in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year 1433,—a century and a half before the erection of the castle by Felix Magenis; but the probability is that a castle existed here before that time, and in all likelihood on the site of the latter, which guarded the Pass. . . . The castle here spoken was, some few years ago, in excellent preservation, and rented by the Board of Customs for the accommodation of officers of the revenue. It was situated, as Harris observes, close to the sea-shore, but it has been pulled down, and on its site the late Earl Annesley erected that splendid edifice now known as the *Hotel Buildings*."—The late J. A. Pilson's *Account of Newcastle*, printed in the *Downpatrick Recorder*. Prior to 1641, the town and castle belonged to sir Con Magennis, but after the rebellion of that year, the property was confiscated, and granted to William Hawkins, great grandfather to Robert Hawkins, who assumed the surname of Magill, and was married first to Rachael Clotworthy, fourth countess of Antrim, and secondly to the lady Anne Bligh, daughter of John, earl of Darnley. The date 1588 was inscribed on a stone placed over the front entrance of the castle, built by Felix Magenis at Newcastle.—Harris, *County of Down*, p. 80.

[46] *Carlingford.*—The waters of Carlingford lough become "contracted at Caol ('narrow,' in the same sense in which the Scotch use the word *Kyles*), now Narrow-Water, which is only a version of the Irish name Caol-Uisge, as it appears in the *Annals of Ireland* at the year 1252, in which it is recorded that a castle was built here by the English."—Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 114.

[47] *Castles of the Russells and of others.*—Besides Jordan's castle, and at least three others in the immediate vicinity of Ardglass, there were throughout the barony of Lecale, Castleward, Castle-Bright, Castlescreen, Castle-Audley, and Castle-Welsh, all which are supposed to have been built by Anglo-Norman leaders, as defences against the native Irish, whose lands they had appropriated. Some of these structures were built on sites that had been occupied by earlier fortresses. As the following passage contains an interesting account of the Russells, and has reference also to several other families of the district, we here give it entire:—"According to Burke, the ancestor of the Russells, of Killough, and various other branches in Ireland, was a cadet of the house of Kingston Russell, in Dorsetshire, who accompanied De Courcy, in his conquest of that part of Ulster, subsequently forming the northern portion of the Pale, and from whom he received a grant of the lordships of Killough and Rathmullan. This circumstance is referred to in the act for the attainder of Shane O'Neill, passed in 1569, wherein, after reciting De Courcy's conquest, it states that there remained at that day in Ulster certain stirpes of English blood, as a testimony, as the Savages, Jordans, Fitz-Simous, Chamberlins, Bensons, Russells, Audleys, and Whites, and the Act specially provides that nothing therein should prejudice, *inter-alia*, the Earl of Kildare, the Bishop of Down, Rowland White or his heirs, Christopher Russell, of Lecale, or his heirs, or Patrick Goughe, late of Mourne, in the county of Down, his heirs, feoffees or assigns. Passing by several other branches of the family who settled in the counties of Waterford and Limerick, the former being Parliamentary Barons, but now extinct, the latter being still represented in that county, we proceed to Thomas Russell, Baron of Killough, in 1316, and fifth in descent from the companion of De Courcy. He had two sons, of whom James, the eldest, married Maria, daughter of Magenis, of Iveagh, by whom he had issue a son, also called James. Richard, the second, married Margaret, relict of Milo Mandeville, and was appointed Grand Justiciary of Ulster by Richard II., in 1385, and Chancellor of the same province in 1388; the succeeding year, having committed to his custody Dunover, Ballytrustan, Corrock, Ballygalget, and other lands in the county of Newtown, in Ulster. The younger James married Rohesia Macartan, and was succeeded by his son George, who married Catherine, daughter of Hugh Boy O'Neill, of Claneboy. Notwithstanding his affinity and family alliance with the neighbouring Irish families, we find this George in the reign of Henry IV. with his seal, as that "Georgi Russhel Baronis," to a singular document now preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, and to which are appended the seals of the Bishop, the Prior of the Cathedral, and Archdeacon of Down, of the Abbots of Bangor, Saul, Inch, Grey Abbey, and the Commonalties of the city of Down, and the towns of Ardglass and Kilcleth. This record contains a miserable representation of the then existing state of the earldom of Ulster, owing to the wars waged by sea and land on the English, by the Bretones and Scots of the out isles, confederated with the O'Neylls, O'Kane, M'Quillan, Magenis, Macartan, and the O'Flynns, and the thraldom and tribute they imposed, calculated in a short time to utterly destroy the earldom, unless the King would send people to inhabit

As Sir James lay before Newcastle aforesaid, with a brass field piece and some falcon-

and defend the land, and assist his true liege man, Janico Savage, the Seneschal of Ulster, whose exertions were highly lauded as deserving of reward. [Communication by W. Reeves, D.D., in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. v., p. 132.] George was succeeded by his eldest son William, who married Anne, daughter of Alexander Mor MacDonnell, of the Glens of Antrim, by whom he was father of John, Baron of Killough, in 1490, who married Johanna, daughter of Robert Savage, lord of Ardkeen, who, with Savage, of Portaferry, styled lord of the little Ardes, were also Palatine Barons of Ulster. His son Henry succeeded, and married Judith, daughter and heir of Carbery M'Cann, chief of Clanbrassil, in the county of Armagh, and was succeeded by his eldest son James, eighth Baron of Killough, who married Mary, daughter of Rowland Savage, of Portaferry. About this time branched off the families of Rathmullan (of whom hereafter) Seton, County Dublin, &c., and Bright, in this county, sometimes called of Ballyvaston, and Ballygallaghan, now Ballynagalliagh. In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, we find Christopher Russell seated at Bright Castle, and his lands as before mentioned, expressly reserved from confiscation, by statute. These were Ballygallaghan, held by Knight's service, and Ballyvaston, *alias* Balleboston, *alias* Westpelston; Ballynebert, *alias* Newphertowne; and M'Crowllis Quarter, *alias* Mullaghaire, held under George, Earl of Kildare, as of the Manor of Ardglass. He married Margaret Fitz-Simons, and died 22nd July, 1619, leaving Richard his heir, who married Elinor, daughter of Nicholas Ward of Castleward, and had no issue, and a daughter Mary, who married Phelim Magenis, of Tullamore, otherwise Bryansford, by whom she had one son, Bryan. This Bryan eventually succeeded to Tullamore, and the Ballyvaston estates, and dying unmarried, was succeeded by his sister Ellinor, the wife of Captain William Hamilton, of Erinagh, ancestor of the Hamiltons, Earls of Clanbrassil and Limerick, and of the present Earl of Roden. We now return to James, eighth Baron of Killough, who was succeeded by his son George, who, also succeeding to property at Sheephouse, County Meath, settled there, and married Ellinor, daughter of Richard Fleming of the noble family of Slane, in that county. He died in 1596, leaving Nicholas, his son and heir, and two other sons, John and James, the latter ancestor of the Quoniamstown family still existing, and to whom was given that town and Ballyneshrihe, now Ballystrew. Nicholas, the eleventh Baron, in May, 1606 sold the townland of Ross, to William Merryman, of Bishop's Court, and in June, 1620, with the consent of his only son Patrick, who afterwards died without issue, sold also, the town and lands of Killough to his brother John, who settled in that place for some time, until he succeeded to Sheephouse, on his brother's death, when he became twelfth and strictly speaking, the last Palatine Baron of Killough, as, after the civil wars of 1641, that town was confiscated, under the Act of Settlement, 180 acres being granted to Robert Hamond, or Hammon, and 42 acres to the Duke of York, afterwards King James II. His descendants, however, continued to occupy a distinguished place in society. George, his eldest son, having married Mary, daughter of Arthur Magenis, and niece of Hugh, second Viscount Iveagh. His great grandson Thomas, had a numerous family, of whom Andrew, a Captain in Lord Bellew's regiment, was killed at the Boyne, and another at Aughrim, while John, his second, who married Anne, daughter of William Gardiner, of Dublin, Esq., had two sons, who died without issue, whereupon this branch became extinct and the representation of the Russells of Ulster fell to the Quoniamstown family. We, therefore, return to James, third son of George, ninth Baron of Killough. He died in 1605, and was succeeded by his son George, who died in 1645, leaving (by his wife Margaret) a son and heir, Patrick, who married Maria (daughter of Cahill O'Hara, of Crebilly, in the County of Antrim), and was afterwards killed fighting for the royal cause. Under the Act of Settlement, Ballystrew was allotted to William Brett, of Saul, and afterwards of Ballynewport; and Quoniamstown to the Duke of York;—but, Patrick's widow having (according to a family tradition) travelled on foot to London from Holyhead (not having means to proceed by a public vehicle), Charles II., at her earnest remonstrance and petition, had these grants abrogated, whereupon the lands were returned to Patrick (her son) by the Court of Grace. He married Alicia Hussey, of the family of the Barons of Galtrim, in Meath, and was succeeded by his son, Valentine Russell. He served as Sheriff for the County Down (in 1687), and married, to his first wife one of the Magennis's, by whom he had a large family of daughters; and, to his second wife (9th Feb., 1683) Mary O'Hanlon—being directly the reverse of what is stated by Burke—on the authority of the pedigree compiled by the late Sir William Betham. He had been outlawed for high treason at Banbridge (the 20th of Oct., 1696), as was Lord Iveagh (in July, 1691); also James Russell, of Quoniamstown; Patrick, of Marshalstown; Christopher, of Downpatrick; Arthur Magennis, of Castlewellan; and several of that name, besides numbers of Macartans, O'Laverys, Garveys, Crolys, M'Ilboys, M'Connells, Rowland Savage (of Portaferry), Rowland Savage (of Newry), &c., the entire outlawries amounting to upwards of one hundred and seventy, including several clergymen, a list of whom we possess. In consequence of this outlawry, the estate of Valentine Russell was forfeited, although a claim was filed by Hugh O'Hanlon, as next friend of his son Patrick (a minor), stating the estate to be entailed; and, also, on behalf of his relict, Mary Russell, asserting her right to a rent-charge of £40, in lieu of dower under her marriage articles. It was accordingly sold by the Trustees of the Forfeited Estates, 22nd June, 1703, when it was purchased in trust for the minor, by Lieut.-General Robert Echlin, of Rush, son of Robert Echlin, Esq., of Ardquin—he paying £60 for a chief rent of £3 charged on Coniamstowne, 263 acres; and Ballynastrew, 170 acres; and £440 for the Trustees' right and title in the lands. Patrick, the minor, married Mary, daughter of John Crilly, Esq., of Kilcurry, County Louth, and had issue a son and heir, Patrick, junr., who married Christina, daughter of Admiral Tyrrell, but, leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother, Thomas Russell. He married Margaret, daughter of John Byrne, Esq., of Castletown, County Louth; by whom he was father of the late Patrick Henry Russell, of Ballinfull, County Louth, and Swords, County Dublin. The latter married Frances Maria Theresa, daughter of Thomas Mac Mahon, Esq., of Drogheda, and died in the year 1840, leaving four sons:—1. Thomas John Russell, the present proprietor of Quoniamstown and Ballystrew,

ets[48] of his own, the like whereof the enemy had not, he so warmly plyed it, that the besieged conditioned to give it up if not relieved by their friends in three days, for which time a cessation of arms was agreed on, but no permission granted to revictual that place. Then Sir James, leaving a sufficient blockade, withdrew thence (not two miles) to his head-quarters at Dundrum Castle, which stands on a high hill, and hath plain prospect of Newcastle and the country round about it.[49]

On the third day, his scouts on all hands brought him certain word of the enemys approach from all quarters, in great numbers. He rode out with his troope to stop passes, and to view their several partys with his perspective glass, and finding that any one of them was his over-match; he, therefore, raised the seige, and brought the men to join the rest at Dundrum, himself and the horse and some firelocks (whom he placed in the ditches), staying on the roads to retard the enemy's march; and so they disputed the highway, killing many of the Irish, beating them back very often, till Sir James (his ammunition being near spent, his foot firemen weary, and his troop almost jaded,) seeing another great party of the enemy marching towards the Castle, and like to intercept his late besiegers and himself, he, therefore, in time sent to Dundrum his commands for fresh men and ammunition; and with them he staid and made good his retreat to the bridge, called Blackstaff,[50] at the head of the Strand,[51] with all his small party (being not half of his regiment) deserting the garrison, as untenable against such a force. He halted at the said bridge and reinforced his men, which lay at the pass next Newcastle. The tide coming in, made the Irish draw up on Dundrum shore.[52]

who married first (in 1822) Marie Christine, second daughter of the Marquis de St. Gery, by his wife, a daughter of the late Count de Mac Carthy, of Thoulouse; and, secondly, (in 1833) Marie Josephine Aglae Ferdinande, only daughter of the Marquis de Flamarens, one of the bed-chamber to Charles X. 2. Henry, now of Dublin, barrister-at-law; and Edward George, who died at Mostaganam, in Western Africa, January, 1842, while serving as a volunteer against Abd-el-Kader."—Hanna's *Account of Killough, with Notices of the Parishes of Rathmullan and Bright*, published in the *Downpatrick Recorder*.

[48] *Falconets.*—A falcon was a small cannon carrying shot of about two pounds and a-half; and a *falconet* was a smaller piece of ordnance, whose diameter at the bore varied from two to four inches, carrying shot generally of one pound and a quarter weight.

[49] *Round about it.*—The view from Dundrum castle is very extensive, commanding, as it does, the inner and outer bay, the main sea stretching away to the south, the insular plain of Lecale eastward, with the magnificent sweep of mountain scenery to the south-west.

[50] *Blackstaff.*—This bridge spans the river called Blackstaff, near the point at which its waters are emptied into the strand or inner bay of Dundrum. This stream, also called formerly the *Annadorn*, from a place of that name near its source, forms for a considerable space the boundary between Kinelarty and Lecale. There are several other rivers of this name in the north of Ireland, one of which falls into the Belfast lough, and another separates the Great from the Little Ards. "The valley of the river is moory and rugged, composed of alluvial deposit, the river itself winding its way in serpentine coils; and formerly defended on the East by an earthen rampart and fosse called the '*black ditch*,' now nearly obliterated. Near this spot, unsuitable as it now appears, was formerly encamped one of the most successful armies which Queen Elizabeth sent forth for the subjugation of Ireland, and commanded by one of her most puissant and successful generals, one of her most accomplished statesmen, Lord Mountjoy, though one singularly destitute of humanity or moral principle."—Hanna's *Account of the Parishes of Tyrella and Ballykinlar*, in the *Downpatrick Recorder*. See also Reeves's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, pp. 201, 204; Harris's *State of the County of Down*, p. 143.

[51] *Head of the Strand.*—This celebrated strand is mentioned in O'Daly's Satirical Poem as the path by which the poet intended to pass from Ard-Uladh into Lecale:—

> "It will not be long ere I cross the strand,
> To the place where wine is got;
> To visit the youths who never were,
> Without a desire to watch the king's roads."

On this verse, O'Donovan has the following note:—"*The King's high road, i.e.*, to rob passengers if they were gentlemen or merchants. These were evidently the Magennises of Dundrum, in the county of Down. Dundrum was famous for wine. Here Shane O'Neale had at one time two hundred tun of wine in his cellar, 'whereof and of usquebaugh he would drink to that excess that to cool himself he would be put into a pit, and the earth cast round him to his chin, and so remained, as it were, buried alive till his body was in better temper.'"—*Tribes of Ireland*, p. 61, and *note*.

[52] *On Dundrum shore.*—The tide here referred to was that of the inner bay of Dundrum—in its flow covering the strand, and by its ebb leaving a wide space for crossing to and fro from Dundrum to Tyrella.

Sir James (on his first full discovery of the powers of the Irish) had sent for the rest of his regiment, and the militia countrymen, who, with baggages, boyes, horses and provisions, repaired to him with all expedition; whilst he was refreshing with meat, and encouraging his wearied men by his words, as he had done that day by his conduct, and the example of his actions. He was now well posted at the bridge, on the entry of the barrony, where it is a sort of peninsula.[53]

The timely and martial retreat which Sir James had made, gave them all great confidence in him, and his approved courage animated them greatly; which was confirmed when they saw their comrades and countrymen come to them. Sir James told them he must beat those rebels forthwith to regain what they had left and could not keep for want of the reinforcement. They joyfully assented; and so Sir James went and ordered them in a battalion, to march in that order straight against the enemy as soon as the tide would permit.

Here I must not omit to mention the keenness and spight with which his men had fought, (I may say without fear or witt,) especially the troopers, for they were men that escaped on horse-back with sword in hand, and had seen (as most of the foot also had escaped and beheld) their houses burned; their wives and children murdered.[54] So they were like robbed bears and tygers, and

[53] *Sort of peninsula.*—If Lecale at large be the peninsula here referred to, it was formed by the Blackstaff River and the inner Bay of Dundrum on the West, the sea on the South, and Strangford Lough on the North and East.

[54] *Murdered.* — These recruits, of which Sir James Montgomery's force was largely composed, had made their escape to the Ards from other districts in Down, where atrocious massacres had been perpetrated by the rebels. At Downpatrick, Killileagh, Newcastle, Donaghmore, Newry, Lough-Keran (near Tullylish), and Poyntz-Pass, the most revolting cruelties had been perpetrated under the immediate sanction of Bryan O'Neill, Lady Iveagh, and other influential Irish.—Harris, *State of the County of Down*, pp. 35, 76, 81, 84, 85, 92, 106. The Lough-Keran massacre was perpetrated by means peculiarly horrible. The tragic details are in part preserved in the *Depositions* of Peter Hill, esq., taken in the year 1645. The following is an extract, printed by Harris, *County of Down*, p. 107 :— "About the beginning of March, 1641, four score men, women, and children—English and Scottish—were sent, by direction of Sir Phelim O'Neill, from the county of Armagh to Claneboys, in the county of Down, where they were met by Capt. Phelim M'Art M'Brian and his company of Rebels, most of his own sept, who carried and forced all these Protestants to a Lough called Lough-Keran, in the same county, and forced them upon the Ice, both men, women, and children. Finding the ice so frozen that they could not be drowned, they forced them as far as they could on the ice; but not daring to pursue them, for fear of breaking the ice under their own feet, they took the sucking children from their parents, and with all their strength threw them as far as they were able towards the place where the ice was weak; whereupon their parents, nurses, and friends, striving to fetch off the children, went so far that they broke the ice, and both they and the children perished together by drowning, all save one man that escaped from them wounded, and one woman." The massacre at Downpatrick is detailed in part in the following *Depositions* of Lieut. Edward Davies, here printed for the first time, and interesting, as preserving the names of several Irish leaders of the district :—

"The Examination of Lieuft Edward Davies, who, being duely sworne, saieth that he was in the Lord Cromwell's house, in Downepatrick, when it was beseidged by the Lord Maginis, Viscount Evagh, and Collonell Conne oge oNeile, the 9th of ffebry, in the yeare 1641, And that aboute six weekes after Lieuft Collonell Alixhander Hamelton, whoe comanded the s[d] Lord Cromwell's house, did cappitulate w[th] the afores[d] Lord Maginis and Collonell oNeile, and did artickle with them for the surrender of the s[d] house as ffolloweth, viz.—that Collonell Daniell Maginis should be sent to Killaleagh castle, and Mr. William Lloyd should remayne in the Lord Cromwell's house for the space of 14 daies as hostages for the performance of the s[d] artickles; Secondly, that all the amunition and provision in the house should be delivered upp to the s[d] Lord Maginis and Collonell oNeile, and the halfe of all the musketts, firelocks, and other Armes that were in the house; Thirdly, that the officers and souildiers belonging to the s[d] house should march a way to Balentogher Castle w[th] the rest of the Armes with flying coulors, droms beateinge, light matches, muskets laden, and buletts in theire mouthes; Fourthly, that the Lord Cromwell's servants, and all others that had goods in the house, and were there themselves, should have 14 daies tyme to transporte themselves and theire goods to aney Garrison belonging to the British forces, and further, this deponant saieth that when the officers and souildiers marched a way he remained in the house w[th] Mr. William Lloyd to see the Lord Cromwell's goods sent away, and that within a day or two after the lord Maginis and severall others beinge in the Lord Cromwell's hall, there cam in one of theire folowers and said that the souldieres had begun to fire the towne, whereuppon one Rorey M'Euer or Ever oge Maginis said to the lord Maginis, my lord, goe into the towne, and give orders for the fireing of the towne, for your predessessors have had the name of it twice, and doe you take it the third tyme, upon w[h] the s[d] Lord went downe into the towne, and remayned there till the towne was all on fire, and then returned again to the house; and, further, this deponant saieth that M[r] William Lloyd, meetting the s[d] lord, said, my lord, it seemes you have sett all Downe on fire, and the s[d] lord replyd yea, noe, replyd the s[d] lloyd, you have left on thing unfired yett that hath don you more harme then ever the towne did, and the s[d] lord asked him what that was, and the s[d] lloyd replyed, and said it was the Gallowes, for said he it hath hanged more of your kinne then ever the towne harmed you. And this deponant further saieth that the same day theire Armey marched into lecale, and to Downe, that there were severall ould decripett men and woemen in Downe that lived uppon the Almes of others, and others that were house keepers that stayed in the towne, maney of w[h] were most bloodeyly murthered at theire

could not be sattisfied with all the revenges they took, for they spared not the enemy nor themselves. It was a Commander's labour to restraine their chargeing till the due time; and then their enraged and implacable fury was unresistable, for they whetted one another's malice when they went to fight, saying, "let us take amends for the murders and mischiefs those cowardly dogs and their friends have done to us and ours."[55]

interinge into Downe, butt by whome, or by whose comand, this examinatt doth not knowe, allsoe this examinat Saieth that there was one Rorey oDonlahan that was formerly a servant to this examinat, and he was sent from Mr West of Balydogan to this examinat, wth a letter, and was taken by that party and hanged in the towne but by whose Comand he knowes not, And further saieth that the within named Daniell Maginis was then a Collonell in that Army, and that the persons that were Killed in Downe at that tyme to his knowledge were these, Robertt Holmes, Cathrin Gradell, Anne Betts, Elin Erwine, Abraham Hemton, and Dorothy his wife, and one Philip that was a servant of John Smyths and one Anne a charwoeman, whose sirnames he knowes not, wth severall others, and further saieth that he took a party out of the house and Caused the the corps of the persons aforemenconed to be buried after the Surender, and further saieth that the aforenamed Daniell Maginis did acte as a Collonell in that Armey, and further saieth not

"EDW. DAVIES."

To which Deposition is added the following :—

"And this examinat being demanded further saieth that he saw the persons hereunder named in Downe and in Armes wth the rest at the delivery upp of the Armes and other provisions that were to be surrendered as aforesd, viz.—The Lord Evagh, Conne oge oNeile deceased, Daniell Maginis now in prison, Patr. Macartan now in prison, Owen Macartan now in prison, Georg Russell of Rathmullen, Phelemey McToole oNeile deceased, William Gibons of Balykinlar deceased, Rorey McEver oge Maginies deceased.

"EDW. DAVIES."

—*Depositions* in Library of Trinity College, Dublin, lettered *Down*, 2808, *MSS.*, F. 3. 8.

55 *Us and ours.*—The soldiers, and others, sometimes imitated the atrocities of the Irish, as the following details, now printed for the first time, too clearly prove :—

"The examination of Thomas Dixon of lecale, aged abt fourty years, taken the 7th May, 1653, who sayeth that the second yeere of the Rebellion he dwelt in Byshop's court. And that in the first yeere of the Rebellion one Cormach Macgueere went out the first moneth, and within fyve or six dayes after came in, and was three nights in Dounepatrich with Sr James Montgomery, whose Regiment then lay in lecale; and then the sayd Cormick Mcgueer went out agayne. This examinat further sayeth, that in the second yeere of the Rebellion Capt. George Montgomerie's troope being brought into lecale, and going abroad to meet with such of the Irish as used to come into the Iland and fall upon such off the Inhabitants as they could meet wth going betwix garrison and garrison. It happened, that one tyme, that Cornet Jonstone, then quarter master, And Ralph Read, and an other whose name this examinat sayeth he knoweth not, and also this examinat were together att Ardglasse, where this examinat had a brother, Robert Dickson. That while they were together, some of Ardglasse gave Intelligence to quarter Mr Jonstone, that some of the Rebells were in the rockes; as they used often to be, as this examinat sayeth, and from thence did sculke out to kill such as they found opportunity against. This examinat sayeth that Quarter Mr Jonstone and the others went out and found Cormick Mcgueer in the Rocks, the noyse whereof coming to the toune, he this examinat went out, and found the foresayd quarter Mr with others chasing the sayd Mcgueer, and that, at last, they invirened him, and did kill him. He further sayeth, yt he can not particularly tell whether quarter Mr Johnston first, or any other, or all of them together, fell upon the sayd Mcgueer, But that he was killed by the forenamed persons. And that he, this examinat, knoweth not whether he himself gave him any wound or not, nor whither ever he touch'd him or not. This examinat further sayeth, that his brother, Robert Dixon, told him, this examinat, that the sayd Mcgueer, with two more, one lay pursued the sayd Robert Dixon, betwix his barne and his house, and not being able to overtak him, because the sayd Dixon was on horse back, that the sayd Mcgueer returned to the barne and hanged the sayd Dixons barne man.

"Taken before us,
"G. BLUNDELL.
"JA. TRAILL."

DIXON.
"THOMAS T. O. his marke.

"The examination of John Mackdonnell of Lecale, being aged about thirty-foure years, taken the 7th May, 1653, who, being sworne, sayeth that on the second yeare of the Rebellion he was in Ardglasse, and on a Sabbath day in the morning, being lying in his bed, the Drumer of that Company of Sr Jas: Montgomery's Regmt, whereof Capt. Wode was their lieutenant, came into his the examinat's house, and asked a loane of his foulling peece. This examinat desyred to know what he would doe with itt. The sayd Drumer (whose name is Dunbar) replyed that he had some use for itt, but knowing, by this examinats further answer, that it was roosty and not fixed, he went out agayne without it. This Examinat further sayeth, that about half an hour after the sayd Drumer went out, he, this Examinat, heard a cry in the street, and as he was rysing to putt on his cloathes, Thomas Riske, one of the four men whom this Examinat after heard was killed, then came into this Examinat's house, haveing a wound in his neck, from whch: the blood did spring againe. That the sayd Riske sayd to this Examinat, that the soldrs were about to kill him, and desyred, therefore, this Examinat to goe to Leut. Wode be caused hinder the soldrs in that action; that this Examinat sayd he knew not what good his speaking could doe, yet by and by he putt on his cloake, and being come abroad, he found that four men were killed, whose names, as this Examinat remembers, were Thomas Riske, Petr McCanon, Richard McLyon, and Patr. M'Elay. But by whom they were killed he, this Examinat, knoweth not. But he sayeth, that the report was that Edward Jackson and Will Hamilton were the killers of them, and lykewyse that the report was among the soldrs that Leut. Wode gave order for the killing of the foresayd foure men.

McDONELL.
"JOHN + + his marke.

"Jurat.
"G. BLUNDELL;
"JA: TRAILL."

"May 4, 1653.

"The Examination of Katharine Gilmore of Ballenahince, taken before me the day and yeare above written.

"AMBROSE BEDELL.

"Who saith yt 8 dayes before the Candlemas next after ye Rebellion, shee then liveing in the towne land of Ballydavy, in ye Barrony of Castlereagh, altogether with tenn famlyes more, of all whch 11 familyes there were (of men, weemen, and children), killed to her owne knowledge, seaventy and three by a great company of people (being), to her estimacon, in number about 200, who were brought thither by one Andrew Hamilton of the fforte, James Johnson, the elder, and James Johnson, the younger, both of Balledavy, John Crafford of Crafford's Burne; and further she saith, That James Johnson, the elder, killed one Henry O Gilmore, brother to the Examinat, in her owne sight, and likewise shee sawe the sd James wth his swoord slashing att one Edmond Neeson, who was killed, but shee knoweth whether hee made an end of him or not, for on the receipt of the first blow, the sd Neeson runn to the lower end of the house, among the rest of his neighbours, the cause of ther knowledge is, that a short space before the sd Andrew Hamilton had putt her out of the doore of the house in Consideracon of her , after which shee saith that by reason there were many of Hamilton's Company about the Doore she laye her downe in a Ditch which was right before the doore, where she was unespied of any as she supposeth, the night being very darke, rayny, and windie, & 4 or 5 lights in the house; the whch lights the sd Hamilton or his men caused the Examts mother to make for them a little before supper tyme, of whch lights they carried same to any house for to give them light, to composse their designe.

"The Examt further saith, she saw one Abraham Adam kill James O Gilmor, her owne husband, and Daniell Crone O Gilmore, and Thurlagh O Gilmore; she further saith, that at her going forth of the house, a sister of hers tooke houlde of her, for to goe out wth her, and the sd Abraham Adam strock of her sd sister's arme from ye Elbow, wth a broade swoord, the sister's name was Owna O Gilmore."—*Depositions* of 1641, Trinity College, Dublin, lettered *Down, MSS.*, F. 3. 8.

The Irish army, of above 3000, were drawn up (as aforesaid) on the shoar and the fields above it; and the tide was going fast out, and they seeing all Sir James's foot, being about eight hundred, (yet with ten colours,) and his small brass guns before them, flanked with the troops and militia men (about 300) in the reare, with baggage men and boys on horse behind them. All those (except the reserves) drawn up at three men deep, and making a long front, the enemy guessed aright that it was Sir James's design to march over the Strand, and to charge them in that order. So they took the wisest and safest course to march off, before the sea was third part ebbed; and when they were at the back of the next hills, they dispersed in companies to their several passes and quarters.

Sir James had no designe but to fight them on fair ground; where his troop and brass pieces gave him the advantage against their numbers, and where he was in no danger of ambusses. However, when he saw the Irish intended to draw off their main body, he detached his troop, with a firelok behind each of them, and two soldiers (with their muskets) on every baggage horse, and came up with the rest, and his artillery (as fast as they could march) to sustain his troop and dragoons, who were very eager to regain the honor they thought they lost by their retreat. And being full of revenge, they attacqued the Irish rear, most partys killing many, and giving no quarter, unless to a prime officer, (of such were their best gentlemen,) by whom a ransom, or exchange of friends (detained prisoners by the Irish) was expected.

The troops and dragoons pursued them two miles, where there was no danger of ambushcade; and night drawing on, Sir James retired to his men (by this time drawn up,) and they encamped under Dundrum, which was deserted; Sir James sending, in his view, a party of dragoons, with his brass gunns, to Newcastle, which the Irish had also evacuated of men and arms. He put (and furnished with victuals) a good garrison therein, to be a frontier to the pass (near it) aforesaid, and to be an inlett to scoure in the woods of Ballaghenery[56] and the lands about Tullaghmore.[57]

He strengthened, also, Dundrum Castle with provisions, though the soldiers had no houses

[56] *Ballaghenery.*—More correctly *Bealach-a-neir*; now Ballaghanery, about three miles south of Newcastle, in the parish of Kilkeel, and barony of Mourne. See Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 207; Reeves's note to *Mac-Cana's Itinerary*, in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 49. In a wood at this point, twenty-four Protestants, including a clergyman named Tudge, lieut. Hugh Trevor and his wife, and a Mr. Weston, all of Newry were massacred by a partyof Irish under George Russell of Rathmullan, by order of sir Con Maginnis.—Harris, *State of the County of Down*, pp. 81, 93.

[57] *Tullaghmore.*—Now Tollymore or Bryansford, in the parish of Kilcoo, and barony of Upper Iveagh, This place, now so well-known, is somewhat more than two miles north-west of Newcastle. Harris states that near Tullamore, "on the skirts of Sliev-neir and Sliev-snavan (mountains so called) the Lord Limerick has two Deer-parks, remarkable for excellent venison, or rather, one divided into two, by a wall carried through the middle of it, finely wooded, cut into ridings and vistoes, and watered by a river running through it in a channel of rocks and precipices, which passes under a bridge of hewn stone, from whence are beautiful prospects of the sea."—p. 81, 82. This place so remarkable for its natural beauties, has been tastefully improved by succeeding occupants, and is now one of the most charming residences in the county. The *lord Limerick* mentioned in this extract was a great-grandson of John Hamilton of Tollimore, brother of the first lord Clannaboy, and member of parliament for Killileagh in 1613.—*Lodge, Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii. p. 7. Bryansford, the name by which this place is now generally known, was so called from Bryan M'Agholy Magennis, the native Irish chief to whom it belonged, and whose daughter, Ellen, was married to captain Hamilton of Erinagh, a nephew of the first viscount Clannaboy. Her son, James Hamilton of Tollimore, or Bryansford, succeeded to the property, on the death of her brother, Brian Maginnis, without issue. This James Hamilton's grand-daughter, Anne, was married in 1752, to Robert, first earl of Roden. The present, or third earl of Roden, enjoys the estate of Bryansford, in virtue of his descent from Bryan M'Agholy Maginnis. See Hanna's *Account of the Parish of Bright* in the *Downpatrick Recorder*.

but cabbins, within the old walls to garrison in, who were to clear the fields about Cloghmaghrecatt[58] (Mr Annesly's house[59] within a mile of it), and other lands about itself.

Sir James (upon the Irish drawing off and disappearing) had sent his militia to their posts; but he kept the baggage horses and boyes in his camp, for the Coyle bridge[60] was broken down,

[58] *Cloughmaghrecatt.*—"A short distance from the head of the strand, or upper inlet of Dundrum Bay, stands the post town of Clough, nearly half way between Castlewellan and Downpatrick. It is of considerable antiquity, under the names of *Rath-cath*, 'the Battle Fort,' and *Cloughmaghericatt*, 'the stony field of the battle.' . . See Reeves's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, pp. 28, 215. In 1641 it was the property of Matthew Forde, Esq., a Protestant." Clough, or Cloughmaghericatt, originally belonged to the Macartan family. In 1612, James I. granted it and the surrounding lands to Thomas Fitzmaurice, but it came by purchase in 1615-16 into the possession of sir Francis Annesley, all whose lands in the county of Down were by patent dated 19th January, 1618, erected into the manor of Cloughmaghericatt.—Hanna's *Account of Clough* in the *Downpatrick Recorder*.

[59] *Mr. Annesly's house.*—This Mr. Annesley was Francis, the eldest son of sir Francis Annesley, by his second wife, Jane, sister to Philip, first earl of Chesterfield. Francis Annesley, the younger, succeeded to his father's lands, in the county of Down, and settled at Clough, near which he built a mansion house as a residence of his family. In 1744, a Francis Annesley, sen., resided at Clough, and Francis Annesley, jun., at Castlewellan.—Hanna's *Account of Clough*; Harris, *State of the County of Down*. pp. 78, 82.

[60] *Coyle bridge.*—This is the bridge near Downpatrick over the Coyle, now *Quoile*. "Perhaps," says Harris, p. 38, "it should be called the *Coyne* bridge, as it affords a safe way over a branch of the lake, anciently called Lough Coyne (Cuan), and gives a short cut from Downpatrick, in the barony of Lecale, into the baronies of Dufferin and Castle Reagh." This conjecture by Harris as to the word Coyle is not worthy of his usual accuracy. "The name," says the Rev. Dr. Reeves, "is derived from the Irish *caol* 'narrow,' which is sometimes pronounced like *keel*, and sometimes, as in Scotland, *kyle*." The bridge over the Coyle had been built by Thomas Cromwell, lord Lecale, before the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, but was soon afterwards broken down, whether by the insurgents, or others, we have not been able to discover. The following is Mr. Hanna's notice of the building of this bridge, from his *Gossipings about the Parish of Inch* in the *Downpatrick Recorder*:—"Notwithstanding that Lord Lecale had granted the Ferry at Portillagh to Mr. Echlin, he, about the year 1640, built a bridge between Portillagh and the Coile, which, owing to there being an old mill at the spot, was called the Old-Millbridge. This bridge being entirely erected at his own cost and charge, he, in June, 1641, presented a petition to the House of Lords, praying a contribution from the country towards his charge, the work being very beneficial to the commonwealth; respecting which petition the Lords desired to confer with the Commons, who, in accordance with that desire, appointed a committee of fourteen members to meet their lordships on the matter. At this conference, evidence was given, shewing that Lord Lecale had not only expended great sums of money in erecting the bridge, from which the country thereabouts received great benefit; but that he had also lost the advantage of the ferry which he formerly enjoyed; and that the upholding thereof would be a growing charge, if kept in requisite repair. It was therefore ordered by the Commons, on the 9th of July, that a select committee should prepare a bill for reasonable tolls to be received by Lord Lecale, in consideration of his charges, and for the future maintenance thereof; and, upon further consideration, it was also ordered that the Speaker should write to the then next going Lords Justices of Assize for the County of Down, praying them, in the name of the House, to take the contents of the petition and order into consideration, and to enquire, by the Grand Jury, or other lawful means, how far the said bridge was useful to the inhabitants thereabouts, &c. The following letter was, accordingly written by the Speaker:—

"My Lords,—I am commanded by the House of Commons to recommend unto your Lordships' grave consideration the inclosed Petition and Orders of this House, touching a Bridge erected by the Right Hon. the Lord Cromwell, Lord Viscount Lecale, in the County of Downe; and I am further commanded to pray your Lordships to enquire by the Presentments of the Grand Jury of the said County, how useful the erecting and continuing of the said Bridge hath been, and is like to be, to the Inhabitants thereabouts: and of what Toll, and of what Nature, and how much and by what Persons payable, is, and shall be fitting to be settled for the said Lord Cromwell and his Heirs, for the Charge he hath been, and shall be at, for the building and maintenance of the said bridge: and to certify the said Presentments, together with your Lordships' opinion unto this House, to the End that a Bill may be prepared in that Behalf, as shall be thought fit.—I commit your Lordships to God, and remain, your Lordships' very loving Friend,

"Maurice Eustace, Speaker.

"'14 Julij, 1641.

"'To the Right Honorable the Lords Justices of Assize for the County of Downe.'"

The journals of the Commons do not contain any statement of the Judges having returned the required certificate, though doubtless such was done, nor is there any evidence of a Bill being introduced authorising the levying tolls, though afterwards such were imposed, and subsequently bought up by the county. For the loss Mr. Maxwell sustained in the profits of the ferry, owing to the erection of the bridge, he claimed compensation from Wingfield, Earl of Ardglass, who succeeded to the estates in 16—, and the latter in 1657, abated the annual rent of the Inch, &c., lands to £50, with a condition of further abating it £10 annually, when the old bridge which had become greatly dilapidated was rebuilt, but that if within three years the bridge was rebuilt and Mr. Maxwell paid £500, Earl Wingfield should re-possess the lands. The bridge having been rebuilt about 1679, and the money repaid, proceedings were instituted in Chancery for the recovery of the lands, and a decretal order to that effect pronounced. Eventually, however, all disputes between the parties were referred to, and arranged by James Leslie, of Sheepland, Esq.; the legal proceedings released Mr. Maxwell, August, 1680, from Thomas, the third Earl of Ardglass, a

and only a ferry used on that side; so that Anacloy river[61] guarded that quarter of the barony, and the sea secured the rest. There was no inlett to it, but by the Strand, or the said bridge of Blackstaff, which had a fort and a garrison that had communication with Dundrum Castle, and but the other pass, near Newcastle, which was secured as aforesaid, and the troop quartered near it.

Yet for all Sir James his circumspection, the Irish (by boggs above the fort and bridge aforesaid, between it and the said river,) came by night into Lecaile, and surprised a small garrison, which lay too secure, being surrounded by a lough, all but one togher[62] before the drawbridge. Our men had lain in hutts among the burned walls of the dwelling-house (called Ballydugan),[63] belonging to Mr West, a gentleman of estate thereabouts; but Sir James, gathering some forces and reinforcing the frontiers aforesaid, skirmished with the enemy, who had come out to prey on the country, whom he routed and pursued to the said togher, investing the house with a close siege, and drawing his gunns against it, preparing boats from Portaferry, Strangford, Killeleagh and elsewhere, which might come to him in two or three tides after orders given; and, in the meantime, bestowed some great, and many small shott on the enemy. Some of them were killed with stones that fell from the battered walls, under which they skulked; others were wounded or killed (as they peeped out) by our fowlers, and by our musketeers, who were by experience become good marksmen.

The besieged Irish had some good officers, but they durst not sally, for fear of our men, and of the falconettes planted before the togher. Their soldiers were picked out as the most resolute, and had the provision layd in for our garrison, and good store they brought on their own and the partys backs which conveyed them; and daily expected more thereof, with arms and ammunition. So they were provided, hoping Sir James's departure out of Lecaile, by reason of the descent which they understood that *Con Oge O'Neile*[64] was to make into the Ardes, and were well resolved

new grant of the entire lands for the residue of the original terms of 61, and 1,000 years, to commence on the expiration of the first term."

[61] *Anacloy river.*—This river had four different sources; two in the parish of Dromore, one in the parish of Annahilt, and one in the parish of Hillsborough. It is known as the Ballynahinch river, until it reaches Annacloy, and from thence until it falls into the south-west, or triangular branch of Strangford Lake, it is called the Annacloy river.—Harris, *State of the County of Down*, pp. 143, 144.

[62] *Togher.*—From the Irish word *tochar*, a 'causeway,' or 'pavement.' This word forms part in the names of many places throughout Ireland, as the reader may see by referring to the elaborate index published by the late Dr. O'Donovan in his noble edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Tougher, toker, or tochar, always denotes a causewny or pass through a bog, whilst the word *bealach* is invariably applied to a pass or opening between two mountain ridges. In 1634, a bill was introduced into the Irish parliament, by Robert lord Dillon, entitled an *An Act for the repairing and amending of bridges, cawsies, and toghers, in the high-ways.—Commons Journals*, vol. i., p. 132. The Togher referred to in the text was situated in the present townland of Ballintogher, parish of Saul, and barony of lower Lecale. See *Examinations of Edward Davies*, p. 317, *supra*. Lough Falcon, which was held by the Irish garrison referred to by the author in the text, was very small, comprising only about four acres in 1744, and had probably few advantages in 1641 as a place of defence.—See Harris, *State of the County of Down*, p. 151.

[63] *Ballydugan.*—Harris mentions Ballydougan house as standing on the verge of Strangford lough, having once been a "large strong House, with a draw-bridge and turrets for defence, burned down by the treachery of servants in the rebellion of 1641. See *Examinations of Edward Davies*, p. 317, *supra*. The present owner of it (1744), Mr. Henry West, lives in one of the out-offices."—Harris, *County of Down*, p. 39. Ballydugan is the name of a townland in the parish of Down. See Reeves's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 30.

[64] *Con Oge O'Neill.*—Con Oge was son of Con of Castlereagh, and younger brother of the well-kown Daniel O'Neill, see p. 84, *supra*. In O'Mellan's manuscript *Journal of the Wars* of 1641, he is called Conn Og mac Cuinn (son of Con) mic Neill mic Brian Fagartaigh. In Henry Mc Tully O'Neill's *Journal of the most Memorable Transactions from the year* 1641 *to* 1650, Daniel O'Neill, Con Oge's elder brother, is stated to be nephew of the famous general, Owen Roe O'Neill. See *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii., p. 520. Their mother, Con O'Neill's first wife, was therefore niece to Hugh, earl of

to abide the uttermost. But, being told of a storm by water, as well as at the togher (which they knew very feazable), and fully designed by the incensed Sir James, and wanting (as I said before) British hearts in them, and despairing of relief, by the siege being raised, they parlyed; yet no condition was granted, but a convoy for the safety of their lives, and that they should not be stript of their cloths. On which conditions they surrendered.[65]

Tyrone, being the daughter of his brother Art O'Neill. The journals of O'Mellan and Henry Mc Tully O'Neill speak of Con Oge as having been slain at the battle of Clones in 1643. At may 13, 1643, O'Mellan says:—"We lost colonel Con Og son of Con son of Neale son of Brian Fagartach." In reference to the latter point, Henry Mac Tully O'Neill says—"In this action, which continued more than a full hour, the Irish lost about one hundred and fifty men, among whom colonel Con Oge O'Neill, Daniel's brother, was murdered by a Presbyterian minister after quarter given." See *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii., p. 492. It is to be regretted that the assassin's name is not recorded. It was customary, however, with such ministers to accompany the Scottish troops as 'chaplains' in their desolating raids among the Irish throughout various parts of Ulster. "One of the followers of the Scotch army on this expedition (the raid conducted by Monro during the preceding summer of 1642), was Livingstone, a Presbyterian minister, who, either in search of plunder, or to gratify an impure curiosity, made a particular inspection of the dead bodies of the Irish slain at the passes of Kilwarlin. For in his *Life* he says:—'They were so fat that one might have hid their fingers in the lirks of their breast.'" See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii., p. 79, *note*. Livingstone had probably no other motive for his conduct on that occasion than simply to gratify a feeling of triumph in surveying the bodies of dead papists.

[65] *They surrendered.*—The submission of the inhabitants of Lecale was considered a triumph of great importance for British interests in Ulster, and especially as that district had been entirely under the control of the insurgents who thus surrendered to sir James Montgomery. On the 7th of October, 1642, a petition from sir James was read in the English house of commons "concerning some freeholders and others of the Irish nation, within the barony of Lecale, in the county of Downe, reduced unto their obedience, and to submit themselves unto his Majesty's mercy by Sir James Mountgomery." This petition was referred to the committee of adventurers to consider what was fit to be done upon it."—*English Commons Journals*, vol. ii., p. 798. In this campaign against the Irish, which terminated so honourably for sir James Montgomery, his officers were "the Major, Captaine Samuell Mountgomry, Captaine Wardlaw, Captaine Houston, Captaine Maxwell, Captaine Wauchop; Leuetenant Kenedy, Leuetenant Will, Leuetenant McAndrew, Leuetenant Girvan, Leuetenant Hamilton; Ensigne Crawford, Ensigne Hugh Montgomery, Ensigne Biggar, Ensigne Maxwell, Ensigne William Mountgomry; Sergeant Corrie, Sergeant Broadfoot, Sergeant Crawford, Sergeant Edgar, another Sergeant Edgar, Sergeant Kernechan, Sergeant Ffisher, Sergeant Floucke, Sergeant Ronald, Sergeant Logan, and Sergeant McClannan." These officers constituted a "Courte of Warre" at Porteferry, on the 2nd of March, 1642, to try sergeant Walter Kyle for the killing of lieutenant William Baird. See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii., pp. 62—69.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NOW come to some other passages relating to him, in the beginning of the said rebellion. And first, I find Sir James Montgomery addressed to, by a letter of the Gentlemen of the Ardes and Claneboys, for his protection, dated ultimo January, 1641. This was whilst he was defending Lecaile against Irish incursions.[1]

I find, by certificate of above 30 Gentlemen of the Ardes, dated the 15th March, 1641, that Sir James did levy a regiment of foot and troop of horse; and therewith (at his own charges) did maintain Downpatrick[2] against the M'Genneses and M'Cartans, repelling them when they entered Lecaile, and banishing the inbred Romanists of that barrony thereout, taking their castles and putting garrisons therein, till, by advertisement, that *Con Oge O'Neile*, with great forces from Ardmagh and Tyrone, was coming to join the Magenneses; and he was, thereupon, recalled by his brother, the *Lord Montgomery*, to save the sea-ports, by which relief from Scotland and England must come, as expected; and himself to quarter in that barrony.

I have two letters of advice, dated in February, 1641, directed to Sir James, from the Lord his brother, of the danger which the Ardes, with Hollywood parish, and all the sea coasts stood in, from the said Con's descent; which made him march his regiment and troope through the enemy's

[1] *Irish incursions.*—It is to be regretted that the letter referred to in the text, containing the names of leading settlers in the district, has not been preserved. The following list of the principal names, in 1653, doubtless includes several, perhaps nearly all, of those which were signed to the letter asking sir James Montgomery's protection, or thanking him for it, in 1641–2:—

"LORD OF ARDS' QUARTERS.

"The Lord Ards, Captain Charles Campbell, Captain William Buchanan, Lieutenant Hugh Dundas, Captain John Keith, John Montgomery of Moville, Lieutenant James Nowell, James Mac Conkey, William Catherwood, William Shaw, Fergus Kennedy, Captain Hugh Montgomery, Mr. Hugh Montgomery, Lieutenant John Wilson, Lieutenant And. Cunningham, Lieutenant M[c] Dowell of Cumber.

"LITTLE ARDS, GREYABBEY, AND LISBURNAGH QUARTERS.

"Gilbert Heron, Robert Maxwell, Robert Ross, John Park, Lieutenant John Monipenny.

"LORD CLANEBOY'S QUARTERS.

"The Lord Claneboy, Lieutenant Gawn Hamilton, Captain John Boyle, Lieutenant Hugh Wallace, James Ross, sen., William Hamilton, Mr. George Ross, John Hamilton of Ballymacgormack, Patrich Allen, Gawn Hamilton, Captain Alexander Stewart, William Hamilton, jun., John Stevenson, Ninian Tate, Lieutenant Edward Baillie, Francis Purdy, Captain James Stevenson, John Barclay, Quartermaster Edward Magee, Ensign James Cooper, Lieutenant Robert Cunningham, Lieutenant Carr, Captain Matthew Hamilton, Captain Colin Maxwell, David Williamson, James Ross, jun."—Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., pp. 471–474.

[2] *Did maintain Downpatrick.*—Whilst sir James's small force was holding Downpatrick against all the strength of the Magennises and Macartans, he penned the following letter, now for the first time printed, explaining in delicate terms the difficulties of his position from want of necessary supplies. This letter, which was addressed to the earl of Ormond, is preserved among the *Carte Papers*, vol. viii., p. 10:—

"RIGHT HONOBLE,—Since my last by this gentilman to y[r] Lo[p], I have given a full account of what has passed here to the Lordes Justices, to whose relation (wanting time) I most humbly remitt y[r] Lo[p], and doe presume upon your Lo[ps] concurrence and assistance, whereof yo[r] former noble favours makes me promise my self great assurance. My Lord, ever since I received his Maj[tie's] commission, I have had my troopes levyed and upon service, and three Companies of foote, and since the tenth day of this month four Companies more, to whom I have daily given full intertainment. I did yesterday likewise muster one Company more, and these three weeks past have still intertained my Leiftennant Colonell and Sergeant Major, with three Inferior officers, and have kept them in action, being gentilmen of good judgment and experience, and who have had honorble imployment in forraigne Service (as, indeed, most of the officers of my regiment also). These companies, for want of Armes and moneys, I have not yet drawen together, being already wholy exhausted with soe great a charge. My Lord, although I did intertaine one company of foote and a troope of forty horse since the first breaking out of this rebellion until the receipt of my comission, I will speake nothing of that at this time; but by yo[r] Lo[ps] furtherance and favour, doe humbly pray and expect (according to his Ma[tie's] Comission) to be supplyed with means for soe many as are levyed from the time of their levying, without which, and a competent proportion of Armes and Amunition yo[r] Lo[p] may safely judge, I cannot be able to subsist, and I assure yo[r] Lo[p] that with me his Ma[tie's] service and the country will in these partes suffer.—Soe craving pardon for pressing soe hard upon yo[r] Lo[ps] courtesy, and hoping that you

country of Dufferin[3] and Castlereagh; and to quarter in and about the said parish, to be at hand to join with his said brother, for preserving it, with Newtown, Bangor and Comerer towns and parishes, and chiefly to stopp Con's coming into the Ardes, and sea coasts. For which purpose they made forts (by the vulgar called trenches) at Dundonald,[4] and other passes.

I have a letter from the state of Scotland, to Sir James, desiring him to obey their Major-General, *Robert Munro*,[5] as being the will and pleasure of the Committee for both kingdoms.[6] This was soon after the landing of the Scotts army, or after Sir James's return from Westminster. The letter is dateless.

I have a letter from both Houses of Parliament, under a cover to Sir James, dated Sept. 1643 (soon after his said return), signed by the two Speakers, advising and hopeing that he would oppose the cessation of arms[7] with the Irish, and promising supplys, &c.

will ascribe it to the exigency in which his Ma^tie's service in my hand is, and not to my importunity, who truly am, and ever shall be, yo^r lo^ps most affectionate humble servant,

"J. MONTGOMERIE.

"From my Garrisone at Downpatrick,
the 22nd of December, 1641.

"For the right Honb^le the Earle of Ormond, Leiftennant generall of his Ma^tie's forces in Ireland.—These."

[3] *Country of Dufferin.*—The fact that the Irish held the Dufferin and Castlereagh is an evidence of the terrible pressure which must have been felt in the comparatively circumscribed territory of the Ards. The territory, or country of the Dufferin, is referred to as follows, in the letter of sir Thomas Cusake, lord chancellor of Ireland, dated 8th May, 1552, and addressed to the duke of Northumberland:—"The next to that country is the Doufrey, whereof one John Whit was landlord, who was deceitfully murdered by M'Ranyll boy his sonne, a Scot; and since that murder he keepeth possession of the said lands, by mean whereof he is able to disturb the countries next adjoining, on every side, which shortly by God's grace shall be redressed. The same country is no great circuit, but small, full of woods, water, and good land, meet for Englishmen to inhabit."—Brewer's *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, p. 242. Of this territory, sir Henry Sidney, in 1575, has the following account:—"The *Dufferen*, or *Whites Countrie*, I found all wast and desolate, used as they of Clandeboy list. The owner of it is a proper young man, and well disposed, but I feare vnhable to do any good on it, either for the publike or his owne particular. In the streights of this countrie, *Neill Mac Brian Ertough*, made Capten of Clandeboy by the Earle of Essex, shewed his force, and refused, though upon protection, to come to me; yet that day he offered me no skirmishe."—*Sidney Letters and Memorials*, vol. i. p. 76. The following account of this territory is given by Marshal Bagenal, in his *Description of Ulster*, at the year 1586:—"*Diffrin*, sometymes th' enheritance of the Maundevilles, and nowe appertayninge to one White, who is not of power sufficient to defend and maynure the same, therefore it is usurped and inhabited for the most parte, by a bastard sort of Scottes, who yield to the said White some smale rent at their pleasure. This countrey is for the most parte woody, and lyeth upon the Loghe which goeth out at the haven of Strangford. There are of these bastarde Scottes dwelling here some sixty bowmen and twenty shott, which lyve most uppon the praie and spoile of their neighbours."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 153. In 1597, or 1598, the *Duffrin* is described as "sometime the inheritance of the *Mandevilles*, and nowe appertaininge unto one *White*, a mean gentleman, who is not of power sufficient to defend and plant the same; therefore it is usurped and inhabited by the neighbours. The country is for the most part woody, and lyeth upon the lough called *Lough Coyne*, which issueth into the sea at the haven of Strangford."—*Lambeth MS.*, as quoted in Dubourdieu's *Antrim*, vol. ii., p. 628.

[4] *At Dundonald.*—The traces of these works are still visible, but do not give the name to this place, which is derived from the well-known and beautiful *Dun* there.

[5] *Robert Munro.*—See pp. 168, 169, *supra*.

[6] *For both kingdoms.*—To committees appointed by the Parliaments of England and Scotland was committed the task of making all arrangements connected with the transportation of troops into Ireland for the suppression of the rebellion. The lords justices of Ireland had represented that forces could be more expeditiously sent from Scotland for this purpose, and hence the committee from the English parliament went thither to take counsel and act in unison with the Scottish committee.

[7] *Cessation of Arms.*—In 1643, the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, finding that their army could not much longer hold together for want of supplies, memorialed Charles I. for an armistice, offering at the same time to assist the king against his enemies in England. Charles eagerly caught at the proposal; for, although the confederates were rebels against his authority, he did not dislike them so much as the rebels with whom he had to deal in England. Through Ormond, a cessation of hostilities, for one year, was arranged at Siggintown, near Naas, on the 15th of September, 1643, between the royal forces in Ireland and those of the Irish confederates. The king, by this armistice, obtained from the latter the sum of £30,000, together with a re-inforcement from the royal army in Ireland of ten regiments, which, however, were nearly all captured or killed by the parliamentary forces, soon after their arrival in England. The English parliamentary leaders openly opposed this cessation and the two houses voted it "destruction to the Protestant religion, dis-

I have a copy of letter from the officers of Sir James's regiment, dated the 5th November, 1643, (the powder plott day,) unto Sir Mungo Campbell, offering to incorporate themselves and soldiers into the Scotch army, and his answer the 18th of December following, giving general assurances of kind terms, (such as the officers proposed,) but no certainty, only desiring them (as he was sent from Scotland to solicit other regiments), to oppose the cessation aforesaid.[8]

honourable to the English nation, and prejudicial to the interests of the three Kingdoms." Still further to arouse the fears and horrors of their own party, they published a declaration, in which they affirmed that the cessation was made at a time when "the famine among the Irish had made them unnatural and cannibal-like, eat and feed upon one another."—Lingard, *History of England*, 6th edition, London, 1865, vol. viii., p. 22. Sir James Montgomery, and the other British officers in Ulster were originally, in common with the Scottish army under Monro, opposed to the cessation, but they appear eventually to have adopted the views of Ormond and the king on this question, as an order was issued by the English parliament to stop the payment of all monies, or other provisions, to the earl of Cork, sir James Montgomery, colonel Hill, colonel Audley Mervyn, sir Hardress Waller, or other persons of Ireland that have submitted or consented to the cessation, or done anything in the pursuance and favour thereof.—*English Commons Journals*, vol. iii., p. 307. At first the British officers in Ulster were opposed to the cessation, not from any hatred to Roman Catholics as such, but simply because they did not see how they were to exist as a military organisation if thus prohibited, even for one year, from preying on the country. The following letters, now for the first time printed, convey their sentiments on this and one or two other kindred topics. The originals of these letters are preserved among the *Carte MS. Papers*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. viii., pp. 81,82. It is to be remembered that the officers whose names are attached, although acting, as yet, in concert with the Scottish forces under Monro, were the commanders of an entirely distinct organisation :—

"HONBLE SIRS,—Having lately receaved a letter from the Comittee of the house of Comons and adventurers in London with the shipp lately sent into our parts with provisions of Armes, and some small quantitie of victualls: we have hereinclosed sent our answer, together with the Coppie thereof, that you may be pleased to transmitt the one into England by the first dispatch, And by the other that you may sie the straights wee are reduced too, And may, according to your credit, affection to the publique, and trust reposed in you, help toward the remedying of our present wants, in supplying us from Scotland, with meale or other provisions for six regiments for two months, either upon the credit or Acompt of y^e^ parliam^t^ or by way of loane from the state there, to be repayed to the Scottish Army here, when our provisions shall aryve out of England, to y^e^ end those of our regim^ts^ that have nothing at all in our quarters may be supported, And that the rest that have somewhat (though little better provyded) may spare ther corne for soweing of the ground which otherwayes wilbe eaten up now, And so the wholle countrey will remaine wast without Crop for the next year; we hope you will no lesse take to hart this our present necessitie, and will with no lesse earnestnes endeavour the supplying of us then if wee had sent ane Agent from hence expresse to follow the bussines, although the miseries and wants of our souldiours cannot be seriouslie expressed to you in a lettere, as it is deeply charactered and may be read in ther faces, so recomending ther condition to your care, And yourselves And your affaires to god's derection, We rest, your humble and affectionate servants,

"MONTGOMERIE. "CLANDEBOVE
"A. CHECHESTER. "J. MONTGOMERIE.
"A. HILL. "GEORGE RAWDEN.
"E. MATHEW.

"Killileagh, the 16th of December, 1643."

The foregoing accompanied a letter "from the British officers to the committee from both Houses of Parliament in England, now in Scotland,," and dated 16 December, 1643. The following is "Copy of Letter to the Committe of Adventurers, in London, 16th December, 1643":—

"RIGHT WORTHY,—We receaved yo^r^ lett^r^ of the 19th Sep^r^, together with the provisions and Armes according to the table of proportions sent us in the shipp called the honor of London, save what was spoyled or left behind, whereof a particular noate shalbe sent you by the next. And wee are very thankfull for yo^r^ caire expressed of us in this seasonable supply, wh though it came to late for the intended summer service, yet it mett w^th^ the very extreamitie of our sufferings and patience, But the quantitie of victualls is so small that the present benefitt our starving souldiours receave by it for ther bellies is not so great as the hopes they are raised too therby, to expect from the continuance of yo^r^ care, such things as may not only releive, but prevent such hard pinches of want as they have been driven to suffer many tymes since they undertooke this service, and the parliam^t^ her mantenance, our case being now more to be regarded than before: for the Countrey is more wasted, our souldiours more wearied w^th^ expectacions, our enimies the same to us in ther dispositions, and malitious practises, and in some Acts of hostilitie notw^thstanding^ this late Cessacion concluded heir w^thout^ our consents, w^ch^ wee looke upon in the consequences of it as no meanes of securitie either for our religion or persons, or for his Ma^tie's^ interest and tytle of the Crowne of England to this kingdome, so that upon these consideracions all y^e^ Bent of our thoughts is how to be enabled w^th^ necessarie means whereby to continow and increase through god's blessing our former sucsesful services ag^t^ our enymies hostilitie and violence, from w^ch^ wee can trust to have no forbearance, but by god's favor upon our courage and endeavors, And by yo^r^ tymelie supplying us. And to this purpose wee shall let you more fully know our mynd and resolucions by Mr. Traile, who is aryved heir soone after the shipp. In the meantyme we have wryten this to you with the first opportunity, to lett you know that unles the next supplyes be sent verie speedilie our souldiours will not be kept together, And that the rather becaus they sie much care taken of others to have present supplyes coming from Scotland, both of meate, cloathes and money, soe that assuring you that as our owne interests, so yo^rs^ also doeth engage stronglie our resolucions to the prosecution of this service, And that wee rest confident yee will not disapoint us (and so be wanting to yo^r^ selves) of what you have made us trust too, And so wee remaine, yo^r^ very loving frends to serve you,

"MONTGOMERIE. "CLANDEBOVE.
"AR. CHECHESTER. "J. MONTGOMERIE.
"ARTHUR HILL. "GEO: RAWDEN.
"E. MATHEW.

"Killileagh, the 16th of 10b^er^, 1643

[8] *Cessation aforesaid.*—The following letters were written by sir James Montgomery at this date, and are now printed for the first time:—

"MY MOST NOBLE LORD,—Having prepared the other letters and papers wh I herew^th^ send into your lo^p^, and this bearer of purpos for the more securitie to carry them. I resaved your Lo^ps^ most courteous letter of the 27th, of the last, and cannot but returne yo^r^ Lo^p^ humble and harty thanks for being pleased to take notice of my affections and poore endeavors in his ma^tie's^ service in these parts. My Lord, I must needs confesse that when I have done all that I can I am but an unprofittable servant, and come many degrees short of my desyres, But I assore yo^r^ Lo^p^ that what I am able to performe for his ma^tie's^ honor and service none shall undertake more willinglie nor prosecute with more fidelitie and affection, And I hope my actions and the persons of best qualitie in these quarters shall witness it for me in due tyme. My desyre to give yo^r^ Lo^p^ a true and full account of the state of affaires in these countyes did spin my other letter out in such lenth that I was ashamed of it, and thought it more proper to convert it in one informacion, and to crave yo^r^ Lo^ps^ pardon if I doe thereby tempt your patience, or disturbe your other more

This mutinous combination was carried on without asking Sir James's advice or privity,[9] but the officers letter was (on suspicion) intercepted, copied, sealed and delivered to the messenger, who perceived nothing of the discovery, as he knew as little of the contents thereof.

Such was the factious humours of those men, and the country gentlemen blown up by their teachers, who had so hooked them to their line, that they could pull the people on shore with a single hair.[10]

In all the fermentation raised by the *Covenant-teachers*,[11] (which were imposed on parishes, and the legal incumbents ejected, by the Scottish army's violence), against the peaceable Irish Papists

weaghtie employments: yo^{r} Lo^{ps} approbation or dislike signified in the least degree shall continue or break off this freedome w^{ch} my affectione to his ma^{tes} service and yo^{r} L^{p} (so much and deservedly intrusted by him) makes me take. My good Lord I will lay hold on your lo^{ps} noble promise that your honor will with the first conveniency make knowen to his ma^{tie} my desyres and endeavour to express myself his reall and faithfull servant, and I wish I may perishe when ever I willinglie give his ma^{tie} or yo^{r} Lo^{p} caus to have other thoghts of me than now I professe. I thank your Lo^{p} for the honor you did me in sending me the copy of your letter to Owen Oneale and wish it may produce the desyred effects. My Lord of the Ardes, Collonell Chichester, and myselfe have wryten to him to the same effect a joynt letter since my last to yo^{r} honor, but have as yet resaved no answer, so from my hearte wishing yo^{r} lo^{p}, your noble lady, and all yo^{r} hopefull children all wealth and happinesse, I crave to be further troublesome at this tyme, whose ambition is to be esteemed yo^{r} Lo^{ps} most humble and faithfull servant,

"J. MONTGOMERIE.

"Rosmont, the 4th of December, 1643."

"For my most noble Lord the Lord Marquesse of Ormond.—These.

"Endorsed—Sir Jas. Montgomery.

"Dat. 4 } December, 1643.
"Rec. 14 }

"In expression of his good affections to his ma^{tes} service, &c.—*Carte Papers*, vol. viii., p. 10.

"MY MOST NOBLE LORD,—Since the wryting of my other letters, one Captaine Occonnelie (y^{t} was Sir John Clotworthie's man) is come into these parts from England, and has brought letteres unto all the Collonels of the English Army in this province, invyting us to take the new Covenant, The copy of that wh is sent unto me I herewith send unto your Lordship. I had with it 3 printed papers—the Copy of the Covenant, the Declaration of both houses thereupon, and the Articles of Cessation. These, I suppose, yo^{r} Lo^{p} has had from England, and, therefore, I will not increase my packet with them. I send yo^{r} Lo^{p} also a Copy of the votes of the houses upon the articles; O'Connelly presses hard and peremtorily his answer like a grand Commissioner. My Lord Montgomerie and I put him off till Collonell Chichester's returne from Enishone, that we have been a waiting. O'Connely tells how that he was informed by the Marquesse of Ardgyle that I am made Viscount of Ardglasse, and many other things that I know not of my selfe, which makes me (as he sayes) so feirce a royalist; and some trounkes of myne are stayed in Scotland, wherein I have above six or 700 lb. starl. worth of comodities, and cloathes. But all this shall not trouble me, I serve a good Master' who, I hope, will not let me be a louser.

"My lord, one of the three troopes under the command of my Lord Montgomerie hath been long in debaite. One Captain Bruffe had a comission from yo^{r} Lo^{p} procured upon a mistake that the troope was voyde upon the death of my brother, but he has never gotten possession of it, nor has he been in this kingdome these nyne months past, and is now (as I am informed) in service in England; one serjeant major Crawford had one other commission from the Earle of Lousie, And he has, notwithstanding, neglected the service, And has taken on to be a leiftennant collonell in the service in Scotland to go into England; Mr. Patrick Savadge of Portaferry, a gentleman of worth, and one of whose fidelite, I dare assoore yo^{r} lo^{p}, has, for the most part, mentained that troope, and had my Lord Montgomerie's good will of it, but was borne out of it by Crawford's Comission. But he now having taken on in Scotland, and divers of his officers myuited to follow him, My Lord Montgomerie is desyrous to conferre the troope upon Mr. Savadge, who was also by former letters recommended unto yo^{r} hono^{r} by the Earle Rivers out of England. I doe, therefore, intreat yo^{r} Lo^{p} to send by this bearer a new Comission to Mr. Savadge, with a nonobstante of the two former Comissions, And power to him to chose his officers to the approbation of his lo^{p}, and lykewise in regard his lo^{p} had some cloathes w^{h} came from England that he intended for Crawford if he had attended the service And done his duttie, But now that he runnes this course, he thinks it not fitt that he should have them, And in truth Mr. Savadge only does deserve them, for he was at the greatest charge for maintaining y^{e} troope, And therefore (for his bettir discharge) desyres yo^{r} lo^{p} wilbe pleased to send him also ane order by this bearer to deliver the same to Mr. Savadge. My Lord, further, yo^{r} lo^{p} shall hear from me when we have determined our answer to Oconnely, only this much, my duetie and just feares obliged me to give yo^{r} lo^{p} warning of, that want wilbe the only thing will ruine us of the king's party here, if it be not prevented by god's mercy. his Ma$^{tie's}$ caire, And yo^{r} lo^{ps} and the stats providence very speedily, so againe wishing yo^{r} lo^{p} all health and happiness, I remain, yo^{r} lo^{ps} most humble servant,

"J. MONTGOMERIE.

"Rosmont, the 9th of December, 1643."

"For my most noble Lord the Lord Marquesse of Ormond.—These.

"Endorsed—Sir J. Montgomery.

"Dat. 9. } December, 1643.
"Rec. 14. }

"Concerning the letters sent by the Parliament to the British officers by Capt^{n} Connally.—*Carte Papers*, vol. viii., p. 46.

[9] *Advice or privity.*—For the names of sir James's officers, see p. 322, *supra*. These officers were partly induced no doubt to enter into this "mutinous combination" by the fact that the Scots had received somewhat more timely supplies than the British forces. They were also carried away by the popular stream which was then setting in forcibly over Ulster in favour of the covenant.

[10] *With a single hair.*—The presbyterian ministers were very actively engaged in the general excitement of this crisis, arousing the Scottish soldiers and settlers to resist and disregard the cessation, and to some extent directing the movements of the army under Monro.

[11] *The Covenant-teachers.*—See pp. 127, 178, *supra*. The presbyterian ministers spoke and acted as if with their covenants was bound up the people's entire welfare, temporal and spiritual. Several Scottish preachers when afterwards giving utterance to their 'Testimonies,' even on the scaffold, reminded their countrymen of the inviolable nature of the oaths by which they supposed the whole people were bound in these wondrous covenants. Thus James Guthrie, who was executed in 1661, in the course of his 'Testimony' made the following announcement:—"I do bear witness unto the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland: these sacred, solemn, public oaths of God, I believe, can be loosed nor dispensed with, by no person, no party, no power upon earth; but are still binding on these kingdoms, and will be for ever hereafter; and are ratified and sealed by the conversion of many thousand souls since our entering thereinto." Immediately before Guthrie suffered, he raised the cover from his eyes and cried aloud—"The Covenants, the Covenants, shall yet be Scotland's reviving!" Another leading preacher, named Hugh

in the Lower Ardes, yet Sir James procured the Lord Conway's order, dated December, 1642, that only bonds should be taken of Henry Savage,[12] of Ardkeen, Esq. for delivery of his arms in his house, at any time when called for; and the rest of the Papists to be disarmed.

Which privilege Sir James got confirmed and enlarged on another occasion, and there was need and reason for granting that safeguard, because of the unruly Scottish mobb, and common soldiers, who would make the pretence of searching for arms and ammunition an opportunity to quarrel and plunder.[13]

McKail, who was engaged in the rising of 1666, which was crushed at Rullion Green, near the foot of the Pentland Hills, uttered the following as part of his dying 'Testimony':—"But we are condemned to death upon the account of this covenant, for adhering to the duties therein sworn to, by such as once did as much themselves as we have done, and some of them more than some of us; which considerations have moved me to great fears of God's wrath against the land, according to the curse that we are bound under, if we should break that covenant, and in the fear of it, many times to pour out my soul before the Lord; and as soon as I heard of a party up in arms in behalf of the covenant (all other doors being shut, whereby redress of the many violations might be obtained; and these by manifest and unheard of violence obtruded on others to go along with them), being bound by that covenant against detestable indifference and neutrality in this matter, and to esteem every injury done to any engaged in this covenant upon account of it, as done to myself,—very conscience of duty urged me to this against some reluctancy of fear of what might follow." Again, he thus testifies:—"And, therefore, whatever indignity is done to these covenants, I do esteem to be no less than doing despite to the spirit of grace in his most eminent exerting of himself, but especially declaring against the same as flowing from a spirit of sedition and rebellion, to be a sin of the same nature with theirs who ascribed Christ's casting out of devils to Beelzebub." John Brown, another well known preacher, and the author of several popular works on practical divinity, has the following passage in his 'Testimony,' drawn up soon before he died at Amsterdam, in 1679:—"What a wonderful mercy was this, that the Lord should have made choice of Scotland above all other lands to be his peculiar covenanted people; and that he should have avouched us for his people, and caused us to avouch him to be our God by a solemn Covenant, and that so frequently; for at five several times did the Lord bring that land into covenant with him, and moved them to devote themselves to the Lord to be his, to own and stand for the crown, privileges, and prerogatives of Jesus Christ. . . . But, now, behold not only hath there been in the year 1660, and since,—a manifest, shameful, wicked, and impudent departing from our oaths, vows, covenants, promises, engagements, resolutions, declarations, attestations, proclamations, acts, actings, and doings, contrary to what we had sworn, and that solemnly, with hands lifted up to the Most High God, with direful imprecations if we should not stand to the Covenant, and promised under the pain of all the curses contained in the book of God, as we should answer to him in the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed." Many similar 'testimonies' might be quoted. See Howie's *Scots Worthies*, edition of 1856, pp. 401, 404, 453, 474, 493, 496, 503. For covenanting doctrines and designs, see the *Declaration and Testimony*, proclaimed at Rutherglen, May 20, 1679; the *Declaration*, published at Glasgow, June 13, 1679; the *Queensferry Paper*, June 4, 1680; and the *Lanerk Declaration*, January 12, 1682. All the foregoing documents have been printed in the appendix to the *Scots Worthies*, edition of 1856.

[12] *Henry Savage.*—See p. 131, *supra*.

[13] *Quarrel and plunder.*—It was taught and believed among the Scots in Ulster that the Roman Catholics intended to employ the year of Cessation in a grand attempt to expel them from this province, and under this impression the Scottish troops, at the instigation of the *covenant-teachers*, set forth in various directions to disarm all papists in Ulster, taking that opportunity of committing rapine and plunder. Outrages of this nature were carried on to such an extent as to attract the notice of certain leading Irishmen who had stood aloof from the several parties into which their countrymen were divided, but now thought it necessary "to set limits to the depredations and spoils committed by the Scotch covenanters in Ulster." The earls of Clanrickard and Thomond, the viscounts Dillon, Taaffe, Fitzwilliam, and Ranelagh, and lord Howth, addressed a letter to the king, in which they depict their own unhappy condition "exposed to the mercy of two powerful armies now in the field; the one of the confederate Catholics party, if they were disposed to make any invasion upon us; and the other of the Scotch Covenanters, and such as adhere to them, who, by burning, spoiling, and committing cruel and hostile acts, have broken the cessation, and cast off their obedience to your Majesty's government here."—*Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, pp. 260–4. The following letter also contains grave accusations against the conduct of the Scots of Ulster in the matter of the cessation:—

"To the Right Honourable the Lords Justices and Council.

"OUR VERY GOOD LORDS,—We whom his Majesty's Catholick Subjects, of this kingdom, did intrust in thee management of our affairs, have, by our public act, ratified and confirmed the articles of Cessation concluded upon by our commissioners willingly and chearfully, hoping in the quiet of that time, assigned for it, by the benefit of the access which his Majesty is graciously pleased to afford us, to free ourselves from those odious calumnies wherewith we have been branded, and to render ourselves worthy of favour by some acceptable Service, sending the expression we have often made, and the real affections and zeal we have to serve his Majesty, and in as much as we are given to understand that the Scots (who not long since in great numbers came over into this Kingdom, and by the Slaughter of many Innocents without distinction of age or sex) have possessed themselves of very large territories in the North, and since the notice given them of the Cessation, have not only continued their former cruelties upon the persons of weak and unarmed multitudes, but have added thereunto the burning of Corn belonging to natives within the

This Gentleman was loyal and moderate in his Romish religion, and read the Holy Scriptures; and, on his death-bed, (whereon he lay long) assured me, that he trusted for his salvation only to the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ. He kept no images in his house, and if he had any picture (or such like) he said he would meditate on it, but not worship it. He used to say, that invocation of Saints was needless, although it were supposed they did hear us, or know our wants; because he was sure his Saviour was God all-sufficient, and our intercessor as a man and priest. He was, by marriage, next cousin to Sir James, and by that way related to some of the officers in his regiment, to whom he was kind, and he was hospitable to the rest; yet, all this did not release the fear he had from the vulgar people and inferior officers.

By the way I must remember, that Sir Charles Coote brought from the Parliament a Commission to be President of Connaught;[14] and he came with his Lady and her mother, the Lady Hannah,[15] and his eldest son, with one or two younger children, to Rosemount. He left him in the house, but himself (after a day's rest) with Sir Jas. (to whom he was recommended by the Committee of Parliament), as no doubt to many other Colonels, went to the *Lord of Ardes*,[16] at Newtown.—Sir Charles his great want was men, arms, ammunition, provisions and money. How he was supplied of the last of those I cannot tell; but, as for the other four necessarys, Sir James proposed the way to his Lordship, and they joined to perswade the *Lord Clannboy*,[17] and he was willing to assist; and then he went with Sir Charles to Belfast and Lisnagarvey. Sir James dispatched also expresses to Sir William Stewart and Sir William Cole (his fathers-in-law),[18] and to Sir Robert Stewart and Colonel Audley Mervin,[19] with account of what was agreed upon by the two Viscounts, and at Belfast, and by the Commanders of the regiments thereabouts. And the contrivance was thus, viz:—

That every of their regiments should allow fifty men to go with a month's provision of meale (which came according to allowance in the little Ardes) to four pecks and an half for each private

Province of Ulster. Notwithstanding which outrages, we hear that they have (although but faintly, and with relation unto the consent of their General) after some days consulted whether it were convenient for their affairs, desired to partake in the Cessation, intending, as is evident by their proceedings, so far only to admit thereof, as it may be beneficial for their Patrons, the malignant party, now in arms against his Majesty in England, by diverting us from assisting His Majesty, or of advantage to their desire, of eating further into the bowels of our country.—Your lordship's loving friends,

"MONTGARRET, CASTLEHAVEN, AUDLEY, H. ARMACH; JO. CLONFERT; TH. FR. DUBLIN; R. BELING, R. PLUNKET, GERRARD FENNEL.

"Kilkenny 15 Oct. 1643, receiv'd 25.

"To the Right Honourable the Lords Justices and Council."—Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. v., p. 895.

[14] *President of Connaught.*—On this occasion, June, 1645, sir Charles "brought letters from the earls of Northumberland and Lowdon, in the name of the committees of both kingdoms, to the British colonels, desiring them to send 500 men with him into Connaught, to be joined with sir Francis Hamilton's regiment, in order to take Slego and other places of strength. The officers of the new Union met at Belfast to consider the letters, and returned answer at first, that they could not do it, until all the supplies promised them were arrived. But at last considering that it was proper to second their Declaration and Union with some action, they resolved to rendesvouz on the 17th at Ogher, in the county of Tyrone, and march with a body of 4,000 foot and 500 horse to Slego."—Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. i., p. 537.

[15] *Lady Hannah.*—Sir Charle's Coote's second wife was Jane, daughter of sir Robert Hannay, a Scottish gentleman, who had been one of the esquires of the body to Charles I., and whom that king created clerk of the Nihills or Nichells in the Irish Exchequer, it being his "royal care, and the care of his late dear father, in all things to reduce the government of that kingdom into the very same order and form as in England, but especially to settle the order and course of the exchequer, as near as may be, by the very same model, to the end that no officer there shall execute two offices in any one of the courts, out of which he is to certify his proceedings into any other office there."—Morrin's *Calendar, Charles I.*, p. 543; Lodge, *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 78, and *note*.

[16] *Lord of Ards.*—The third viscount, afterwards first earl.

[17] *Lord Clannboy.*—The first viscount Clannaboy.

[18] *Fathers-in-law.*—Fathers-in-law of sir James Montgomery. See p. 158, *supra*.

[19] *Audley Mervin.*—See p. 156, *supra*.

man—the peck containing 20 Winchester quarts;[20] and that the officers, serjeants, corporals and drummers should have the like quantity of meale, and the rest of the subsistence raised for them in money, *prout* the establishment, consented to by the country from the beginning of the rebellion, the meal price (which was then half the crown per peck) to be deducted out of the money pay.

By this means, Sir Charles Coote would be enabled to maintain his province, with the help of the Lagan forces[21] (when called for) and our regiments needed not march up thither every summer, where they were always put to great hazard and loss of men, to retake the castles we had ruined the last expedition; into which the enemy crept when we returned and left them, they also building new forts to be wonn from them the next campaigne, which trouble would be now prevented, and Sir Charles hereby enabled to fortify and place strong garrisons in Sligo and the seaport towns, to which provisions, arms and ammunitions would be brought by sea, without danger of the Irish.

Sir James could easily demonstrate those particulars, who run divers bodily risks at the taking of Sligo,[22] and in two several smart fights against the enemy (who were double his numbers), and they now by usage being grown expert in stratagems and feats of war; and were on their own known dunghills with friends at hand.

The advantage, however, was on our side; our men had bold Brittish souls in them, that the Irish wanted, and our officers were better than theirs.

But, after all, what gained we? Nothing but honor and a few cows, which the wearied soldiers (yet dancing with courage and mirth) drove home to their quarters, to be winter kitchen[23] (as they called it) to their bannocks; they got also some garrons, which they sold.

The second act of Sir James his intended kindness, was to get those men fixed to Sir Charles as his proper regiment.

Sir James's third act of friendship was in buying meal, &c. to send to Sir Charles Coote, which he did plentifully, Mr. Jo. Davis,[24] of Carrickfergus, giving bond to Sir James, dated 18th March,

[20] *Winchester quarts.*—All the denominations of the old English or Winchester dry measure were almost the same as those of the imperial, each of the former being less than the latter in the proportion of 32 to 33 nearly; or, more accurately, of ·969447 to 1. A Winchester measure, therefore, may be reduced to imperial by multiplying it by ·969447.

[21] *Lagan forces.*—See p. 183, *supra.*

[22] *Taking of Sligo.*—In O'Mellan's Irish MS. *Journal of the Wars*, as translated by Robert MacAdam, Esq., there is the following account of fighting at Sligo in October, 1645:—"The Connaught army proceeded to Sligo to take it by force from the Scotch, but, before they were aware, five or six troops of cavalry from Tyrconnell and from Enniskillen came upon them, and drove them back to their encampment. The archbishop of Tuam was killed by a wound in his shoulder, and also his priest. The name of the prelate was Maolshaughlin O'Coyle, a doctor remarkable for his learning, his goodness, and the rectitude of his life. They died, but four Scotchmen fell by their hands in that battle. Many of the Burkes, and of the other Irish, were taken prisoners, and the camp was given up to plunder. The Scotch reinforced the garrison of Sligo."

[23] *Winter kitchen.*—In Scottish parlance, *kitchen* means whatever gives a relish to bread, porridge, or potatoes. No English word is so expressive, for *kitchen* not only includes butcher's meat, but every thing used as a substitute for it, such as fish, eggs, cheese, milk, and even beer. The poet Burns, in his *Address to Scotch Drink*, says that it is not only the poor man's wine, but that it *kitchens* his porridge and bread. By a poetical flight, Allan Ramsay speaks of fresh air as *kitchen* thus:—

"For me I can be well content
To eat my bannock on the bent
And *kitchen't* wi' fresh air."—

See Jamieson's *Etymol. Dictionary of the Scotch Language.*

[24] *Jo. Davis.*—In 1630, John Davys, son and heir of Ezekiel, appears on the roll of aldermen of Carrickfergus, and, in 1639, he was chosen a burgess to represent that town in parliament. Early in 1656, he purchased from sir John Clotworthy his large castellated mansion in Carrickfergus, which, from that period, was called Davys's Castle. In April the following year, we find colonel Thomas Cooper, the governor, recommending to Henry Cromwell, that as John Davys was a person disaffected to the government, he should not be permitted to live in that town, and in a mansion overlooking its guards. In August, 1656, he was elected to represent the town of

1646 (which I have yet uncancelled) for £778 sterling, for the same, as papers between them doth shew. Other respects done to Sir Charles by Sir James I think not needfull for my narrative of him.

There are (by me) letters from divers persons to Sir James Montgomery, shewing in what high esteem he was had, and how able and ready to serve his country;[25] but I cannot wade in an ocean, and therefore will content myself to have writt the foregoing instances, and will draw this relation of him to a conclusion, by an account of his suffering in Scotland for his loyalty here, and of his exile to Holland, etc. and his death, as followeth.

Carrickfergus in Cromwell's parliament, about to be held at Westminster; but, from being deemed so very discontented with the government, he was not permitted to take his seat. In 1659, he served the office of mayor for the said town, and, in May, the following year, he proceeded to Holland, and waited on Charles II., at Breda; perhaps for the purpose of informing him of the state of the public mind in the north of Ireland. In 1661, he was one of the knights of the shire for the county of Antrim. He died in 1667, leaving issue Hercules, Henry, and John, all of whom held commissions in the army. In the manuscripts of Henry Gill, under date, 1660, we find the following notice of the above John Davys:—"This John Davys was he who raised himself and family by £1,300 sterling, being part of the Corporation money, for which the Customs were sold, and never paid one penny for it to the Towne, nor his successors, though he left a good estate that he acquired by this money he unjustly got, and purchases he made from John Savage's heirs, for which he never paid them one penny."—M'Skimin's *Carrickfergus*, p. 393. For an account of John Davis and his family, see Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 150, *note*. In a letter to the marquis of Ormond from sir James Montgomery of Rosemount, dated the 27th of July, 1649, the writer describes this 'John Davyes' as a "reall honest and affectionate subject to his Ma^tie^ and a servant to your Excellence." The name of John Davis appears on a list of certain persons in Ireland who had taken the covenant in 1645. For the names of other distinguished royalists on the same list, see p. 178, *note* 12, *supra*.

[25] *To serve his country.*—These letters are probably all lost. An important letter to sir James from the marquis of Ormond is printed in Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii., p. 221. In the same volume, also, there are references to sir James at pp. 237, 239, 499; and in vol. i., p. 532. Several valuable letters, written by sir James, and now printed in these notes for the first time, have been obtained from the *Carte MSS.* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

CHAPTER XIX.

YOU have heard how part of Oliver Cromwell's army coming into this county of Down made Sir James Montgomery flee into Scotland, his native country.[1] He was no sooner known to be there but was cited to compeir (that is their word for appear) before the committee of estates; who accused him to have been most active in contriving and carrying on the late design

[1] *His native country.*—Sir James was born in Scotland, being probably about six years of age when his father removed to the Ards. His return to that country in 1649 was occasioned by the defeat and dispersion of the royalists at Lisnastrain. See pp. 191, 192, *supra*. The following letters were written by sir James Montgomery to the marquis of Ormond immediately prior to the events mentioned in the text. They have been preserved among the *Carte Papers*, vol. xxv., pp. 55, 123, 176, 189, and are here printed for the first time:—

"My most noble Lord.—This inclosed letter was sent by Mr. John Davyes merchant to Sr Maurice Eustace, & by him to mee by a sure hand, yet feareing it might miscary, directed it to Col. Moncke, as by the Cover under which it was laid (& wch I herewith likewise send) yor Excellence will perceive, & that he has sent a duplicate thereof to yor Excellence also; yet feareing it may have miscaried this no sooner came to my hands, but I conceived it my duety to send it to yor lop, finding the mater therein contained very worthy of yor lps knowledge & consideracon, and knowing him that wrytes it to have very good intelligence, & to be a reall honest & affectionate subject to his Matie & a servant to yor Excellence. I have also had late intelligence from Scotland that Sr William Fleeming & William Murray are come thether from his Matie, but have not heard what they bring pticularly; I wish it may prove answereable to the last part of Mr. Davyes intelligence, but I feare much it is not, & that his intelligence in that poynt does faile him, for the King had none to conclude with; And I am certainely informed that they who beare the sway in Scotland have comanded two troopes towards the Ports upon the west coast of that kingdome next unto this Kingdome to stop the coming over of any from thence but such as have passes from confideing hands, & that more forces are comanded that way to prevent (as is pretended) invasion from hence. But some of my Noble friends acquaint mee, there is an intention of sending some horse & foote into these parts, to assist those they call the honest party here, which I the rather have cause to believe is probable, for that there was such a resolucon before my lord Montgomery did declare himselfe for his Matie, and secured the garisons of Belfast & Carrickfergus; and broke the disaffected Regimts, and that I likewise heare all the late feares wch were pretended in Scotland from the Sectarians is now evanished, whose forces are retired & wholly bent towards Ireland, and I well know that the ministers & others here that are disaffected to our late proceedings doe certainely expect some to assist & aide them, and what ever they be we have great cause to feare they will joyne with them; such is their malice to us. The libell wch they set out lately against my lord of Ardes is published in print in Scotland, and all things else done there that may stirre up enemies against us, and I am advertised from thence that the generall Assembly there have advysed the Presbytrie here to proceed against my lord & all that adhere unto him with excomunication, whose advyce they are like enough to follow, and if so, will prove very dangerous if not destructive, which notwithstanding in the condition we stand here, & his Maties affaires elsewhere in this kingdome at present, we may not attempt to prevent by such wayes as are most safe in so great veneration both the souldiery & Countrie people have them, whereby we labor under as many dangers as difficulties & wants upon all hands; God prevent the one and relieve the other as he sees most for his glory & the honor & happines of the King & Kingdomes.

"The lord Montgomery is now in the Laggan, where I am confident he came with an unexpected & seasonable supply to the King's party there, but I have not heard what is done since he joyned with them, wch I assure myselfe was upon Monday last the 23th of this instant at longest I expect his returne into these parts this next weeke sometyme. The condition of affaires here requyre it, both in regard of the unsettled humors of most of our people within our selues fomented by their teachers, and of the indirect & indiscreete wayes that others take to gaine their owne ends for private advantage or preferment, which no publick spirited Person should at this tyme so much as looke after: And indeed the just apprehension of dangers from beyond seas also, doe all call for a better setlement of the Army here then yet is, and for provyding some reasonable supplies for our most pressing wants & such preparacons as may in some measure inable us to suppresse disturbances within & oppose invasions from abroad, which without his presence & yor Excellences directions & assistance cannot be done; For which purpose either he or I intend God willing to wait upon yor Excellence imediately after his returne: In the meane tyme I have by the Messenger that Caried these to Col. Trevers written for some supply of amunition from Dundalke, for in all our Quarters wee haue not so much as would serve for 24 houres service if wee were put to it. And I am like wise humbly bold to pray yor Excellence not to listen to any motions made unto you by particular persons for personall advantages, either of profite honor or preferment to military charges or other imployments, vntill my lord or I haue the happines to wait upon yor Excellence, and represent fully the advantages or disadvantages that may thereby come to his Matie's service, and then yor Excellence will cleerely discerne who aimes at the publick good, and who at their owne private ends most. And if yor Excellence find the informacons you receive from us prove contrary to trueth or for other ends then wee professe, trust us no more: In the meane tyme be confident, that my Lord Montgomery will neglect nothing in his power that can be effected for the advantage of his Matie's service & incouragement of every deserving & affectionate man, as occasion offers, or yor Excellences comands. This freedome I hope yor Excellence will pardon, since by yor Comands I am injoyned to use it, and my zeale to his Matie's service (wch aboue all earthly things it shall appeare I affect) induces mee to assume it, with which humble request & my prayers to God for good successe to the great worke in yor hands, & all happines to yow & yors I conclude & shall ever remayne, my Lord Yor Excellences most affectionate & humble servant,

"Ja. Montgomerie.

"Newtoun the 27th of July 1649.

"Endorsed—Sr Ja. Mountgomery.—Dat. 27 July. 1649."

"My most noble Lord,—If it be my lord Montgomeries good fortune to see yor Excellence at this Journey (as he earnestly desires & hopes to make a start from Dundalke to kisse yor hands), he will fully make knowne vnto yor Excellence the condition of affaires here. It hes pleased God (the praise to him) to alter the face of affaires much, & to bring them to as handsome forwardnes, in order to his Matie's service as in so short a tyme from so few hands & heads labouring under so many difficulties & wants could be expected. What the present greatest wants are, his lop hes & will againe make knowne to yor Excellence, with confidence to obtaine what reliefe you are now able to afford, And that you will not only countenance

and engagement with the Viscount of Ardes and Sir George Monro, against the well affected Brittish in the province of Ulster, to the betraying of the cause of God and the covenant in those parts, and to the irreparable loss and prejudice of the well affected people therein. This was a heavy charge, and no lighter burden than was expected. Yet one might have thought they should have pittyed and carressed Sir James for helping to out Colonel Monk,[2] who had surprised their Major General and sent him prisoner to London, and broke their whole army in Ireland.[3] But that disgrace and loss was not resented. They appeared only disgusted that their Kirk party was hindred to sway all in Ulster, without owning the King's Commission.[4]

him who hes now so cordially ventured his All in his Matie's service, in what he shall propose unto yor Excellence, for the procureing respect & obedience to him in this station, wherein his Matie hes placed him, But also for the raising of such helpes as may happen to aryse out of any profites due vnto his Matie within these partes (which cannot be much in these tymes), the better in some measure to support the inevitable constant charge that lyes upon him, and which of himselfe he is not able to beare. This, my noble lord, I presume to mention out of my zeale to have his Matie's service prosper in this young mans hands. As for mee, my Lord, I have resolved by God's grace, freely to adventure all that is dearest to mee in his Matie's service, without either desire or aime to further preferment then may make mee the more serviceable, or hopes of profite in any degree or kynd. And I pray yor Lop also to believe that I have cast all the dangers behind mee that doe or can appeare before mee to expresse my true affection to my Soveraigne & this good cause. And where or when soever I may doe or advyse any thing that may advance it or prevent prejudice thereunto, I shall doe it, not much regarding whom I please or displease thereby: Which honest freedome & sincerity of myne may perchance make many men thinke & speake of mee as they conceive their private ends furthered or obstructed by mee or my advyce, But I shall rest comforted in the testimony of a good conscience, and confident that yor Excellence will never be drawne to have other thoughts of mee then of one who, despysing all dangers, difficulties, or particular advantages, shall seeke nothing in this World so much as the honor & happynes of the Royall Progeny, the good of this poore countrie, & fitting opportunities how to expresse effectually how much I really am, my Lord, yor Excellence's most humble and affectionate servant,

"J. MONTGOMERIE.

"My Lord, Many men I know at this tyme are ready & busy to proffer many projects & put up many sutes to yor Lop, with seeming advantage to his Matie's service, which really are otherwise, As my lord Montgomery will have occasion to give yor lop an accompt of diverse particulars, Whereof I will therefore say nothing at this tyme, onely by way of caveat I doe presume humbly to intreate yor Excellence that if any such proposicon happen at any tyme to be made unto you that may intrensh upon mee in my comand, quarters or otherwise, yor Excellence will be pleased to suspend any grant to my prejudice vntill I be first made acquainted & have beene heard speake for my selfe.

"For the most honoble James, Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant Generall of Ireland, his Excellence.—These.

"Endorsed—Sr Ja. Mountgomery.—Rec. 9 Aug., 1649."

"MAY IT PLEASE YOR EXCELLENCE,—I shall not truble yow wth any relation of the sad estate or affaires ar into heir by the inexpressible distractions & divisiones amongst the people of all sorts, or the lamentable condition of the lagan by the coniunction of ouen Mccart & the Coots, wherof we will bee sharers ere long if not cairfully prevented, I will leave that to bee represented to yor excellence by the Lord of Ards & Collonell Trevor; and at this tyme only consaued it my dutie (in answer to yor excellences orders of the 12th of this instant) to lett you know that my lord of Ards haveing resolved wth all possible speed to advance to yor excellence wth all the horse he can draw out, and directed the Earle of Clanbrasill to follow wth the foote as soone as is possible, he hes comanded my stay in the quarters for the preservation therof, wch thogh I bee very willing to doe, or any thing els wch may tend to the good of his Matie's service so farre as lyeth in my power, yet, my Lord, if yor excellence doe consaue that my indevors can bee any wher els more vsefull, I shall bee most ready to resaue & obey yor comands: But treuly, my lord, or distractiones within and want of all things necessary to settil them, And dangers threatned and apeareing from enemies abroade on all hands, makes mee feare that neither yor excellency's expectation or supplies from hence shall bee ansuered, nor I have any comfort, or the cuntry securitie by my stay at home; But leaueing these considerationes to yor excellencies wisdome and caire, & expecting such further orders as yor excellence shall consaue most conduceing to the publike & comon saifetie, I conclud my selfe, my lord, yor excellences most humble & obedient servant,

"J. MONTGOMERIE.

"Neutone, the 16th of agust, 1649.

"ffor his excellence The lord Marques of Ormond, lord lieutenant generall of Irland.—These.

"Endorsed—Sr Ja: Mountgomery.—Dat. 16 Aug.; rec. 18 Aug., 1649."

"MY MOST NOBLE LORD.—No earthlie thing can greeve me more then to fynde that the miserable unhappie distraction and devisiones here in affectioun and oppiniones, hes so brocken both our Countrie and Armie, that now in those exigences when his Matie's service most requyres our ayde, we are become as unable to defend our selues as o asist your Excellence; as the inconsiderable partie which the Lord of Ards doeth at this tyme bring up will too clearlie evidence. And yett my lord such is our sad conditioun heere by reasoun of the great distempers within us everie way, And the just feares on all hands of Enemyes from abroade And no strength remaineing in the Countrie in whome wee dare trust to suppresse the one, or resist the other (which hardlie any bot those who knowe it weell could beleeve) that if the lord of Ards and this partie returne not verie speedilie to settill and secure things better, this Countrie and wee in it who affectt his Matie's service will inevytablie be left or surprized, But this I leave to my lord of Ards his relatioun, who will giue yor excellence a faithfull account both of the causes and proceedings theirof, And of what doth or may most advantage or prejudice his Matie's service in this province: from whome likewise I shall humblie intreate your excellence to be informet of what may concearne my self either in my affectioun or endeavores in his Matie's service, or how instrumentall I haue beene, and helpfull to him for the promoteing theirof every way as occassioun offerred, which, I the rather humblie presse becaus I am informed that some (who will in end appeare to be bot selfe seekeing personnes whatsoever they pretend) haue informed your excellence otherwise, which the testymonie of a good conscience and a heart intyrelie devotted to his Matie's service beareing me witnes, I soe litle valued that I wold not haue mentioned anie such thing at this tyme if it wer not the zeale I haue to stand constantlie such as I am in yor excellences oppinione; for I doe declare that nothing bot a sense of Duty to my soveraigne, compelled me thus to hazarde my lyfe and fortune as I haue done, I neither ayme at, nor shall trouble yor Excellence with anie requeest for either preferrment or honor to my self, if it wold please the lord, his Matie's iust rights might be advanced, I haue my desire; And for further then to enable me to contribute effectuallie my endeavors to that purpose I care not; from which course soe long as I have meanes to promote the same, or health to prosecute itt, (wch indeede is not such as wer to be wyshed) I shall not god willing shrinke, soe wishing yor Excellence all happynes, and good successe in the carying on of this great work, I conclude my self, yor Excellences most humble and affectionat servant,

"J. MONTGOMERY.

"Newtoun, the 20th of August, 1649.

"for the most honorable James lord Marqueis of Ormonde, Lord lievtenant Gennerall of Ireland, his Excellence.—These.

"Endorsed—Sr James Mountgomery.—Dat. 20 Aug.; rec. 22 Aug, 1649."

[2] *Out Colonel Monk.*—See p. 179, *supra*.

[3] *Army in Ireland.*—See p. 175, *supra*.

[4] *The King's Commission.*—See p. 181, *supra*.

Sir James pleaded that as a subject of Ireland (where his estate was) he had acted according to law, and by Commission from King Charles y^e^ first and second and against the Irish and *Sectarians*, (as the estates then called the Rumps and Cromwell's party) their and our common enemy; which he thought no crime, and themselves were articling to reward the King as he and the Viscount's party had been endeavouring to hold up his Majesty's right in Ireland.[5]

That he could not hinder, nor did he promote or advise, Sir George Monro's expedition, which their Major General himself could not obstruct. That he had not contributed any to the Duke Hamilton's engagement, (for relief of their late imprisoned and murdered King) though their own Parliament had authorized the said Duke, how well or ill became not him to determine.[6]

That he was fled for his life from those, who were enemys to their and his King, and to get bread and shelter among them till those calamitous times were over which he hoped would soon come to pass, by the treaty on foot and by his Majesty coming for protection to them: as himself now did, and offered to give security for his good carriage during his residence.

But his conjunction with the Lord of Ardes, and slighting the Ministers, and using authority over the godly and well affected to the pretended cause afforesaid and to the Covenanters, was proved against Sir James, who was advised (by his relations) not to stir up nests of wasps, nor depend too much upon his justification, nor to decline their jurisdiction, lest he should be imprisoned.

Sir James had good friends, viz. the Earl of Eglinton,[7] the Laird of Greenock,[8] the Laird of Langshaw[9] (who was his cautioner, as they call a man who is security for his friend in a bond)

[5] *Right in Ireland.*—Sir James Montgomery had always been an honest and consistent royalist, whereas his accusers sometimes professed to be the friends of Charles, whilst, in reality, they were his enemies, unless he could be made a *covenanted* king, thus justifying the satirical account of them given by the author of *Hudibras*:—

> "Did they not swear at first to fight
> For the king's safety and his right,
> And after, marched to find him out,
> And charged him home with horse and foot?
> But yet, still had the confidence
> To swear it was in his defence."

The following passage, in the celebrated *Queenferry Paper*, clearly states the *condition* on which presbyterians wished to give their allegiance at the period referred to:—"The Covenant . . . only binds us to maintain our king in the maintenance of the true established and covenanted religion; and this we have not, neither can they require homage upon the account of the covenant, having renounced and disclaimed that covenant; and we being no otherwise bound, the covenant being the coronation compact, without the swearing and sealing of which our fathers, or rather we ourselves, refused to receive him for king and them for our rulers; and if they were free to refuse him for king upon the account of not subscribing of that covenant, we are much more free to reject him upon his renouncing of it, this being the only way of receiving the crown of Scotland." See *Scots Worthies*, edition of 1856, pp. 711—714.

[6] *To determine.*—For the movements in Ulster connected with the Scottish *Engagement*, see p. 173, *supra*. The Scottish estates, remorseful, it is said, for having sold the king to the English, hastily prepared an army of 15,000 men, which entered England, under the command of the duke of Hamilton, but which was soon met and dispersed by English troops under Cromwell. Scottish writers are indignant at the charge so persistently made, that the Scottish nation sold its king, but their fervid appeals and explanations on this point have not, as yet, convinced the English mind to the contrary. Buckle, whilst adopting the idea of the sale, approves of the whole affair. "Indeed, the Scots," says he, "instead of pardoning him, turned him to profit. He had not only trampled on their liberties, he had also put them to an enormous expense. . . . . They, therefore, gave him up to the English, and, in return, received a large sum of money, which they claimed as arrears due to them for the cost of making war on him. By this arrangement, both of the contracting parties benefitted. The Scotch, being very poor, obtained what they most lacked. The English, a wealthy people, had indeed to pay the money, but they were recompensed by getting hold of their oppressor, against whom they thirsted for revenge; and they took good care never to let him loose, until they had exacted the last penalty of his great and manifold crimes."—*Civilization in England*, vol. ii., pp. 279, 280, and *notes*.

[7] *Eglinton.*—The sixth earl.

[8] *Greenock.*—John Shaw.

[9] *Langshaw.*—This was David Montgomerie, eighth laird of Langshaw or Lainshaw, who died about the year 1692.—Paterson, *Parishes and Families* of Ayrshire, vol. ii., p. 454.

and divers others, besides his brother-in-law, Sir Alexander Stewart,[10] Bart. who interceeded for him.

The committee of estates reply to Sir James his defence, that he was a native of the kingdom, and that they might cognosce upon his actions, which trenche on their welfare, though he lived not in it; and told him he had been an enemy to God, and to his covenant and cause, and to the adherers thereunto.—Yet in hopes of his amendment and upon the request of his friends, they would only order him to remove out of the kingdom, betwixt and the first of January, without longer delay; and that he should not return without licence and permission, asked and gotten from the Parliament or committee of estates, or secret council for the samin. And that he shall not doe, speak, nor act any thing to y^e^ prejudice of the said cause or covenant, or well affected Covenanters either in Scotland or Ireland, under pain of 20,000*l.* Scotts money to be paid to the commissary general of Scotland for the use of the public, those presents to be registrat in the buiks of Parliament, etc.—There was no disputeing fitt; so he submitted to their will.[11]

Sir James landed in Scotland in and about the latter end of October 1649, gave bond ye 8th of December, and left the kingdom before next month, which begins their new year, 1650.[12]

He being banished (as aforesaid) went to Holland and left more than 100 pieces of gold (with Mr Alexander Petry,[13] minister to the Scottish congregation at Delft) for maintainance of his son

[10] *Sir Alexander Stewart.*—Son of sir William, and brother of sir James Montgomery's first wife, Katharine Stewart.

[11] *To their will.*—Sir James would have fared better had he remained at Rosemount and thrown himself on the mercy of Cromwell. Adair's notice of sir James's difficulties is, to say the least, ungenerous, and, in some respects, hardly credible. At p. 175, he says—"It is observable, that sir James Montgomery, of Greyabbey, who, a little time before, was a chief instrument to corrupt his nephew, the lord of Ards, teaching him, then but young, subtilly to deceive the ministers by his feigned pretences and declarations, though a man of great parts, is now put to his wits' end what course to take. He knew no better way than to apply to the ministers of the county of Down for recommendation to Scotland (then preparing to receive the king), which the ministers, upon his declaration of repentance and changing his principles under his hand, did give him, directed to Argyle and Robert Douglass. Yet, going there, he only obtained liberty to go to Holland, the states not thinking fit to own or trust him among them. . . . All his lifetime he followed world policy, yet it failed him." It is not to be believed that sir James Montgomery pretended repentance of his loyalty and a change of his principles, for the purpose of obtaining a certificate from the presbyterian ministers of Down. If such recantation had been ever signed by him, (as here stated), the document would have been carefully preserved among presbyterial records, and copied into Adair's *True Narrative*. Sir James made no apology for his sentiments and actions, even when summoned before the committee of estates, a more formidable tribunal than the assembled ministers of Down. On the contrary, he manfully advocated the rectitude of his intentions, taunting his judges with the crookedness of their own policy, and thus, doubtless, bringing upon himself a harsher punishment than might have been otherwise imposed.

[12] *New year*, 1650.—See p. 40, note 35, *supra*.

[13] *Alexander Petry.*—Alexander Petrie was translated by the general assembly in 1643 from the parish of Rhynd to be the first pastor of the Scottish church in Rotterdam. His flock, in the latter place, consisted of presbyterian families who had settled there as traders, and whose comfortable circumstances enabled them to assist many of their countrymen afterwards compelled to fly from the civil and religious feuds that desolated Scotland in the seventeenth century. A greater number of banished Scottish ministers were to be found in Rotterdam than in any other town in Holland. One of their number, named Robert Macward, when writing to a friend in Scotland, says:—"I am ashamed to call my lot a suffering lot, for He hath rather hid me from the storm than exposed me to trouble. I have occasion now and then to preach at Rotterdam, where we have one old Scots minister who is dissatisfied with the times."—*Scots Worthies*, edition of 1856, p. 554. This "one old Scots minister" was Alexander Petrie, mentioned in the text, who seems to have kindly assisted his countrymen without regard to the faction or party to which they had belonged in the old country. He is known as the author of a *Compendious History of the Catholic Church from* 600 *to* 1660. This work, published at the Hague in 1662, was dedicated to William III. when he was Prince of Orange, but curiously enough the author has placed on the first page of his dedication the arms of the kings of England, crowned and encircled with the garter.—Nicholson's *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 203.

William aforesaid, at the university in Leyden, under the care of Doctor Adam Stewart[14] Primarius Professor of Philosophy there.

His Majesty was then come out of Germany from solliciting the Emperor and Princes (as he had done to France and Spaine[15]) and was come to Breda (his brother Orange's[16] town) to meet

[14] *Doctor Adam Stewart.*—This divine was the "mere A. S." of Milton's well-known verses on the *New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament.* Dr. Stewart, before being settled at Leyden, had gained some notoriety in Scotland as a champion against the cause of religious toleration. The Rev. H. J. Todd, the learned editor of Milton, has gleaned all that is known of Stewart, in addition to what had already been published by Warton. Warton's account is as follows:—"Doctor Newton says, 'I know not who is meant by A. S. Some book might have been published, signed by these letters, and perhaps an equivoque might also be intended.' The Independents were now contending for toleration. In 1643, their principal leaders published a pamphlet with this title, *An Apologeticall Narration of some Ministers formerly Exiles in the Netherlands, now members of the Assembly of Divines. Humbly submitted to the honourable Houses of Parliament.* By Thomas Goodwyn, Sydrack Sympson, Philip Nye, Jer. Burroughs, and William Bridge, the authors thereof. London, 1643. In quarto. Their system is a middle way between Brownism and presbytery. This piece was answered by one A. S. the person intended by Milton. *Some observations and Annotations upon the Apologeticall Narration, humbly submitted to the honourable Houses of Parliament, the most reverend and learned Divines of the Assembly, and all the Protestant Churches here in this island and abroad.* Lond. 1644. In quarto. The dedication is subscribed A. S. The independents then retorted upon A. S. in a pamphlet called *A Reply of the two Brothers to A. S. Wherein you have Observations, Annotations, &c., upon the Apologeticall Narration. With a Plea for liberty of Conscience for the apologist's church-way: against the cavils of the said A. S. formerly called M. S. to A. S. &c. &c.*, Lond. 1644. In quarto. I quote from the second edition enlarged. There is another piece by A. S. It is called *Reply to the second Return.* This I have never seen. His name was never known." The Rev. H. J. Todd continues:—"His name was well known; and a doughty champion he appears to have been in the polemicks of that time: Witness his effusions entitled *Zerubbabel to Sanballat and Tobiah: or, The first part of the Duply to M. S. alias two Brethren, by Adam Steuart, &c., Imprim. March* 17, 1644. 4to. Again, the *second part the Duply to M. S. alias two Brethren. With a brief Epitome and Refutation of all the whole Independent-Government: Most humbly submitted to the King's most Excellent Majestie, to the most honourable Houses of Parliament, the most Reverend and Learned Divines of the Assembly, and all the Protestant Churches in this island and abroad,* by Adam Steuart. Imprim. Octob. 3. 1644. 4to. In this second part the observations of the two Brethren are stated, and the replies all commence with A. S. prefixed. [Possibly Milton ridicules this minuteness in here writing only "mere A. S."] However, the Tracts above stated contain in their title-pages the name at large. See also *An Answer to a Libell entitled A coole conference between the cleared Reformation and the Apologeticall Narration, brought together by a Well-willer to both.* By Adam Steuart. Lond. 1644. 4to. I have found him called in other Tracts of the time, Doctor A. Steuart, a Divine of the Church of Scotland."—*The Poetical Works of John Milton*, edited by the Rev. Hen. J. Todd, vol. iv., p. 306, *note.* The following are the celebrated lines in which Milton rebukes presbyterian intolerance, and hands down to future times "mere A. S.," who would, but for this poem, have long since been forgotten:—

"Because you have thrown off your Prelate Lord,
And with stiff vows renounc'd his Liturgy,
To seise the widowd whore Plurality,
From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorrd;
Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
To force our consciences that Christ set free,
And ride us with a classick hierarchy—
Taught ye by mere A. S. and Rotherford?

"Men, whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent,
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
Must now be nam'd and printed Hereticks
By shallow Edwards and Scotch what-d'ye-call:
But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
Your plots and packing worse than those of Trent,
That so the Parliament
May, with their wholesome and preventive shears,
Clip your phylacteries, though bauk your ears,
And succour our just fears,
When they shall read this clearly in your charge,
New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large."

[15] *And Spaine.*—Charles received words of promise, more or less sincere, from all these potentates, during his exile. The king of Spain appears to have been especially considerate in his attentions, if we may judge from the following extracts of a letter in which Charles meekly compares himself to Jacob and Christ, whilst the 'favours' of the Spanish monarch are compared to those of the angels, and even the Trinity:—"The accumulation of his Catholick Majesty's favours so amply spread over my persecutions, have as often represented to my thoughts the comforts wherewith the holy angels, or rather the most sacred Trinity refreshed the great patriarch Jacob in his wandrings, such seasonable consolations have they been to me in my pilgrimage. . . . 'Tis true that I also have a portion in my Saviour's earthly travels; for as his, so my nation owns me not; as he, so I, in our mortal comparisons, am persecuted from city to city, and from one nation to another people; my father of blessed memory trod the press, and I, his sorrowing son, drink of the streams; he was the heir, who most inhumanely his own subjects and servants murthered, and that possession is mine inheritance, which, as yet, they are pleased to call their own."—*Lord Somers's Tracts*, First Collection, vol. iii., p. 579.

[16] *His brother Orange.*—This was William, second prince of Orange of that name, who had married a sister of Charles II., and no doubt, on various grounds, ardently wished an end to the English commonwealth. With this object, he afforded every facility in his power to his brother-in-law. The possible succession of his

and treat with commissioners from Scotland; in which affair, hardly any three weeks passed but that the Scottish commissioners were instructed (as I was informed) to urge further and more strict concessions from his Majesty.[7]

Sir James came over in one of the ships which wafted the King and his train from Holland,[8]

own wife and children to the English throne would be altogether precluded by the scheme of an English republic—a prospect which no prince could be supposed to contemplate without regret. He might be willing also, or even anxious, to see the execution of his father-in-law avenged. See Hume's *Commonwealth of England*, vol. i., p. 26. The life of this prince of Orange—William II.—was but brief, as he died in the twenty-fourth year of his age. In his short career, however, he had contrived by his violent infringement of the constitutional rights of his subjects, to revive and strengthen a suspicion in the public mind that his house meditated the overthrow of freedom in the commonwealth. On this account, a great party opposed to the Orange interest, took advantage of the helplessness of his infant son, afterwards William III., to prevent his succeeding by election to the dignity of stadtholder, which had become almost hereditary in the line of Nassau. The alliance of William II. with the daughter of Charles I. of England had also excited the suspicions of Cromwell against the former, so that when peace was concluded afterwards, in 1654, between the two republics of England and the United Provinces, the demand of the Protector, that all the states should solemnly engage to exclude the infant prince of Orange and his descendants prospectively from the stadtholdership, was only satisfied by a secret engagement to the same effect to which Holland, as the leading province of the union willingly but discreditably acceded.

[7] *From his Majesty.*—The Scottish commissioners obtained all the terms from Charles which they had been instructed to demand. Balfour, *Annals*, vol. iv., p. 6, gives the names of those commissioners, as follows:—"The house by their warie (8th March, 1650), ordaines their commissioners to imbarque for Holland one Saterday, the 9 of March, at 2 in the afternoone, winde and wether serving, but any feuther delay. Commissioners sent by Parliament to treat with the King are—Johne, Earl of Cassillis; William, Earle of Louthean, principal secretary of State; the lairds of Brodie and Libertone, two Senators of the College of Justice for the burrowes; Sir John Smithe and Mr. Alex. Jaffra, com. for Aberdeen, for the burrowes; Mr. Jamis Wood, Mr. Johne Levingstone, and Mr. , from the commissione of the Kirke. The parliaments commissione to their commissioners to treat with the kings Ma^tie at Breda, for the space of 30 dayes and no longer, read, wotted, and past, and ordained to the houses name to be subscrived by the president. The commissioners had a warrand with them, under the great seale of Scotlande, to borrow 3 hundreth thousand pound to give to the king, if so it wer he and they accorded. Otherways to give him no money at all.'" 'This warrand' was the best argument the commissioners could use to induce Charles to accept the covenant or anything else that might propone. They had not long to wait at Breda, as the king, with becoming alacrity, bound himself to accept not only the Scottish covenant, but the Solemn League and Covenant,—to disavow and declare null the two cessations or peaces made by Ormond with the Irish in 1643 and 1648,—never to permit the exercise of the Catholic religion in Ireland or in any other part of his dominiones,—and to govern in civil matters by the advice of the Parliament, and in religious matters by the advice of the kirk! Balfour records the accomplishment of this important affair as follows:—"A letter from Mr. Johne Levingstone (on the 27th of June) to Mr. Robt. Douglasse, presented Mr. James Hamilton to the housse, anent his Majesties subscriving the covenant and the league and covenant, and granting all the *desyres of both churche and state*, of the dait 23 Junie, 1650, read and communicat to the Parliament. . . . Brodie and Libertone made a full relation of all ther negotiation with his Majestie; they produced the covenant, with the churche explanatione, subscrived with the king's hand, as also the concessions subscrived by his Majestie.—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 63, 67.

[8] *From Holland.*—These ships formed a small squadron furnished to Charles by the Prince of Orange. The king and his attendants experienced a rather perilous voyage of three weeks, but arrived safely in the Frith of Cromarty, on the 24th of June, with about 500 Scots and English in his train, including the commissioners and their attendants. The following is Clarendon's account of the king's arrival and reception:—"The marquis of Argyle, who did not believe that the king would ever have ventured thither [into Scotland] upon [the] conditions [he had sent,] was surprised with the account the commissioners had given him that his majesty resolved to embark the next day; that he would leave all his chaplains and his other servants behind him, and only deferred to take the covenant himself till he came thither, with a resolution to satisfy the kirk if they pressed it. And thereupon he immediately despatched away another vessel with new propositions, which the commissioners were to insist upon, and not to consent to the king's coming into that kingdom without he likewise consented to those. But that vessel met not with the king's fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the parliament, which attended to intercept the king, had held its course more northward, where there is plenty of good harbours; and so had put into a harbour near Stirling, that is, within a day's journey of it, but where there was no town nearer for his majesty's reception, or where there was any accommodation [even] for very ordinary passengers. From thence notice was sent to the council of the king's arrival. The first welcome he received was a new demand that he would sign the covenant himself before he set his foot on shore; which all about him pressed him to do: and he now found that he had made haste thither upon very unskilful imaginations and presumptions: yet he consented unto what they so imperiously required, that he might have leave to put himself into the hands of those who resolved nothing less than to serve him."—Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Oxford, edition of 1849, vol. v., pp. 144, 145. On reaching Falkland, the king, to gratify his covenanting

and he contracted an intimate friendship with Sir Alexander Sutherland whom the King afterward[s] created Lord Duffus[19] (an excellent man he was) whose truth and worth, the said Sir James his son (the said William) found by receiving, what money, papers, or cloaths were left with him at his house in the far north of Scotland for safety; for he delivered them to the said Captain Hugh M[c]Gill.[20] Then Sir James came to the west country and was obliged to abscond, and I rode with him, his cloaths-bag behind me for secrecy, till he might gett up his bond, which was cancelled as aforesaid;[21] and I had (that winter) remained at the Colledge in Glasgow, and till the summer

friends, summoned the lion king-at-arms, who was no other that sir James Balfour, the annalist, and issued certain *heraldic* laws which will be best expressed in Balfour's own words:—"Hes Maiestie commandid me at Falkland, 22 day of Julii, 1650, to sett doune thesse followig devices for the standards of the regiment of horsses of his Maiesties Lyffe gaurd. For the one syde of the Colonells standard, being azure, a sword and scepter in salteur, vnder a croune imperiall, or, with this motto vnderneath in gold letters, *nobis haec invicta miserunt*. On the other side,—*Couenant; for Religione, King and Kingdomes*. . . . Lykewayes, the same 22 of Julii, at his Ma[tie's] command, I ordered thesse folouing devices to be putt upone the ensigns and colours of his Ma[tie's] foote regiment of his Lyffe Gaurdes. For the Colonnell, in the middle of a blew feild, his Majisties coate of armes, viz:—Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, quartered, without aney croune ouer them, in the middle of the ensigne; and one the other syde of them, in grate gold letters, thesse vordes, Covenant; for religione, King and Kingdoms."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 84, 85. This was about the extent of the king's services in the interests of the covenant.

[19] *Lord Duffus.*—Sir Alexander Sutherland represented the Duffus branch of the old Dunrobin stock, being the seventh in descent from Kenneth, fifth earl of Sutherland, who was slain at Hallidown-hill, in 1333. Sir Alexander had suffered much in following the royal fortunes, and was created viscount Duffus by Charles II. in 1650. In the parish of Duffus, at Elgin, are still be seen the remains of Duffus Castle, built in the reign of David I. by a family named Cheyne, from whom lord Duffus was maternally descended. This fortress consisted of a square tower, the walls of which were five feet in breadth and built with run lime, and having a parapet, ditch, drawbridge, and other appendages of a fortified baronial residence. The orchard and garden are still in a state of preservation, but the castle has long been abandoned as a place of residence. About thirty years ago, an old woman was living in the district, whose mother remembered to have seen Claverhouse, viscount Dundee, on a visit with lord Duffus at this castle.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland, Elgin*, p. 35. His lady, who was a daughter of the master of Forbes, and who died on the 16th of April, 1677, is mentioned as among the secret friends of non conformity, at the time of her death. Several other ladies of distinguished rank and piety, throughout the northern shires, were similarly inclined; among whom, probably the best known, were lady Campbell of Calder, lady Kilravock, lady Muirtown, and lady Innes. Lady Duffus is frequently mentioned in the *Diary* of her kinswoman, Lilias Dunbar, as a most excellent and kind-hearted woman. This *Diary* was originally printed in *The Religious Monitor and Evangelical Repository*, for 1832, in the state of Vermont, and has been amply used by the author of *The Ladies of the Covenant*, in his memoir of Mrs. Campbell, pp. 148—161. Sir Robert Gordon, in his *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, tells of a feud between the Gordons of Enbo and the Sutherlands of Duffus. In 1625, John Gordon assaulted the laird of Chyne, a brother of Duffus mentioned in the next. Enbo was prosecuted by Duffus before the privy council, and committed to the castle of Edinburgh. Sir Robert Gordon states that he endeavoured to persuade Duffus to withdraw the prosecution, but that the latter utterly refused to do so, "thinking to get great sums of money discerned to him by the lords from John Gordon, for satisfaction of the wrong done to his brother, whereby he might undo Gordon's estate. Sir Robert then induced lord Gordon to enlist the sympathy of the French commissioners on behalf of John Gordon, and in this he succeeded even beyond his expectations. The commissioners induced the privy council to order the liberation of Gordon on his paying the small fine of £100 Scots, equal to £8 6s 8d sterling, a result very different from that which the Sutherlands had expected. So, at least, thought Sir Robert Gordon." See Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 5, 6. Soon after sir Alexander Sutherland was created lord Duffus, he was sent to hold Perth for Charles II., but was very quickly relieved from his duties at that place. Under the 2nd of August, 1651, Balfour has the following entry:—"Cromwell marched from Bruntiyland to Perthe, and had the same randred to him by the Lord Duffus, quhe had entred the same some 12 houres befor with 600 men on good quarters, one Saterday, the 2d day of Agust, 1651."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 313, 314. The title of lord Duffus was forfeited in 1715, in the person of Kenneth, lord Duffus, but was restored to his grandson, captain James Sutherland, by act of parliament, in 1826. Lord James having died without male issue, the title was taken up by sir Benjamin Dunbar of Hempriggs, the next male descendant of the second son of James, who had changed his surname on his marriage with Miss Dunbar, the heiress of Hempriggs.—Mackay's *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, p. 345.

[20] *Hugh McGill.*—See p. 244, *supra*.

[21] *Cancelled as aforesaid.*—The earl of Eglinton, the laird of Greenock, and the laird of Lainshaw, had entered into a bond as cautioners or securities for sir James Montgomery, that he would forthwith leave Scotland and never return, unless permitted to do so by the authority of the estates. Although he had now come back with the king, he could not publickly appear until relieved by an act of the parliament, and was, therefore, obliged for a time to

following. Then students had the vacance (so they called it) i. e. leave to go home till harvest (which begins the first of August) was past.

In the meanwhile, no malignants (so were the late suffering loyalists termed) were admitted into the army, nor to any office in the King's household, and it was but privately that Sir James might repaire to Court or near the King's person, yet sometimes he had secret speech with his Majesty.[22]

"abscond," and conceal himself in "the west country." Sir James Montgomery, and other leading royalists who had come to Scotland with Charles, soon found that their only course was to abandon the king in the meantime, and provide, as they severally best could, for their own safety. Clarendon, speaking of their difficult position at this juncture, says:—"With his majesty's leave, and having given him the best advice they could what he should do for himself, and what he should do for them, they put themselves on shore before the king disembarked; and found means to go to those places where they might be some time concealed, and which were like to be at distance enough from the king. And shortly after, duke Hamilton retired to the island of Arran, which belonged to himself, where he had a little house well enough accommodated, the island being, for the most part, inhabited with wild beasts: Lauderdale concealed himself among his friends, both taking care to be well informed of all that should pass about the king, and that he might receive their advice on any occasions." "The king was received by the marquis of Argyle with all the outward respect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the English servants of any quality were removed from his person, the duke of Buckingham only excepted. The rest for the most part were received into the houses of some persons of honour, who lived at a distance from the court, and were themselves under a cloud for their known affections, and durst only attend the king to kiss his hand, and then retired to their houses, that they might give no occasion of jealousy; others of his servants were not suffered to remain in the kingdom, but were forced presently to re-embark themselves for Holland; amongst which was Daniel O'Neile, who hath been often mentioned before, and who came from the marquis of Ormond into Holland, just when his majesty was ready to embark, and so waited upon him; and was no sooner known to be with his majesty, (as he was a person very generally known,) but he was apprehended by order from the council, of being an Irishman, and having been in arms on the late king's behalf in the late war; for which they were not without some discourse of putting him to death; but they did immediately banish him the kingdom, and obliged him to sign a paper by which he consented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the kingdom."—Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, edit. Oxford, 1849, vol. v., p. 145. Balfour states that on Wednesday, the 18th December, 1650, relief was granted to sir James Montgomery. His words are—"*Regie presente*, Sr James Montgomeries bill to be liberat of his band from eentringe the kingdome, read; and after some debait, he liberat from the penalty of the same, and he acknowledged ane lawful subiecte."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 206.

[22] *Speech with his Majesty.*—As the committee of estates and the kirk committee had wrung from the king the most humiliating terms, they well knew that he could not be trusted for a moment; and they determined, therefore, to keep him in safe hands by permitting only such personal attendants to approach him as had taken the covenant. Thus, the duke of Buckingham, lord Wilmot, and other English attendants and servants, were compelled to become covenanters for the time being. The several Irish and Scottish royalists who had returned with Charles from exile, so far from being permitted to serve in the Scottish army against the invasion which was now being made by Cromwell, were compelled to conceal themselves among the highlands and isles of Scotland. Such also as had, at any time, opposed the covenant in any manner or degree, were totally excluded at this crisis from the honour of fighting side by side with the covenanters for the restoration of the king. To enforce this absurd, and as it proved, fatal arrangement, an act had been passed by the estates entitled the *Act of Classes*, by which all 'malignants' or royalists were classified according to their several degrees of dissatisfaction with the covenant, and dismissed from the army. This act, it is true, was quickly rescinded after the defeat at Dunbar, but in the meantime, and almost in view of the enemy, eighty officers and four thousand men, constituting the flower of the army, were expelled.—Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., pp. 71, 72. After this expulsion, it naturally occurred to the covenanters that the king for whom they were about to fight, was himself the very chief of malignants, and that, therefore, he should be required to make another declaration of his principles (or rather another exhibition of his hypocrisy), by way of assisting, at that momentous crisis, in averting the wrath of the Almighty from their proceedings. Accordingly a declaration was prepared for the royal signature, in which Charles was required to lament his father's opposition to the work of God and to the solemn league and covenant, his mother's idolatry—the toleration of which in the royal household could not fail to provoke the wrath of that God who visits the sins of the fathers upon the children—and to declare that he had signed the covenant with sincerity of heart, and would in future have no friends or enemies but such as were friends or enemies to the covenanted work, &c., &c., &c. The king, before signing this document, asked time to obtain the advice of his council, but his tormentors would not wait, the two committees of the kirk and estates vehemently protesting that they disclaimed the guilt of the king and his house, and the preachers individually proclaiming from their pulpits that the king was a hypocrite, who had taken the covenant without the intention of keeping it. The king did not long withstand this storm, and no sooner had he signed the declaration than his act in so doing was accepted with expressions of the greatest gratitude and joy, the army and the city of Edinburgh observing a solemn fast for the sins of the king

The English army, commanded by O. C. was drawn up within five miles of Edinburgh, and the Scotts between Leith and Pictland[23] (comonly called Pentland) hills.[24]

In which, a Committee of y^e^ Kirk had a place, neare Generall Lesly, and were privy to all resolutions made in councils of warr, having an overawing and controlling votes therein ;[25] and it

and his father, Charles I., and the preachers assuring their dupes that there would be now an easy victory over Cromwell and his troops—a "blaspheming general and a sectarian army."—Balfour's *Annals of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 92-6; Lingard's *History of England*, 6th edt., 1855, vol. viii., pp. 145, 146.

[23] *Pictland.*—The boundaries of Pictland are not clearly marked. According to sir Walter Scott, the Picts "inhabited the eastern shores of Scotland as far south as the Frith of Forth, and as far north as the island extends." *History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 7. "The Caledonians or Picts," says Cosmo Innes, "possessed in the eighth century, and down to the end of it, all the eastern lowlands of modern Scotland, including Lothian ; but the last only probably for a short period. At the end of that century, they possessed also Galloway and the Orkney islands." —*Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 82.

[24] *Pentland hills.*—On Cromwell's crossing the Tweed, at the head of an army of 16,000 veterans, he found the Scottish forces, doubly numerous, posted behind a deep intrenchment extending from Edinburgh to Leith, fortified with numerous batteries, and flanked by the cannon of the castle at one extremity, and of the harbour at the other. The Scottish army was commanded by the earl of Leven, who, being old and infirm, delegated the command to his kinsman, David Leslie. The latter proved his great discretion, if not generalship, in keeping closely within his excellent, and, indeed, unassailable position, notwithstanding many attempts on the part of Cromwell to draw him into an engagement.

[25] *Votes therein.* — The intermeddling of the two committees with the duties of the general in command, led directly to the defeat of the covenanting army. Cromwell's movements, occasioned by numerous deaths among his soldiers, indicated weakness or indecision on his part, and greatly encouraged his opponents. Having sent his sick on board the fleet at Musselburgh, he marched his army to Haddington and thence to the vicinity of Dunbar. Had Leslie been permitted to remain in his original position, Cromwell, knowing the greatly superior numbers of the enemy, would probably have sent his infantry on board the fleet, and escaped with his cavalry along the high road to Berwick. But at a council of war, in which the two committees of the kirk and estates had "overawing and controlling votes," it was determined that Leslie also should move, which he did, by marching his army along the heights of Lammermuir, and taking up a position on a place called the Doon-Hill, the advanced posts of the opposing armies being then only separated by a narrow ravine. There was great anxiety among the members of the two committees lest the enemy should escape, and to prevent this, they compelled Leslie to abandon his cautious tactics, being persuaded that they could secure an easy victory. The battle of Dunbar commenced by an attempt on the part of the Scots to seize the road between that town and Berwick, which was Cromwell's only outlet for escape in case of defeat. In this they succeeded, driving the English from their position, and breaking through the infantry which had been sent forward to support the horse. To retrieve this disaster, Cromwell ordered his own regiment to advance with levelled pikes. The charge of this body is described as being terrific, driving the Scots foot before it for three quarters of a mile together. At almost the same moment, Monk's brigade assailed the Scottish right wing, whilst the English cavalry that had yielded its position, rallied and drove the Scots lancers back, thus recovering its ground. In Lambert's regiment was a captain Hodgson who left *Memoirs* of his life and services, and who states that Cromwell himself, at this juncture, came to the rear of the regiment to which he (Hodgson) belonged, and commanded them to incline to the left,-- "that was to take more ground, to be clear of all bodies. And we did so, and horse and foot were engaged all over the field; and the Scots all in confusion: and the sun appearing upon the sea, I heard Nol say, 'Now let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered;' and he following as we slowly marched, I heard him say, 'I protest they run!' and then was the Scots army all in disorder and running, both right wing, and left, and main battle." The pursuit lasted eight hours, although Cromwell's own regiment halted to sing the 117th Psalm. Three thousand Scots were slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners. Of the latter, 5000, being wounded, were released, whilst the fate of the remaining 5000 was deplorable. On their way to Berwick, and thence to Newcastle and Durham, they suffered so much from hunger, fatigue, and exposure, that 1600 had died before the 8th of November. Many of the hapless Scottish prisoners who had escaped the sword, pestilence, and famine, were destined to a cruel fate, having been transported to the English settlements in America, and there sold as slaves!—Bisset's *Omitted Chapters of the History of England*, pp. 356, 384; Lingard's *History of England*, vol. viii., pp. 146, 147. Two officers from Ulster fell at the battle of Dunbar on the side of the king and covenanters, viz., sir Alexander Stewart, uncle of the author, William Montgomery, and lieutenant-colonel John Montgomery, son of Patrick Montgomery of Craigbuy, near Donaghadee. The half dozen ministers who formed the committee of the kirk with the army, and who were leading members of the general assembly, do not appear to have been abashed by the total falsification of their predictions respecting the result of the battle, but forthwith set about drawing up what they called *A short Declaration and Warning*, which they prefaced by the announcement that they "must not forbeare to declaire the mynd of God, nor uthers refusse to hearken." This *Declaration* was immediately followed by *Causes of a Soleme publicke humiliatione upone the defait of the armey*, which 'causes' were thirteen in number, and are recorded in Balfour's *Annals*, vol. iv., pp. 102-6. To enumerate them briefly (as stated by the ministers) these causes were, 1, the general profaneness of the land; 2nd, the provocations of the King and the King's house; 3rd, the

was generally believed that O. C. had secret correspondence with them and their party, among y^e^ officers, and y^e^ event confirmed the report. For y^e^ ministers and some leading officers, after the loss of Dunbarr fight, now called Remonstrators (from a paper called a Remonstrance against y^e^ assembly of the Estates, and of the Ministers at Striveling),[26] for this assembly declared that it was lawfull for the King to imploy any of his subjects, to expell ye Sectarian English out of the country; but those other ministers and officers, having gott together about 6000 men, and more dayly of their peevish gang, refractory to y^e^ laws, comeing in to pursue their remonstrance, would admit of no conjunction with y^e^ King, nor with his sober estates and clergy at Striveling, but being headed by y^e^ said Straughan and Colonel Gilbert (comonly called Gibby) Carr, would fight y^e^ Lord's battles by themselves;[27] because he was able to doe his own work with few, as well as with many, and would own his cause and covenant, (which they only expressed) against the sectarians, and, therefore, they rejected the help of 1000 men, which y^e^ King and estates sent, by Major General Montgomery (Eglinton's 3d son), and threatened to fall upon him and his party, if he presumed to joyne with them, tho' he offered to be under their command; only permitting their

crooked ways of statesmen in the Treaty at Breda; 4th, the toleration of malignants in the king's household; 5th, the suffering of his guard to join in the battle without a previous purgation; 6th, the diffidence of some officers who refused to profit by advantages furnised to them by God; 7th, the presumption of others who expected victory without eyeing of God; 8th, the rapacity and oppression exercised by the soldiery; 9th, the great and general ingratitude for former mercies; 10th, the eying of the king's interest without subordinatione to religion; 11th, carnal self-seeking in the judicatories and armies; 12th, making no difference between them that fear God and them that fear him not; and 13th, the exceeding great negligence among the higher classes and others in performing the deuties in ther families.

[26] *Ministers at Striveling.*—After the crushing defeat at Dunbar, the Scottish government fled to Stirling, where it was soon fain to cancel its former act for the expulsion of engagers and malignants, and to admit them again into the army as reinforcements. This relaxation, however, was forced upon the covenanters by stern necessity, and very soon caused an irreparable quarrel among themselves. Such of them as were willing to enlist the services of royalists held meetings and passed resolutions to that effect, and were hence termed *Resolutioners*; whilst those of a stricter type protested against this proceeding, pronouncing any further espousal of the king's quarrel unlawful and sinful, this latter party being known as *Protesters and Remonstrators*. The Remonstrators had always approved of the execution of Charles I., and sympathised with the extreme republican party in England. Indeed, they openly charged their own grandees or covenanted oligarchy with the guilt of the war, which they had provoked, it was alleged, by their well-known intention of invading the sister kingdom. The Scottish preachers were divided against each other by these two parties, and quarrelled with their characteristic bitterness and animosity. Among the *Protesters*, Patrick Gillespie, the then principal of Glasgow University, held a distinguished place. He was appointed on a deputation sent by his party to enlighten Cromwell on the subject of the controversy, but being seized with illness in London, his brother preacher Baillie, a leading *Resolutioner*, thus writes of Gillespie's condition to a friend in Scotland:—"Mr. Gillespie remains there sorely sick, some think in displeasure that his desires were not granted. However, at his last going to Hampton Court, he got no speech of the protector; if this grieved him I know not; but he went immediately from Hampton Court to Wombledoun, Lambert's house, being Saturday night; and having engaged to preach on Sunday morning, before sermon he had five stools, and after his painful preaching, four score before he rested; thereafter, for many days a great flux and fever, together with the breach of a hulcer in the gutts, put him to the very brink of death. Many thought it the evident hand of God upon him, and would not have sorrowed for his death. For myself, I was grieved, foreseeing the hurt of our College by his removal."—Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii., p. 356.

[27] *The Lord's battles by themselves.*—As soon as the committee of estates could settle at Stirling for a short time in their flight before Cromwell, they gladly gave permission for a levy of troops in the associated counties of Ayr, Renfrew, Galloway, Wigton, and Dumfries, a region of Scotland throughout which the most rigid and fanatical ideas about the importance of the covenant had almost universally prevailed. In a short time (owing principally to the preaching of Gillespie and other ministers similarly affected), a considerable force was raised and placed under the command of two colonels named Strachan and Kerr or Carr. These officers had previously rendered distinguished services to the cause of the covenant. They were present at the battle of Corbiesdale, in Ross-shire, on the 27th of April, 1650, where Strachan's exertions greatly contributed to the defeat and capture of Montrose. In this engagement Strachan had a near escape with his life, as according to Balfour, he "received a shotte upon his belley, bot lighting upon the double of

leaders to march and fight as volunteers, with y^e^ men they had brought to their party.[28] Now, lett any man judge whether Carr and Straughan were more for the King and country or for Cromwell; but Lambert easily routed them at Hamilton, within six miles of Glasgow.[29]

Sir James Montgomery, about six days before y^e^ said fight at Dunbarr, attending with myself, when y^e^ King viewed y^e^ army, (to their great joy, whereof the Kirk party were jealous,) seeing the King debarred from staying with his army, and advised peremtorily (which he must interprett as a

his belte and buffe coate, did not pierce." On Thursday, the 30th of May, "a letter was read in the housse," says Balfour, "from Coll. Gilbert Ker, showing that he had takin a pirat ladin with wyne and provisione for James Grahame, in Rosse; and that he had sent both shipe and goods to Leith to be disposed off by the parliament. As also, that he had sent them a grate maney of James Grahames papers and letters, which ware found in a wood neir the place of the fight, hid under a tree, and discovered by a pedie of James Grahames for his lyffe." Gilbert or Gibby Carr had been one of those who prominently urged the necessity of dismissing all royalists or malignants from the army before the battle of Dunbar. Balfour, in noticing this movement, calls it "the armeys remonstrance to the Comitee of Estaits sent by the lord Burlie, major Generale Holborne, sir Johne Brune, and colonell Gilbert Ker, desyring the purging of the armey furder, if they think fitt; as also the purging of his Maiesties courte and familey." —Balfour's *Annals of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 11, 34, 94.

[28] *To their party.*—Strachan and Carr refused to serve under general Leslie; and, to secure the assistance of their western levies, the Scottish parliament consented to exempt them from his authority. These officers next expressed doubts of the lawfulness of the war in which the estates had now engaged for the restoration of the king. Cromwell, knowing their scruples on this point, and being aware that colonel Strachan had served in his own army at Preston, immediately opened a correspondence with that officer, and succeeded in detaching him from the western army. Strachan's defection was deeply felt by the estates, who took care to inflict quick and condign punishment therefor. Balfour informs us that on the 20th of March, 1651, it was "ordred, that since the processe of forfaulture was going on against Colonell Straquhan, that all such moneyes as are addebted to him may be securid for his Maiestie and the publick wsse; and that Straquhan's debters may be securid. Ordred, that the discharge of the Com. of the Thesaurey to Col. Straquhan's debters for suche moneyes as in ther hands shall be sufficient upone ther deliverey of the samen, in respect it is certainly knowen to the parl. that the said Straquhan is gone into the publick enemey of the Kingdome."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 267. On the resignation of Strachan, the whole responsibility devolved on Carr, to whose assistance the parliament sent Hugh Montgomery, afterwards seventh earl of Eglinton, at the head of three new regiments, and with directions that the latter was to assume the command of the whole force when united; but of the fruitless nature of this mission the author informs us in the text.

[29] *Six miles of Glasgow.*—Without waiting for Montgomery's approach, Carr attacked Lambert in his quarters at Hamilton, and was taken prisoner, designedly as was believed, and his whole western levies dispersed. Strachan, with sixty troopers, soon afterwards joined Lambert also, and thus ended the military effort made by the covenanters of the western counties, in which so many sincere enthusiasts engaged, and for which not a few of the leaders afterwards suffered. This movement enlisted the active services of many influential *Protesters* or *Remonstrators*, among whom may be mentioned lord Wariston, sir John Chieslie, sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead, Gilbert Ker, William Ker of Newton, the laird of Cesnok, the laird of Colston, the laird of Cunnenghamhoid, the laird of Rowallan, the laird of Pollock, the laird of Glanderstoun, the laird of Corsbie, the laird of Fail, the laird of Crawfordland, the laird of Pinkhill, the laird of Stair, the laird of Blair, the laird of Kirkhill, sir James Stuart, the lord Cathcart, the laird of Kinhilt, the laird of Allinshaw, the laird of Colzean, William Colville in Uchiltree, the laird of Trochrig, the laird of Kirkmichel, the laird of Auckindrain, and many merchants in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Ayr, and other towns. Among the presbyterian ministers who zealously sustained this movement were Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. William Adair, Mr. John Nevay, Mr. Thomas Nalie, Mr. Gabriell Maxwell, Mr. Matthew Mouat, Mr. James Rouat, Mr. William Guthrie, Mr. John Fullerton, Mr. Gilbert Hall, Mr. George Hutchison, Mr. Alexander Blair, Mr. David Bruce, and Mr. Heugh Campbell.—*Roole off the Remonstrators*, in the *possession of John Fullerton, Esqr.*, and printed from Robertson's *Ayrshire Families* in Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 127, *note*. Gilbert or Gibby Ker, after the failure of this project, came to Ireland, and was concerned in Blood's Plot, in 1663. On the 26th of May, in that year, a proclamation was issued by the Irish government, offering a reward for his apprehension. —Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., p. 269; Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. ii., p. 275, *note*. Hamilton, the town at which the abovenamed skirmish occurred, is so called after the great Scottish family of this name, whose magnificent residence, Hamilton Palace, is situated in a rich vale between the town and the river Clyde. In 1668, Charles II. granted a charter to Lady Anne, duchess of Hamilton, and in 1670, the magistrates then in office accepted a charter from her (with consent of her husband), by which this town was constituted the chief burgh of the regality and dukedom of Hamilton. This duchess was well known as an excellent and kind-hearted woman. Her residence was the centre of a district in which several conflicts occurred between the royal troops and the covenanters, and her powerful interposition was often solicited, and never withheld, on behalf of fugitives from battle-fields. At the battle of Bothwell Bridge, which was fought on Sunday, the 22nd of June, 1679, not many covenanters were slain on the field, but several hundred were barbarously slaughtered on the neighbouring farms, among

command, being under sadd circumstances with the Committees), to retire, and stay in Striveling Castle; and his Majesty did so.[30]

The history of the passages in the west parts of Scotland; how the remonstrators were routed and dispersed; how Oliver Cromwell sent over a party in Fife, thinking to enclose the King, at Strivling; how his Majesty marched to Worcester, and was defeated, and escaped to France—is sufficiently recorded, and belongs not to me.[31]

which they had scattered themselves for protection, Vast numbers sought concealment in the wooded parks surrounding Hamilton Palace, and the good duchess, knowing this, sent an urgent request to the duke of Monmouth to prohibit his soldiers from trespassing on her grounds. Monmouth, who was naturally humane, gladly complied with her request, and thus hundreds of the hapless fugitives were saved.—Chambers's *Picture of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 357; and *New Statistical Account of Scotland, Lanarkshire*, p. 266, as quoted in *The Ladies of the Covenant*, pp. 64, 65.

[30] *Majesty did so.*—This interview between the king and the army, which the author dignifies with the name of a review, was brought about by the earl of Eglinton, who recommended the king to visit the forces on the Links of Leith. On that occasion, sir James Montgomery and his son, the author, were present. Sir Edward Walker, referring to the state of affairs in the army, about this time, eight or ten days before the battle of Dunbar, says:—"By this time the army was much increased, many malignants and engagers having gotten into command, his Majesty high in the favour and affection of the army, which was then more evident by the soldiers having made an *R* with chalk under the crown upon their arms, and generally expressing the goodness of their cause, now they had the King with them." Charles, in return for this loyalty, gave each of the soldiers the sum of two shillings, thus enabling them to drink his health, which they did most enthusiastically, on their knees. It was probably at this time that the men, not content with the single letter *R* upon their arms, began to mark their hats, caps, and coats with the two letters *C. R.* These exhibitions roused up a righteous jealousy among the covenanters, who immediately complained to the grandees that the royal presence had led to drunkenness and profanity among the soldiers; thereupon the king was requested or commanded to leave, and very soon afterwards the army, as already stated, was purged of malignants to the number of about 4000. This purgation was effected by the committee of estates, consisting, among others at that time, of the earl of Argyle, lord Lorne, and the chancellor Loudon, all Campbells.—See Lingard's *History of England*, edition of 1855, vol. viii., pp. 144, 145; Bisset's *Omitted Chapters*, vol. i., p. 344.

[31] *Belongs not to me.*—The author here refers to the movements of the English army and the two armies of covenanters during the twelve months that intervened between the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. In this interval, Charles was formally crowned at Scone, January 1, 1651, the earl of Argyle placing the emblem of sovereignty on the royal head, and the king swearing again, on his knees, more deeply and dreadfully than before, how strenuously he would uphold the covenant and support the covenanted work. Cromwell, when his [illegible] for action came, moved in the July of 1651 to Perth, so as to threaten the Scottish army in the rear. As a path was then left open into England, and as Charles fancied if he could reach that country he would have ample assistance from the inhabitants, his Scottish army marched with him rapidly across the western border, and advanced through Lancashire, hotly pursued by Cromwell. The king, with his Scottish and English adherents, made a stand at Worcester, on the 3rd of September, 1651, and after a fierce and bloody conflict, his army was utterly routed, exactly on the first anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, Charles himself escaping with great difficulty, and once more seeking an asylum on the continent. "Scotland had now expended nearly the whole of her military strength in a vain endeavour to support her ecclesiastical system in connection with a limited monarchy, against the English commonwealth. Her towns and principal places of strength fell into the hands of the English troops. The Committee of Estates were surprised and taken prisoners at a place called Alyth, on the skirts of the Grampians. The General Assembly was dispersed, and no church courts above synods were allowed to meet. Henceforth the Resolutioners and Remonstrators, the moderate majority and the furious minority of the church, were allowed to gnaw at and tear each other to pieces, with little result but that of making many calm men despair of peace under such a mode of church government. . . . Eight thousand English troops and four forts—at Ayr, Leith, Perth, and Inverness—proved sufficient to keep our ancient kingdom in subjection. The essentially aggressive spirit of the Solemn League was revenged by nine years of humiliation, during which all classes seem to have suffered, but especially the nobles, who were ground to the dust by heavy fines. It is admitted, nevertheless, that the country was benefitted by the keeping down of the religious factions, as well as by the impartiality of a corps of English judges, who superseded the native bench."—*Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 177. In the November of 1651, the western clergy sought in their meetings to learn the cause of the heavy wrath which the Almighty was pouring out upon the land, but "after long attendance," says Nicoll, "their resolutions ended in confusion, distraction, and divisions among themselves, prognosticating much more desolation on the land." Whilst the clergy were engaged in various very fervid endeavours to solve the tantalising problem, a layman, who is described as a "godly Scot," had arrived at an easy, and probably correct solution. He had the honest audacity to hand in a paper to the commission of the kirk, in which he argued that among the causes of the evils with which the country was then afflicted, one was their undertaking of solemn engagements unwarranted by the word of God, another was their fleshly zeal in carrying out these engagements by cruel oppressions, and a third was their idolising of individuals from whom they implicitly received their doctrines. Towards the close of 1651,

Then Sir James seeing the King's affairs ruined in all his kingdoms (chooseing the most convenient time) he went incognito as a merchant to Edinburgh, to a stanch friend, and by his means got a pass to travel to London under the name of James Huson, and for his trusty man, (who went as his nephew) under the name of William Thomson,[32] as merchants with bills of exchange and letters of credit for wares to be brought back. And indeed the master was son of a Hugh, and the servant son of a Thomas; so their adopted sirnames (to gain current permission of travelling,) were all truths. James Huson thus travelling by the way of Newcastle upon Tyne found y^e^ roads pestered with marching horse and foot, which were very often inquisitive. Yet none of them did discover him, though he knew some English officers that he mett, and therefore he resolved to run no further risque by land.

James Huson sold his horses and took to sea in a coal's barque for London (that great wood for concealments), and here was Sir W. Cole his father-in-law, that owed him 500*l.*; with acquittall whereof, and other sums which he intended to bestow by his hands, he hoped to get a pardon, and to be admitted to compound for his estate.

Yet it may be observed all the world over, that man may propose, but that God only can, and doth dispose of events. For now our pretended shopkeepers being aboard, and all danger of Oliver Cromwell and his army past, I may name them by their former names.

Sir James had not sailed 8 hours, till night and a storm separated the coal-fleet, which had

John Nicoll, whose *Diary* records the circumstances above-mentioned, has also supplied the following gloomy picture of Scotland's moral condition:—"Under heaven there was not greater falset, oppression, division, hatred, pride, malice, and envy nor was at this time, and diverse and sundry years before (ever since the subscribing the covenant); every man seeking himself and his awen ends, even under a cloak of piety, whilk did cover much knavery." He adds:—"Much of the ministry also could not purge themselves of their vices of pride, avarice, and cruelty; where they maligned, they were divided in their judgments and opinions, and made their pulpits speak ane against another. Great care they had of their augmentation and *Reek Pennies* (a tax imposed on houses in proportion to the number of chimnies in each), never before heard of but within thir few years. Pride and cruelty, ane against another, much abounded; little charity or mercy to restore the weak was found among them. . . . . This I observe not out of malice to the ministry, but to record the truth, for all offended, from the prince to the beggar."—Nicholl's *Diary of Public Transactions and other Occurrences, chiefly in Scotland*, as quoted in Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, vol. ii., pp. 209, 210, 212. A curious illustration of the complete subjection of the once rampant covenanting party is supplied by a petition from the presbyterians of South Leith, addressed to general Monk, whom Cromwell left to govern Scotland, after its conquest in 1650. This petition, which was recently found in the Lyon Office, and printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 159, 160, is supposed to have been presented by the congregation of Leith about the year 1655:—

"To the Reight Hon^ble^ Generall Monck, Commander in Cheife of all the ffources in Scotland.

"The humble Petitione of the inhabitants of the paroche of South Leith

"SHEWETH—That yor petitioners, in obedience to ane order from yor Honr to our deputie governour lieutenant Collonel Timothie Wilks, did delyver to him the Kye of our church doore, and haith ever since had our meittings for the worshipe and service of God in the oppine feilds, which, by the unconstancie of the weather, haith very much disturbed the exerceise, besyds many aged and infirme people can not goe soe farre, and such as have young children in their families and can not come to church befoir noone, are now debared from Efteroons Sermons, and many take occasion to goe astray through the feilds to the great dishonour of God and greife of the godlie.

"The grounds mouing your Honour to emite this ordour, as we humblie conceave, was Mr. Johne Hogge his remembring the King in his prayers, as some would alledge, as alsoe the great resort of people to heare him. For satisfactione, Mr Johne Hogge doeth no at all mentione the nam of the King, nather intends to doe it in tyme coming. And wee proposed a way to our governour, which will hinder any to com to our meitting, but such as are of the congregatione; by suffering none to enter into the garrisone upon the lord's day, but such as hath a warrand frome the governour. And wee are now making a diligent search through the towne, taking up the nams of all such as are leatlie come into the towne, and haith not the governor his licence, whose names wee are to give up to the gover nour, that he may dispose of them at his pleasour. Besyds, wee are willing to doe any other thing shall be requyred for our peaceable leaveing, to give your Honour and the governour consent.

"Which being considered wee hope yor Honr will be pleased to grant our desyre and to restore us to our former Libertie to meit in our church, and wee (as in deutie) shall ever praye.

"Ja. Riddell, J. Stevinsone, James Kyll, Johne Gray, Maurice Trent, Thomis Litchfeild, John Young, Will. Murrey, Robert Tailzour, Robert Dewer, Robert Bedford, H. Broun, James Thomsone, James Seatone, Alex. Downy Younger, John Wilkie, William Ramsay, J. Mackon, G. Lawtie, Ro. Bruce, Tho. Mill, Mr. Da. Aldinstoune, James Carse, Ja. Crawfurd."

[32] *William Thomson.* — This attendant's name was William Cunningham. The author afterwards notices him more particularly in the memoir of himself.

set out together. On the next morning, being the 12th of March 165½, the storm being abated, a picaroon (or privateer) of Dunkerk, carrying six small guns and near 60 men, having letters of marque or reprizal, gave chase to our vessel near Flamborrow head.

Sir James viewed the picaroon with the master's perspective, and thinking their enemy of less force than they were, and the coal barque having three iron guns, 6-pounders and 12 muskets aboard, the sailors and passengers making 14 men besides himself and servant, and being hopefull to stand fight till they might reach y^e^ harbour,—he encouraged the crew and passengers to set all things to rights for defence.

Sir James understood gunnery well, he tackled the two guns on the deck, and whilst in action there, the privateer made a low shott, for they had formerly shott high to make our vessell strike and come under lee, but she bore up to the wind landwards, which shott broke off some of the cabin's topp, the splinters hurt Sir James his arm and face, but did not dangerously wound him; yet for all this he heartened his companions at sea, and assured them, he would either sink or disable the enemy if he offered to board them, and if he made only to give broadsides, there was no hazard of our sinking by their small guns, and that he was going into the cabin to fix a gun which (under God and by their courage) would be means to gaine the port they all aimed at and desired. So leaving the men at their posts and on the hatches, Sir James and William Coninghame his trusty servant (whom he had educated from a boy and preferred to be an Ensign both in Ireland and Scotland) went down and charged the gunn, and heaved up the porthole leafe, but did not thrust out the gun lest the enemy should perceive their intent.

Sir James being out of breath with the toile of this action, sat down on the master's bed, and his servant stood on the other side of ye floore to look out and to be ready. In the mean time the privateer made another low shot (of 4 lb. weight) which entered in at the port-hole, and cut off William Coningham's foot at the ancle, and the ball bounding from the floor shot Sir James in his shoulder in the upper part thereof and towards his neck; which was a gapp incureable; wherefore he bid Coningham call from the cabin door to the master to strick sail and yeeld, for that he had received his death's wound. Alas dear master said Coningham ..... is it so? I have lost a foot, but it is nothing worth to your life; doe as you are bid said Sir James, else neither you nor the rest will get quarters.

In fine, the ship lowered her mainsail, the crew retiring under hatches; the vessel was boarded by the Lieutenant and many men, one of them threw an hand granado into the cabin, which took off two toes from Coningham's other foot; he calling for quarters, and telling the Lieutenant there was a Knight of Ireland who lost his estate for serving the King whose commission he had, and that he had received his death's wound from their last shot, which cut off his own foot, and that himself was also wounded by the shell of the granado.

On this relation of disasters the Lieutenant commanded all his men to forbear hurting any person, and so comeing into y^e^ cabin, soon understood the mischief that had befallen to Sir James, who was a friend to all the relations he had in Lecaile, and the Ardes; for the Lieut. was one of the *Smiths*, followers of Mr. Savadge of Portaferry.[33] Then the Lieut. weeping for grief prayed

[33] *Of Portaferry.*—This lieutenant Smith was probably of the family of Dualtagh Smith, from whom sir James Montgomery had purchased the lands at Quintin Bay.—See p. 222, note 25, *supra*.

his commands, which he promised should be obeyed. Sir James entreated the Lieutenant to be carefull of his servant's cure, and that he might have all papers and other things preserved to him. That as for himself he knew the sea should give up its dead, and therefore desired his corps should be put in his great leather mayle and sunk with sufficient weight, and so reaching his hand to the Lieutenant (which was kissed by him) Sir James prayed that he might be left undisturbed that he might supplicate God to have mercy on his soule.

The Lieutenant set a centry at the cabbin door, and Sir James was layn down in his blood on the bed, at his prayers; none being with him but Coningham, till he expired his last breath, which was in three quarters of an hour after that woeful shot.

After this Sir James his corpse had the marine funeral solemnitys, and all the marriners and passengers were removed into the privateer's pink, and the coal vessel sent for Dunkirk, which was judged a prize.

It had been well for the pyrats they had steered the same course, for the day following they were taken by the Tygre frigatt, which was cruiseing on those eastern coasts.

The frigatt set our men ashore at Harwich. This compliment the pink would have done at her best conveniency, but was thus prevented: for she thinking to snap up some other booty was herself catched.

They had courted the master, Charles Fairweather, and William Coningham, restoring what they had plundered from their bodys, giving their own best portables to them, to purchase their good word that they were civilly treated; but all would not prevail to save Smith the Lieutenant, who (with 17 more Irishmen) was hanged. The rest being English, Scotts, French, Dutch, and Fleemings, were bestowed in prisons.

This account I had from William Coningham's mouth in Harwich, and most of it by certificate of the said master, in Jully following Sir James's death, which I was to prove, before I could be admitted to any part of his estate.[34]

[34] *Part of his estate.*—The author, William Montgomery, erected a monument to the memory of his father, sir James, on the north side of the altar in Greyabbey church. On this structure were represented four coats of arms, viz., those of Sir James Montgomery and his three wives. The following monumental inscription, now totally effaced, was fortunately copied by Harris, and printed in his *Antient and Present State of the County of Down*, pp. 50, 51:—

"*The Honourable Sir James Mountgomery, a person of knowledge, courage, piety, and worth, well educated at Schools and Universities, (as his Manuscripts yet extant do shew,) travelled to France, Italy, Germany, and Holland, learned those Linguas, and made profitable observations relating to Peace and War; returning home, studied at the Inns of Law, sollicited his Father's business at the Royal Court, at the Council Table, at the Parliament and Prerogative in England, and before the Government and Four Courts in Ireland; was second son of Hugh, first Lord Viscount Mountgomery of Ardes, and Gentleman in Ordinary of the Privy Chamber to King Charles the Martyr. Colonel of Foot, and Captain of Horse, which he raised at his own expence and by his credit, and maintained by his Prudence and Industry fifteen months in the Barony of Lecale, which he preserved all that time from the Irish of this Country, and their assisting Neighbours; and many other valuable services performed during all that War (the Records whereof are kept.) He was thrice married, viz.—Ann 1631, to Katherine, eldest Daughter of Sir William Stewart, Knight Baronet, and Privy Councellor. Ann. 163— to Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir William Cole, of Enniskillin, Kt., and Ann. 1647, to Francesse St. Laurence, 3d Daughter of Nicholas, Lord Baron of Houth. His first Lady being embalmed, and kept two months, was put in a black Marble Coffin and laid five foot above Ground in the middle of her Monument, which was curious and sumptuous of divers Colours, all polish'd Marble, inscribed with Mottos and Verses of his own Composure, and gilded in every fit place; which standing in Newtown Stewart Church, was with it burned and demolished by the Irish, Ann. 1641. Behold its Pourfile on a Board near this.*

"*His other two virtuous Ladies and their children (which died before them) lie buried over against this monument; to all whose Memory it is the carved Device and Armories at the Defunct's Expence long ago made, his only grandchild, James (also now assisting), of gratitude painted and erected by W. M. primi ventris sola proles, the Year of the World's Peace and Happiness, M, DC, XCIII. Aet. 62.*"

"On the top of the first Coat of Arms is this date 1641.

"There are verses, &c, painted on the Pedestals of the Pillars on each side of the Monument not easy to be read.

"On a Stone underneath.

EΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΝ.

"*Sir James by Pirates shot, and thereof dead,* } 12th of March,
"*By them in the sea solemnly buried* } 165¾.

Now, I must conclude my short history of Sir James Montgomery, and give a brief character of him (his actions being often spoken of heretofore), and it must suffice for a burial oration, for I believe the Privateers had no Chaplain to bestow one. I now shall write of my own knowledge, and by certain tradition of discerning, unbiased Gentlemen, who knew him, viz.

Sir James Montgomery was endowed with a large capacity for learning; and he acquired it, with less study than many greater scholars, at St. Andrew's, &c.

He had humane prudence, which might stock an able Statesman, and managed it with the moderations and caution of a pious Doctor in Divinity.

He was a polite courtier, in three Kings' Courts, among men; and his qualifications of that sort made his conversation universally pleasant, and also very desirable among ladies. He was not a Proteus or borrower of shapes therein; but did, (without any hesitation,) accommodate his discourse and behaviour to oblige all companies that were fitt for him.

He was talle above the middle size, and not fat;[35] his meene and gate were more suitable to his extraction and station, on all occasions, than is often seen in others.

He was temperate in meate, drink, exercises and sleep, equal to physical rules.

He practised a requisite condescency, even to inferiors, which made him acceptable every where, for he had the epithet of the Courteous Knight (which is more commendable than courtly), from the British; and the Irish gave him the same appellation in their speech, with the addition of Noble (for he was honourable by inclination), they designed him by the title of Ruddery Honoragh Mover,[36] without expressing his baptismal name, or his natural sirname.

ΑΠΟΣΤΡΟΦΗ.

"To the Sub-Aerial Elements.

"Devouring Hades! th' ever-hungry earth
Would'st and shall eat up all that's of thy birth,
Fal'n in thy Lap, by Death of any kind,
But whom the Waters drink and lost day find.
"Step to 1st Corinth. Ch. 15, v. 51.

"Yet graves and waves must all such guests restore,
At that great Day to live for evermore:
Tho' he's deceased, his noble Acts and Name,
Longer than this can last, shall live by Fame.
"Prov. ch. 22, v. 1. Eccl. ch. 7, v. 5.
"Alleluiah.

"Thus Angels sung, Glory to God on high,
Peace upon Earth, Good Will tow'rds Men may be,
So always pray, and always pray ought we.
"Hæc pia Animo, Filius ejus, Unicus Mense Aprilis Anno a Salvatore Mundi Nato, M, DC, LII. excogitavit, illum incohatque Londini.
"At my full height my length did not surpass
My Father's Shadow, as at noon it was;
"Carmina mea tribuunt, Fama perennis erit.

[35] *And not fat.*—A portrait of sir James, in the possession of Mrs. Sinclair, represents him as here described. It is the likeness of a tall, muscular, noble-looking man.

[36] *Ruddery Honoragh Mover.*—Correctly, *Ridire onorach modhmar*, noble, courteous Knight. This term *Ridire*, is invariably used as the designation of a Knight in old Gaelic Tales of romance and chivalry. We have an illustration in Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands, orally collected*, vol. ii., pp. 25-35. After the Tale entitled *Ridire nan Creòt*, or the 'Knight of Riddles,' Campbell observes of this word that it is pronounced Rèèt-djè-rè, and variously spelt Ridir, Righdir, and Righdeire, and is explained in a manuscript history of the Campbells, written about 1827, as Righ, King-dei, after Ri, King. If this be correct the word would mean a following or minor King. It may equally be a corruption of Ritter, or Reiter; and I have translated it by *Knight*, because it is now applied to all Knights. The author of the manuscript says that the term is handed down even in Gaelic tales, and mentions several which were then current, *Righdiere nan Sleugh*, and *Righdeiri Ruadh*; he adds, that *Righdeirin dubh Loch Oigh* (the Black Knight of Loch Awe) was the name then used by old Highlanders in mentioning the chiefs of the Duin (Campbells), and that the ruins of Eredin castle were then known by no other name than *Tarach tai nan Righdeirin*—the ruins of the house of the knights. The writer argues from old manuscript histories, charters, etc., that the term was brought from Ireland by the colony who settled in Cantire at a very early period, and who spread themselves over Argyllshire, and founded a kingdom of which frequent mention is made in Irish annals as the Dalreudian (Dalriadan), or Scoto-Irish colonization of Argyll, Cantire, Lorn, and Islay. It is supposed to have taken place about A.D. 503, under Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, three sons of Eire, the descendant of Cairbre Ruadh (Rightaile), a son of Conary II., who ruled a chief king of Ireland A.D. 212. Be that as it may, all the Gaelic traditions now current in the Isles point at an Irish migration which took place in the year of grace *once upon a time*, and the word Righdeire occurs continually, where it seems to mean a small king, and a king of Erin; for example, "there was a king (Ree) and a Reet-djer—as there was, and will be, and as grows the fir tree, some of them

He was most adhered to, and obeyed, by his kindred and servants, who were made fitt for preferment, by being about him, those, in the first place, who needed most, for whom, tho' he was carefull to provide, he bestowed no lands, yet payd for some apprentiships for, and for others he did effectually recommend, or himself did, advance them to beneficial posts; because he knew and had read them throly, and had found them true to their trust, as well as able to discharge it. A few instances may serve to prove this, viz—Hugh M'Gill (his female cosen german's son),[37] he made first Cornett, then Lieutenant, to his troop. The same was Controller to the Ordinance aforesaid. He hath left no issue.[38]—Item. the said Hugh's brother, James M'Gil[39] aforesaid, first he made Ensign, and then raised him to be Captain in his regiment.—Those two brothers' grandmother being eldest sister of Sir James his mother.[40]

Hugh Montgomery, of Gransheoch, he made Captain in his regiment, and then procured him to be Major, under Sir Charles Coote, as aforesaid. He made Mr. Nicholas Montgomery, of Derrybrosk, in Farmanagh, and another Mr. Hugh Montgomery, both Lieutenants; also Math. Hamil, whose son, Hugh built B. Attwood house, with David Ramsey his servants, to be Lieuts. under his comand, Jo. Hamill, the first and second Viscounts' Gentleman, he made Quarter-Master.[41]

As for Gentlemen of better sort, who had lands or estates in the Ardes, he gave them commissions, chargeing them to raise a quota of their tenants to serve in their companys; and he proceeded accordingly with the subalterns, whom he choosed out of fee farmers, or other substantiall men, and was very ready to make provision for, and to receive all those who had fled from their burn'd habitations; thus (as it were in an instant) he raised his regiment and troops, placing some officers (who had served beyond seas) among them. Such was Lieutenant-Colonel Cochran, Major Keith, and some like Lieuts. and serjants.

Sir James Montgomery had seen service and fortifications abroade, and had studdyed the military art and the mathematicks, and left me books and his manuscripts of the same; and particularly he was skilfull in castrametation and gunnery.

It would be tedious to describe him as a Justice in peace and a Commander in warr; which is signified by his device that he put over the entrance door, within the porch of Rosemount house, viz. a sword and lance saltire wise, and surmounted on an open book, connected with a wreath of bays and laurel; on the one leaf is written *Arte*, on the other *Marte*, (this being to the same purpose as *Tam Marte quam mercurio*); underneath is this motto *in utrumq. paratus.*

And at the breaking out of the said grand rebellion, he had on both sides the standard of his troops painted, a dwelling-house on fire, flameing out at doors and windows, with this motto *Opes non Animum*, importing that the Irish burning houses and goods, could not destroy our courages.

crooked and some of them straight—and he was a king of Erin. When the king's son changes his home, after killing the giants, it seems as if he were made a knight."

[37] *Cosen german's son.*—Hugh M'Gill was son of Elizabeth Lindsay, the latter and sir James being cousins by their mothers, the Shaws.

[38] *Left no issue.*—See p. 244, *supra*. In the *Rawdon Papers*, are several interesting letters, principally on public affairs, addressed to sir Arthur Rawdon by Hugh M'Gill. Pp. 302-8, 313-328.

[39] *James M'Gil.*—See p. 251, *supra*.

[40] *James his mother.*—See note 33, *supra*.

[41] *Made Quarter-Master.*—The names on the foregoing list in the text have been, with one or two exceptions, already noticed, as attending the first Viscount's funeral at Newtown, or settling in the vicinity of Enniskillen, on the lands of bishop George Montgomery. David Ramsay was probably a relation of Gilbert Ramsay, the presbyterian minister of Bangor.

CHAPTER XX.

SOME MEMOIRS OF CAPT. GEORGE MONTGOMERY.

THE Hon^ble. Geo. Montgomery (so called for our B^p. Geo.[1]) was born in Newtown[2] and bred at school there, but he not inclining to be a bookish man, (as his paidagogue said,) was sent to travel to learn (in Holland,) how to beare and uss armes; I never saw him carry a rapier, but a keen-edged broad sword, (called sweet lipps) fittest for hors service, in which he delighted: he loved S^r. James more than the Visc^t. his eldest brother, and upon his father's death bed contrived to gett to himself his sword (w^ch his Lo^p had borne when he was an officer abroad,) and afterwards bestowed it to S^r. James, who carefully kept it and left it to his son W^m.[3], who gave it to his son when he wrode in the 2^d Earle's troop, without altering the old fashion hilt, or handle: it was so trenchant and well metled a blade, that the edge did neither break out nor turn, tho' struck ag^st. a bar of iron—the old people in S^r. Hughe's days used no other; for these swords could cutt through a sleeve of maile, and break y^e arm bone.[4]

You have heard of his marriage with the ancient Laird of Garthland's daughter,[5] with whom (after two years stay there, and his eldest son Hugh,[6] being born,) he came and lived on his estate, neare Lisnegarvy, and prepared timber, &c. to build his house at Dunbratly,[7] (by which name

[1] *B^p. George.*—Uncle of captain George. See pp. 95–109, *supra.*

[2] *Born in Newtown.*—George, the youngest son, and youngest child of the first viscount, was probably the only one of the family born at Newtown. All the others were born at Braidstane, but the author only mentions the birth of sir James in the latter place. See p. 304, *supra.* The lost memoir of the second viscount, the eldest brother, contained, no doubt, a record of his birth. As Newtown was George's birth-place, he could not have been born prior to 1606.

[3] *His son Wm.*—The author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts.*

[4] *Ye arm bone.*—At the time of the author's death, this sword was in possession of his son, James Montgomery, who was a captain in the second earl's troop. If it descended to captain Frederick Heatley Montgomery, a great great-grandson of James, the former probably carried this interesting family relic with him to Australia.

[5] *Garthland's daughter.*—See pp. 94, 95, *supra.*

[6] *Son Hugh.*—Afterwards of Ballylesson. See pp. 74, 252, *supra.*

[7] *House at Dunbratly.*—Better known as *Dunbrackley*, the old name of the manor. For an account of the regrant of this estate by the second viscount to trustees for the use of his younger brother, captain George Montgomery, see p. 94, note 29, *supra.* The grandson of the latter was known as Hugh Willoughby, having taken this surname to inherit the estate of Carrow, in the county Fermanagh. His eldest son and heir, Hercules Montgomery, married Jane M'Neill, daughter of the rev. Archibald M'Neill, chancellor of the cathedral church of Down, and in consideration of a marriage portion of £1,500, his father and himself conveyed the manor towns and lands of Dunbrackley to certain trustees for ever, on the trusts following, namely:—To the use of said Hercules for life; remainder to his first and other sons in tail; remainder to said Hugh Willoughby; remainder to Hugh Willoughby Montgomery, second son of said Hugh Willoughby, for life, and to his first and other sons in tail; remainder to Hugh, earl of Mount Alexander, for life, and to his first and other sons in tail; remainder to the honble. Thomas Montgomery (afterwards fifth and last earl) for life, and to his first and other sons in tail; remainder to William Montgomery, esq., and to his first and other sons in tail; remainder to the right heirs of the said Hugh Willoughby for ever. By this deed, a trust term of 500 years was vested in the trustees, for the purpose of raising £800 for the fortunes of the younger children of Hercules Montgomery and Jane M'Neill, his wife. This sum was raised under a decree of the court of exchequer in the year 1745, the lands of Dunaught (now Duneight) and Lisnoe being sold for this purpose. Hugh Willoughby died in 1722, and his son, Hercules, in 1732, the latter leaving by his wife one child, Anne Montgomery, who, in 1719, married Hector M'Neill, of Taynish, in Scotland. This lady's

himself and his mannor court were stiled,) but y^e^ rebellion afores^d^. made him and his family retire to Newtowne,[8] and there he gott a com^n^. to be cap^t^. of a troop (in his s^d^ brother's regiment of hors,) w^ch^. he loved more than latin books, for he liked not any but *propria quæ maribus.*

He was the last issue of Dame Elizabeth Shaw[9] aforesaid, and on that acco^nt^. (as is usuall with mothers towards such,) he was in his youthhood indulged by her in his pleasures, (as she had seen him provided for in lands;) he delighted in hunting, hawking, and fowling, in which his aged fathers, masters of those games, were willing and ever ready to please him at his beck, and this Jacob's venison,[10] (whereof there was plenty before the country became populus,[11]) was ever dressed by his mother to relish with her old husband his father.

But these exercises could not make him the man w^ch^ his father desired; and his mother's milk must be removed by travell as afores^d^. and a master of arts waited on him to instill (by discourss,) into him, the knowledge of what he had learned, and of what he should see, hear, or read abroad.

There was no court then at Holyrood house,[12] yet Glasgow college and towne, Strivling castle,

mother died in 1736, and Hector M'Neill, her husband, died in 1738. The names of the several townlands of the manor of *Drumbracklin* at this date were Duneagh, Clogher otherwise Ballintogher, Lisnoe otherwise Lysnigue, Ballyockles otherwise Ballyaughleisky, Ballycarn, Ballylesson, Melagh, Knockbreckan, Drumbracklin, Rahurclagh, Ballinackbreekin, Ballykenny, with the water and corn mill thereon. For denominational names of these lands in 1630, see p. 94, note 29, *supra*. Anne M'Neill bequeathed this estate to her second son, Archibald, charging it with the two sums of £800 and £200, the former for her daughter, Lyndon M'Neill, and the second for her grand daughter Margaret M'Neill. At the death of Anne M'Neill, which took place in September, 1758, her eldest son, Roger, and her younger son, Archibald, severally claimed the estate, the former as heir, and the latter under his mother's will, and after much litigation there was a settlement between them in 1744. Archibald got a life interest in the property, and Roger's heirs were to inherit afterwards. The former made a will in 1781, leaving to his sister, Lyndon M'Neill, the sum of £2,000, and to his brother, Roger, 5s. 5d. The lands of Ballyockles were sold to pay Lyndon M'Neill her claim. Roger's son, also named Roger, in 1777, married Catherine Chambers, daughter of Daniel Chambers, esq., of Rockhill, county of Donegal, by whom he had a family, consisting of a son, Daniel, and three daughters, named Isabella, Elizabeth, and Catherine. Isabella died in 1808, her fortune of £6,000 being divide dbetween her two sisters. Elizabeth married Charles Crawford, esq. Daniel M'Neill married Jane Isaacs, and inherited the towns and lands of Ballyockles, Ballylesson, Ballycairn, Mealough, and Knockbracken. To discharge his debts, he sold to Richard Keown, after 1816, the lands of Mealough and Knockbracken for the sum of £24,000, the remainder of the estate unsold being of equal value.—*MS. Paper.*

[8] *To Newtowne.*—See p. 309, note 30, *supra.*

[9] *Dame Elizabeth Shaw.*—See pp. 86, 87, 247, *supra.*

[10] *Jacob's venison.*—This allusion, taken in connexion with the author's statement, that his mother "had seen him provided for in lands," would lead to the conclusion, that George, the youngest son, was more amply provided for than the other members of the family had expected, or perhaps approved.

[11] *Became populus.*—This passing reference to the abundance of venison in the district is curious. Deer were numerous until the woods were cleared from the lands of Clannaboy. In 1603, a captain Bodley came to the adjoining barony of Lecale, on a visit to sir Richard Moryson, then governor of Downpatrick. He describes a sumptuous dinner at which he was present in the old castle which formerly stood on the site now occupied by the town clock in that town. In addition to various kinds of game set before the guests, Bodley particularly mentions venison, and also a *collar of brawn.* See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 88. William Montgomery (see p. 117, *supra*) mentions that the first viscount often amused himself hunting deer, wolves, foxes, badgers, and hares, but he has no mention of the wild boar.

[12] *Holyrood house.*—At the time referred to in the text, about the year 1631, Holyrood palace and the other royal residences in Scotland were let out to tenants. Holyrood, however, was visited by Charles I., in June, 1633, but before the king's advent it was necessary to give all other occupants due notice to quit. The act of the Privy Council for this purpose is headed *Charges aganis Personis dwelling in the Palace of Halyrudhous*, and is as follows:—

"Apud Halyrudhous, ultimo Januarij, 1633.

"Sederunt:
"STRATHERNE, LAUDERDAILL, B. YLES, CARNEGIE,
"WINTON, B. DUMBLANE, ARESKIN, Secretar.

"Forasmeikle as it is very necessary and expedient for the better accomodating and lodging of his Majestie and his tryne in his Majesteis owne housses of the Castellis of Edinburgh and Stirline, and of his Palaces of Falkland and Dumfermline and Halyrudhous, that all personis who dwellis within the saids housses, or possesse anie roomes or chambers within the same, sall remove themeselffis, thair servants, and goods furth thairof, and leave the same voide and red, and delyver the keys thairof to his Majesteis Thesaurer and Deputie-Thesaurer, or to the Maisters of his Majesteis Workes, to the intent that all the saids houses may be readie and patent to his Majesteis harbinger, and that he may designe and appoint the same to such of his Majesteis tryne as he sall thinke meit. Thairfoir ordanis letters to be direct chargeing all persons dwelling within anie of his Majesteis houses foresaids, or who possesse anie chambers or roomes within the same, to remove thameselffis, thair servants and good furth thairof, and leave the same voide, and delyver the keyes thairof to his Majesteis said Thesaurer to the intent and purpose forg-

towne and bridge, and Edinburg with the King's palace above named, and y^e^ Parliament house and other places, besides the castle and maiden's tower, (which is the glory of Edinburgh, and was the seat of y^e^ Pictish King's family, and y^e^ nunnery of y^e^ Royal Virgins,) now all worthy to be seen[13] and observed, besides the visits he was to make to y^e^ Earle of Eglinton, and the Earle of Striveling's daughters and sons,[14] and the kindred of both sides[15] whence he was descended, were also dew, and so he was sent to Braidstane and thence to make y^e^ s^d^ visits and views.[16]

said, within 48 houres after the charge, under the paine of rebellioun. And if they failye to denounce," &c.—*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 111, 112.

[13] *Worthy to be seen.*—The places here named were among the most interesting in Scotland, and no doubt had peculiar charms for this tourist, who belonged to a family of decidedly antiquarian tastes and traditions. Glasgow city was one of the oldest in the land, all its chroniclers commencing their accounts of it with the story of St. Kentigern, who founded his little church there in the middle of the sixth century. Around it clustered at first a few wooden huts, which, in process of time, grew and expanded into the great city of Glasgow. A monkish legend affirms that when St. Kentigern preached, the place on which he stood was upheaved into a knoll, so that the saint might be seen and heard the more easily by the vast multitudes who thronged to his ministrations. The religious houses that rose in time from the foundation laid by St. Kentigern were numerous, and became centres of absorbing interest and attraction from age to age. The references in the city records to particular *Altars* in Glasgow are sufficient evidence of this. Thus, there were the High *Altar*, with its chaplaincy endowed by William the Lion; St. Kentigern's *Altar*, near his tomb, with its annual rent to maintain the lights before it, while kings and nobles contributed their presents of wax yearly for the same purpose; the *Altar* dedicated to Mary the Virgin, in the lower church, "le crudes," or crypt, to sustain the lights of which prosperous burgesses and their wives contributed large sums from generation to generation; St. Servan's *Altar*, rebuilt in 1446 by David de Cadyhow; St. Manchan's *Altar*, constructed of hewn and polished stone, by Patrick Leche; the *Altars* of St. John the Baptist, St. Blasius the Martyr, and St. Cuthbert the Confessor, together with very many others, situated in and near the cathedral. Among the principal benefactors of the convent of *Black Friars* alone, were Alexander III., Robert I., sir Alan Cathcart, sir John Stewart of Darnley, sir Duncan Campbell of Lochaw, sir William Forfar, Alexander Conyngham lord of Kilmaurs, Isabell duchess of Albany, Colin Campbell earl of Argyle, sir James Hamilton of Finnart, and James V.—the lives of these patrons reaching from 1246 to 1540. The ancient and celebrated university of Glasgow was founded by the the authority of pope Nicholas V. in 1451. See *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i., pp. 2, 3. "*Strivling castle*, towne, and bridge" owed their attractions also to their age, their antiquities, their historical associations, and their singularly picturesque situation. The *Castle* is the most prominent place of interest in Stirling, and stands on the western extremity of the ridge on which the town is built. Stirling *Bridge* is the most noted structure of its class in all Scotland. Its age is uncertain, but it is very old-fashioned, being narrow, high in the centre, with a gate formerly at each end, and each gate flanked by two small towers. Its importance may be imagined from the fact that until about forty years ago, this bridge was the only access for wheeled conveyances into the north of Scotland. Cosmo Innes, when tracing the residences of David I., says, "He was attached to Dunfermline, as the favoured foundation of his parents. He lived a great deal at Stirling, fromwhose battlements he could look down upon his own abbey of Cambuskenneth, and the little chapel of St. Serf the Confessor of Culross, amidst as fair a scene as ever churchman cultivated, or monarch ruled over." —*Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 119. But "*Edinburg*," with its renowned localities, was probably still more attractive. From the time of the Anglo-Saxon rule in Lothian, which commenced about the middle of the fifth century, the castle of Edinburgh became the occasional residence of the chiefs or kings of the Northumbrian dynasty. One of the most potent of these chiefs was named *Edwin*, and *Edwin's burgh* is the name of the city to this day. The Celtic name of the rock upon which the castle or fortress stands was *Magh-dun*, which afterwards became *Maiden*, because the place was anciently known as *Castrum Puellarum*, and therefore said to be the residence of such daughters of the Pictish or British kings as chose to become nuns! The castle became a favourite residence of kings of Scotland at an early period. St. Margaret resided in it during the fatal expedition of her husband, Malcom, into England, and died there. Her son, David, had a dwelling on the rock, and a garden on the bank, between it and the church of St. Cuthbert. In later times, the *Castle Hill* continued to be the centre of attraction in Edinburgh. On its north side, dwelt Mary de Guise, the widow of James V., and regent of Scotland from 1554 to 1560.

[14] *Striveling's daughters and sons.*—See p. 92, note 23, *supra*.

[15] *Kindred of both sides.*—These kinspeople were the Montgomerys of Beith and the Shaws of Greenock.

[16] *Ye sd visits and views.*—Scotland was then a land of wonders, if we may believe the half of what is told by her old chroniclers. The following is the concluding chapter of a very curious tract, published in 1603, and entitled *Certayne Matters Concerning the Realme of Scotland composed together*. Among the objects of curiosity were many which tourists and sight-seers of that day would generally, no doubt, go to examine. As the tract has become very rare, we give this chapter *in extenso*:— "Among many Commodities, that Scotland hath common with other Nations, it is not needfull to rehearse in this place, in respect of their particulars, declared at length before: It is beautified with some rare gifts in it selfe, wonderfull to consider, which I haue thought good not to obscure (from thee good Reader) as for example:—In Orknay, besides the great store of sheepe that feede vpon

Which being performed he took sea at Leith and sailed for Holland, (then y^e^ school for warr,)

the maine land thereof, the Ewes are of such fecundity, that at every lambing time, they produce at least two, and ordinarily three. There bee neither venemous or ravenous beasts bred there, nor do liue there, although they bee transported thither. In Schetland, the Iles called Thulæ, at the time when the Sunne enters the Signe of Cancer, for the space of twenty dayes, there appeares no night at all; and among the rockes thereof, growes the delectable Lambre, called Succinum: Where is also great resort of the beast called the Mertrik, the skinnes whereof are costly furrings. In Rosse, there be great Mountaines of Marble, and Alabaster. In the South of Scotland, specially in the Countries adiacent to England, there is a Dog of marueilous nature, called the Suth-hound; because, when as he is certified by wordes of Arte, spoken by his Master, what goods are stolne, whether Horse, sheepe, or Neat: immediatly, he addresseth him suthly to the sent, and followeth with great impetuositie, through all kind of ground and water, by as many ambages as the theeues have used, till he attaine to their place of residence: By the benefit of the which Dog, the goods are recovered. But now of late, he is called by a new popular name, the Slouth-hound: Because, when as the people doe liue in slouth and idlenesse, and neither by themselves, or by the office of a good Herd, or by the strength of a good house, they doe preserue their goods, from the incursion of theeues and robbers; then haue they recourse to the Dog, for reparation of their slouth. In the West, and North-west of Scotland, there is great repairing of a fowle, called the Erne, of a marueilous nature, and the people are very curious and solist to catch him, whom thereafter they punze of his wings, that he shall not be able to flie againe. This fowle is of a huge quantitie: and although he be of a ravenous nature, like to the kind of Haulks, and be of the same qualitie, gluttonous, neverthelesse, the people doe give him such sort of meate, as they thinke convenient, and such a great quantity at a time, that hee liues contented with that portion, for the space of fourteene, sixteene, or twenty dayes, and some of them for space of a Moneth. The people that do so feede him, doe use him for this intent: That they may be furnished with the feathers of his wings, when he doth cast them, for the garnishing of their arrowes, either when they are at warres, or at hunting: for these feathers onely doe never receive rayne, or water, as others doe, but remayne alwayes of a durable estate, and vncorruptible. In all the Moore-land, and Mosse-land of Scotland, doth resort the Blacke Cocke, a fowle of a marueylous beauty, and marueilous bounty: for he is more delectable to eate, then a Capon, and of a greater quantity, cled with three sorts of flesh, of diuers colours, and diuers castes, but all delectable to the use and nouriture of man. In the two Riuers of Dee and Done, besides the marueylous plenty of Salmon fishes gotten there, there is also a marueylous kinde of shel-fish, called the Horse-mussell, of a great quantitie: wherein are ingendred innumerable faire, beautifull, and delectable Pearles, convenient for the pleasure of man, and profitable for the use of Phisike; and some of them so fayre, and polished, that they be equall to any mirrour of the world. And generally, by the prouidence of the Almighty God, when dearth and scarcity of victuals doe abound in the land; then the fishes are most plentifully taken for support of the people. In Galloway, the Loch, called Loch-myrton, although it be common to all fresh water to freeze in Winter, yet the one halfe of this Loch doth neuer freeze at any time. In the shire of Innernes: the Loch, called Loch-nes, and the river flowing from thence into the sea, doth neuer freeze: But by the contrary, in the coldest dayes of Winter, the Loch and riuer are both seene to smoake and reeke, signifying unto us, that there is a Myne of Brimstone under it, of a hote qualitie. In Carrik, are Kyne, and Oxen, delicious to eate: but their fatnes is of so wonderfull temperature: that although the fatnes of all other comestable beasts, for the ordinary vse of man, doe congeale with the cold ayre: by the contrary, the fatnesse of these beasts is perpetually liqued like oyle. The wood and Parke of Commernauld, is replenished with Kyne and Oxen, and those at all times to this day, haue beene wilde, and all of them of such a perfect wonderfull whitenesse, that there was neuer among all the huge number there, so much as the smallest blacke spot found to be vpon one of there skinnes, horne, or cloove. In the Parke of Halyrud-house, are Foxes, and Hares, of a wonderfull whitenesse, in great number. In Coyle, now called Kyle, is a rock, of the height of twelue foot, and as much of bredth, called the Deafe Craig. For although a man should crie neuer so lowd, to his fellow, from the one side to the other, he is not heard, although he would make the noyse of a gunne. In the countrey of Stratherne, a little aboue the old towne of the Pights, called Abirnethie, there is a marueilous Rock, called the Rock and stone, of a reasonable bignes, that if a man will push it with the least motion of his finger, it will moue very lightly, but if he shall addresse his whole force, hee profites nothing: which moves many people to be wonderfully merry, when they consider such contrariety. In Lennox, is a great Loch, called Loch-lowmond, being of length 24. myles, in bredth, 8. myles, contayning the number of 30. Iles. In this Loche are observed three wonderfull things: One is, fishes very delectable to eate, that haue no fynnes to move themselves withall, as other fishes doe. The second, tempestuous waves and surges of the water, perpetually raging, without windes, and that in time of greatest calmes in the faire pleasant time of Summer, when the ayre is quiet. The third is, One of these Isles, that is not corroborate nor vnited to the ground, but hath beene perpetually loose; and although it be fertill of good grasse, and replenished with Neate: yet it moves by the waves of the water, and is transported sometimes toward one point, and other whiles toward another. In Argyle, is a stone found in divers parts, the which layd under straw or stubble, doth consume them to fire, by the great heate that it collects there. In Buquhan, at the Castle of Slains is a caue, from the top whereof distilles water, which within short time doth congele to hard stones, white in colour. In this Countrey are no Rottons seene at any time, although the land bee wonderfull fertill. In Lothien, within two myles of Edinburgh, Southward, is a well-spring, called, Saint *Katherins* wel, which flowes perpetually with a kinde of blacke fatnesse, above the water: whereof *Dioscorides* makes mention. This fatnes is called *Bitumen aquis supernatans.* It is thought to proceed of a fat myne of Coale, which is frequent in all Lothien, and specially of a sorte

where he was welcomed for his ghelt,[17] and to y^e^ Scotish officers of his kindred and of his father's old acquaintance, where he stayed a campaign and a winter, and gained knowledge fitt to make him an officer, serving that summer as a voluntary cadee.

His person was portly, his discours manly, and his heart stout. He could drink, smoake, and can woimgh sproken, like a Dutchman; but more soberly and courtvously than most of them.

His discourse was neither of philosophy, divinity, nor phissik, but good round (home spun) rational sence, and both in body and inclination he was fitt for a wife, and indeed he was a desireable man of y^e^ women, haveing natural allurements enow to gain their good will.

He was, (at his mother's entreaty) called home, and required to take a view of y^e^ court at Whitehall, and to see friends there, as well as to kiss y^e^ king's hand, and to return thro' Scotl^d^ by Edinbrugh and Braidstane, repeating his said visits, and to make two or three dayes stay at Garthland, because now he was become a man of good carriage.

His mother had enjoyned him this last visit, that he might appear as a wooer, for here was the fair lady designed for his wife, viz. Grizel, eldest daughter of S^r^ John M^c^ Dowell (als M^c^ Dougall) laird of that ancient place last before spoken of.[18]

This our George liked y^e^ match, w^ch^ he heard was intended for him, and being a fresh, young, and well complexioned spark, and a traveller, made his addresses, w^ch^ were civilly receaved; on this encouragement he returned to Newtown to his mother's joy, that he had come home safe, and and was liked of his mistress as she told him, but said she was not to declare her love, but according to her parents pleasure, whereof he had no doubt; and had spoke to them, who wrote thereof to our Vis^ct^ and Visc^tess^ that they liked of their sonn whom they for their daughter above named;

of coale, called vulgarly, the Parret coale: For as soone as it is laide in the fire, it is so fat, and gummy, that it renders an exceeding great light, dropping, frying, hissing, and making a great noyse, with shedding and deviding it selfe in the fire, and of that marueylous nature, that as soone as it is laide in a quicke fire, immediately it conceyves a great flame, which is not common to any other sort of coale. This fatnes, is of a marveylous virtue: That as the coale, whereof it proceeds, is sudden to conceive fire, and flame, so is this oyle of a sudden operation, to heale all salt scabs and humours, that trouble the outward skin of man, wheresoeuer it be, fro the middle vp, as commonly those of experience have observed. All scabbes in the head, and hands, are quickly healed by the benefit of this oyle, and it renders a marueilous sweet smell. At Abirdene is a well, of marueylous good quality to dissolve the stone, to expell sand from the reines and bladder, and good for the Collicke, being drunke in the Moneth of Iuly, and a few dayes of August, little inferiour in virtue, to the renowned water of the Spaw in Almanie. In the North Seas of Scotland, are great clogges of timber found, in the which, are marueylously ingendred a sort of Geese, called, Clayk-geese, and do hang by the beake, till they be of perfection; ofttimes found, and kept in admiration for their rare forme of generation. At Dumbartan, directly under the Castle, at the mouth of the River of Clyde, as it enters into the sea, there are a number of Claik-geese, blacke of colour, which in the night time doe gather great quantitie of the crops of the grasse, growing upon the land, and carrie the same to the Sea. Then they assemble in a round, and with a wondrous curiositie, do offer every one his owne portion to the Sea-floud, and there attend vpon the flowing of the tyde, til the grasse be purified from the fresh taste,[a] and turned to the salt: and lest any part thereof should escape, they labour to hold it in, with labour of their nebbes. Thereafter orderly euery fowle eates his portion. And this custome they observe perpetually. They are very fat, and very delicious to bee eaten."

[17] *For his ghelt.*—Ghelt, gelt, or more generally gilt, is a Dutch word, denoting cash, or current coin. Watson's *Collections*, vol. i., p. 12, contains the following illustration:—

"But wishing that I might ride East,
To trot on foot I soon would tyre;
My page allowed me not a beast—
I wanted *gilt* to pay the hire."

In Jamieson's *Popular Ballads*, vol. ii., p. 321, the word occurs in the following couplet:—

"Thoucht he had *gilt* that gat hyr han';
Na *gilt*, na gear, ane herie dow wan."

Shakspere employs the word in the following passage from his *Henry V.*, act ii., scene i.:—

"Henry Lord Scroop of Masham and the third
Sir Thomas Grey Knight of Northumberland
Have, for the gilt of France (O guilt indeed!)
Confirmed conspiracy with fearful France."—

See Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary*.

[18] *Before spoken of.*—See pp. 94, 95, *infra*.

our George plyd his sollicitations to his mother to speed y^e affaire by making preparations for his return to make a wife of his m^rs, being over ears and head in love.

He was called by y^e agnomen (Scotice too name) of Kinnshoker[19] (Anglice the hauke head) from his eagerness (perhapps after his game,) and it may be also from his readynes to stoope at female quarrys, because he was easily lured that way.

This gentl. (by y^e 3^d Viscont, and by his brother, and by y^e contry) was called Uncle George; by S^r James and M^r Savadge[20] was termed brother George, and by their descendants named uncle George without other addition: and the 3^d lord's brother was called Sq^r James,[21] and y^e 4^th lord's brother was, and is called Squire Henry[22] and no more, and now are properly called Squire Montgomery[23] (*sans cul* as is spoken of Le Mounsieur, y^e French-king's next brother) and no more without designm^t of y^e X^tian name, but onely the l^ds eldest son, *vivant son pere.*

This hono^ble gentl. was but a tenent for life, and held his land under y^e 2^d Vis^ct, and his posterity, as his chief landlords in fee, at a smal rent, and an acknowledgmen^t to be paid by every male heire in possession (after his father's death) if he be arrived at 21 years of age, or when he comes to bee so old, and this is named a releif in law.[24]

The case being so, and this gentleman (who lived a widdower from A^o 1646 till 1669 that he dyed) being, since his lady's death, none of y^e best managers of an estate, and his eldest sonn Hugh (commonly called Ballylessan) being grown up, and an honest discreet man, he y^e s^d George was perswaded to betake himself to a certain yearly rent-charge during his life, and his s^d son Hugh bound to pay it.

His affaires being thus settled by consent of his feo fees,[25] his said eldest son Hugh managed y^e states, and was obliged, for paym^t of a portion to his brother John and sister Jean; and marryed the daughter of Coll. Hercules Hanks[26] (who had not any other childe or grandchilde) and yett ye^e s^d Hugh had no portion by her, tho' her father had been a moneyed and landed man, and none could tell (that I could learn) how his estate of both sorts vanished away, tho' he lived very obscurely.

This Hugh hath, by his s^d wife, one son named Hercules (after y^e s^d Coll) who is now A^o 1698, a comely well humoured gentl. unmarryed.[27]

[19] *Kinnshoker.*—This term may be translated *Hawk-head*, from the two Irish words, *ceann*, a 'head,' and *seabhac* (pronounced showak), a 'hawk.'

[20] *Mr. Savadge.*—This was Patrick Savage, who married the hon. George Montgomery's sister.

[21] *Sqr. James.*—See p 296, *supra.*

[22] *Squire Henry.*—Afterwards third earl.

[23] *Squire Montgomery.*—In other words, it had become the custom to drop the christian name of the eldest son during the lifetime of his father, and prefix *squire* to his surname, squire being a contraction of *esquire.* This term is derived from the French *escuyer*, properly a 'shield-bearer, from the Latin *scutum*, a shield, the duty of an esquire or squire principally consisting in attending on a knight and bearing his lance and shield.

[24] *A releif in law.*—See the terms of this grant to George Montgomery, at p. 94, note 29, *supra.*

[25] *His feo fees.*—His feofees were sir James Montgomery of Rosemount, Patrick Savage of Portaferry, Henry Savage of Arkeen, William Shaw of Newtowne, and John Montgomery of Ballycreboy, to whom the lands in the manor of Dunbrackly, or Dunbratly, were granted in trust for the use of George Montgomery. See p. 94, note 29, *supra.*

[26] *Coll. Hercules Hanks.*—For a notice of this colonel Hercules *Huncks*, not Hanks, see p. 252, *note* 43, *supra.*

[27] *Gentl. unmarryed.*—Mrs. E. G. S. Reilly states in her *Genealogical History*, p. 44, that Hercules married Jane Mac Neill, but there must be some confusion in this account of the hon. George Montgomery's grandsons, as the Hercules Montgomery who married Jane MacNeill was the son of that Hugh Montgomery who assumed the name of Willoughby, and who was half-brother of Hercules mentioned in the text.—See note 5, *supra.*

The said Hugh marryed y^e^ Lord Blayney's widdow,[28] by whom he hath a considerable estate in fee farm and bish^ps.^ leases renewed in his own name and cypher, a pretty lusty young gentl. named Hugh,[29] who is marriagable, both for discretion and years.

This very good lady and her husband, the s^d^ Hugh, are of age and can speake for themselves, and tho' they doo not, I hope their respective sonns will doo it, both orally and in black and white, as I have done for my parents, so that I need not to be their histriographer, only I have this to add, that this Hugh (the father of these two young gentl.) had a com^n.^ for Coll. from y^e^ Prince of Orange (our good King W^m.^) and raised a regiment of foot, w^ch.^ with y^e^ rest of y^e^ North Western and Lagan forces, now broken by Major Gen^l^ Hamilton, at or near Clady foord ;[30] as forany thing els I shall forbeare to mention the same, yet I heartily wish wellfare to him and to all his concerns, as I hope he doth to mee and mine, wee two (and his sister) being the onely persons alive of y^e^ first Visc^t^ grand children, hee and I being born before his Lo^rp^ death ; and so I take leave of him and return to his father Cap^t.^ Geo. Montgomery, who, being retired to Newtown as afores^d.^[31] had occasions to try his courage and skill, and to vent his anger and revenge ag^t.^ the Irish rebells, who had wasted his lands, so that he went gladly to make them pay him rent, and behaved himself to approbation with his troop, continuing in service till O'C.^e^ army defeated y^e^ K.^s^ forces in Ulster.[32]

The s^d^ Grizzell, his loving and entirely beloved wife, dying A^o.^ 1646, left him another son named John (for her own father's sake) ;[33] this son resembled his father much, and he haveing served as a gentleman in our 2d Earle's troop, he raised a foot company and went a Cap^tn.^ in y^e^ Earle of Ros-common's regiment into France, where he died of sickness, unmarryed.

[28] *Blaney's widdow.*—"The said Hugh" was the son of George, his first wife being a daughter of colonel Huncks, and his second wife being Jane, daughter of John Mallock, and widow of Richard, the fourth baron Blaney.

[29] *Named Hugh.*—This was son of "said Hugh" by his second marriage, and this "pretty lusty young gentl." afterwards took the name of *Willoughby* to inherit the estate of Carrow, county Fermanagh. See note 25, *supra*. Colonel Hugh Willoughby Montgomery's daughter married colonel Alex. Montgomery of Ballyleck. Their son, the Rev. Robert Montgomery, married Sophia Mabella Tipping, with whom the estate of Beaulieu, near Drogheda, came into the Montgomery family. The Rev. Robert Montgomery was grandfather of its present owner, Robert T. Montgomery, esq. In Beaulieu churchyard are several beautiful monuments erected at the graves of members of this family. On the tomb of the Rev. Robert Montgomery is the following inscription:—

"*Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Robert Montgomery, rector of Monaghan, who died at Beaulieu, 24th of July, 1825, aged 72 years. Throughout the course of a long life, and in most trying circumstances—which a strong sense of religion enabled him to support,—by his mildness, benevolence, and integrity, he won the respect and affection of all who had the happiness of knowing him, and of observing in him the union of the gentleman and the truly Christian pastor. This monument is erected as a tribute of love and veneration to the best of parents by his grateful and afflicted children,*

"*Alexander Johnston, Clk., & Thomas Montgomery, R.N.,*
"*Kathn. Salisbury Hamilton, and Sidney Montgomery.*"

[30] *Clady foord.*—The skirmish at this place is sometimes described as the "break of Clady," but the defeat did not amount to a rout. When king James had reached Omagh, on his way to Derry, he sent forward a large force to seize a ford on the river Finn, at Clady Bridge, near Strabane, so as thus to secure that bank of the Foyle on which the city of Derry stands. The protestant troops stationed at this point bore no proportion in numbers to those who were sent against them, and by whom they were compelled to retreat rapidly, and with some loss of men. Lundy had permitted this place to remain without the necessary means of defence, with the object of rendering James's path as free from obstructions as possible.

[31] *To Newtown as aforesaid.*—See note 6, *supra*. He was compelled to leave his own residence in Ballyleeson, and seek safety at Newtown, on the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641. Among the original depositions referring to massacres in the year 1641, is one made by Archibald Johnson, of , in Clanconnell, in which he testifies that he had lived on captain George Montgomery's lands, from which he had been driven by a party of the Irish, who murdered two men, named John Pratt and John Smith, besides stripping and mortally wounding many others.—*Volume of Depositions*, lettered Down, in Library of Trinity College, Dublin, *MSS. F. 3. 8. 3378.*

[32] *Forces in Ulster.*—This defeat occurred in 1649, at Lisnastrain, in the parish of Drumbeg. See p. 191, *supra*.

[33] *Father's sake.*—Her son John was named for her father, sir John Mac Dowell of Garthland. John Montgomery is mentioned among those attending the first earl's funeral. See p. 251, *supra*.

She left also to him a daughter named Jean, (after y^e^ 2d Viscountess)[34] who is now, A^o^ 1699, y^e^ widdow of W^m^ Shaw, (formerly called of Newtown and afterwards of B. Stockart) Esq.[35] unto whom she hath at this present living Hercules, Elenor, Ann and Sara; this last is maryed and hath a daughter to M^r^ Hugh Montgomery, whom I call y^e^ gentle mariner, both from his extraction and occupation.

The s^d^ Cap^t^ Geo. (to whom I now turn again) after divers years being boarded at Rosemount (to his heart's content) dyed in his son Shaw's house at B. Stockart, A^o^ 1674, and was burryed in the chancel of Newtown by his father, brother and nephew, the first three Lords Montgomerys of y^e^ great Ards.

He was a good horsman (having practised at riding houses abroad) and expert he was at running topp speed with a lance at his thigh, to take up glove or ring as afors^d^ and at making hors matches and discerning horses, and was a man gott honor in our warrs, and had y^e^ true principles of honesty, affection and civility in him.

[34] *After the second Viscountess.*—This daughter of captain the hon. George Montgomery, was named for Jean Alexander, the wife of his eldest brother.

[35] *B. Stockart.*—Ballystockart is a townland in the parish of Comber. See p. 250, *supra*.

CHAPTER XXI.

NARRATIVE OF GRANSHEOGH.[1]

Rosem[t], this 16[th] Nov[r], 1701.

WORTHY COSEN,[2]—What followes transcribed by Mr. Robert Watson[3] from my original and now attested by my subscription, must be supplyed by your incerting the date of your deeds with what other memoires you have of your family, but put the same in a paper by it self that they may be added by the same hand to this now sent you. When you return it to me for that effect I shall add them to my original and when you have all again you may preserve them to be left to your posterity as a token of my love to you and them, and as a vindication of mee if I shall be aspersed to have written in any otherwise of you or your ances tors. I give my respects & service to you and yo[r] espous[d], & remain your affectionat Cosen to serve you,

WILL MONTGOMERY.

For W[m]. Montgomery of Gransheogh, Living at Maghera,[4]
in y[e] County of Derry—These.

I would have your son take notice, that our sirname in y[e] pattents of our family and in the acts of parliament both of England & Ireland, & in all printed books historys and others in our three kingdoms (wch I can shew you) is spelled as I subscribe it, as divers gents of Estate doe, & as the Count Montgomery in Normandy still did, and yett doth, as I have prooved in a paper I wrot to that purpose, & concerning y[e] rectifying of subscriptions of Sirnames, of which many persons have heedlessly taken upon custom to write them the wrong way, wch imports an ignoance occasioned by carelessness.[5]

[1] *Granshogh.*—As this family stands next after that of the author in relationship to the Mount-Alexander line, its memoir will properly succeed those of the first viscount, his sons, and their families. That the author had observed this order in preparing his *Manuscripts* is evident from the following statement with which he afterwards introduces the notice of more distant branches:—"Now having mentioned our sixth laird and his offspring, with two cadets of former lairds of Braidstane, viz.: Thomas of Blackstown and *Granshogh*, and two other families, viz.: Creyboy and Ballymagown—all Montgomerys, &c." The memoirs of the families of Blackstown and Creboy are probably lost, or may still exist among their Scottish descendants, and but a small fragment remains to us of the author's notice of the family of *Granshogh*, but this fragment plainly takes its place in the manuscripts preceding the memoirs of the Ballymagown and the other families, to whom the author briefly refers at the conclusion of his work. The original of this fragment is preserved at Tyrella, and had been previously in the possession of the late major Mathews of Springvale.

[2] *Worthy Cosen.*—The author's grandfather, the first viscount, was cousin-german of John Montgomery, the first settler at Gransheogh, and grandfather of the William Montgomery to whom this letter is addressed.

[3] *Mr. Robert Watson.*—Robert Watson was a teacher in Donaghadee. His surname is sometimes misprinted *Walker* in the first edition of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*. This teacher is afterwards mentioned in the author's *Description of the Ards*.

[4] *Maghera.*—This gentleman appears to have resided on his property at Maghera, county of Londonderry, until his purchase of the Rosemount estate in 1719, from James Montgomery, the author's son.

[5] *Carelessness.*—The surname of Montgomery has assumed a greater variety of forms than perhaps any other with which we are acquainted. It appears that it has been spelled *forty-four* different ways, during the interval

But the other Cadets geneology is more certain of whom I am now to write, viz. :—

John Montgomery of in Scotland, who was assistant in the Plantation[6] under the first Visc[t] for y[e] fourth Laird of Braidstane, called Adam y[e] first of that name, was grandfather of them both; which relation is called Oys in Scotland.[7]

Narrative of Gransheogh.

This John had y[e] Townland of Gransheogh in Donnaghadee parish given him in fee farm (at a small chief rent) by y[e] said Viscount when he was S[r] Hugh Montgomery, as appears by deed dated y[e] of A[o]. 16[8]. The said John was murdered in his house there; wch was broken into, & rifled in the night, by y[e] Irish Woodkerns[9] (we now call such Robbers, if on foot, Torys,[10] if on horseback, Rapparees),[11] his son Hugh, left as dead of his many wounds by their skeins, but he crauled out (when the Irish were gone with their plunder), and was by y[e] neighbourhood found in a bush: for they had taken the alarm from some one Servant that had escaped, while the father & y[e] son in their shirts were fighting with swords against the Irish and their half pikes. They murdered the said Johns wife also, and the rest of the servants.[12]

between the commencement of the eleventh and the close of the seventeenth century, as the following list will shew :—

1. Montgommerie,	circa	1000	23. Montgomerye,	..	1502
2. Mundegumbri,	circa	1170	24. Montgumerye,	..	1502
3. Mundegumeri,	circa	1170	25. Mongumry,	..	1505
4. Mundegumry,	..	1362	26. Mungumre,	..	1506
5. Mundgumry,	..	1362	27. Montgumre,	..	1506
6. Mungumbry,	..	1362	28. Muntogumbery,	.	1509
7. Moungumry,	..	1366	29. Montgumiry,	..	1523
8. Montegomorri,	..	1392	30. Mungumbrie,	..	1527
9. Montgomery,	..	1407	31. Mungumbrj,	..	1524
10. Montegomerie,	..	1413	32. Montgumrie,	..	1546
11. Montegomery,	..	1421	33. Montgumrye,	..	1546
12. Montegomorry,	..	1421	34. Mongomery,	..	1548
13. Mungumry,	..	1425	35. Mngbmry,	..	1562
14. Mongomry,	..	1438	36. Mungumrie,	..	1562
15. Montgumry,	..	1448	37. Montgomrie,	..	1563
16. Montgummery,	..	1466	38. Mungomery,	..	1565
17. Muntgumry,	..	1468	39. Montgumerie,	..	1567
18. Montegomori,	..	1471	40. Montgomeri,	.	1570
19. Muntgumry,	..	1483	41. Montgummerie	..	1582
20. Montgumury,	..	1488	42. Montgomerie,	..	1632
21. Mungumbre,	..	1489	43. Mungumrie,	..	1640
22. Montgumery,	..	1501	44. Mountgomery,	..	1674

—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 366.

[6] *In the plantation.*—The editor has not been able to ascertain the name of this John Montgomery's residence in Scotland, or the date of his removal to Ireland.

[7] *Oys in Scotland.*—Oye, oy, O, and oe, are forms of this word, being the Gaelic *Ua*, or *O*, and denoting a grandson or descendant. In Watson's *Collections*, vol. i., p. 29, the term is used as follows :—

> "Then must the laird, the Goodman's *oye*,
> Be knighted streight and make convoy."

The poet Allan Ramsay (*Poems*, vol. ii., p. 270) applies the word to a girl thus :—

> "Auld Bessie, wi' her red coat bra',
> Came wi' her ain *oe* Nannie."

It is employed by Spalding, who only used the plainest and most familiar language in his chronicle. At p. 310 of vol. i., he says, "She left her *oy* Charles, son to the Marquis, being but a bairn, with Robert Gordon, baillie of Enyie, to be entertained by him when she cam' fra' the Bog." See Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*. O, which has completely disappeared in Scotch surnames, though Mac is so abundantly retained, is supposed to have lingered in Galloway, in such forms as *Ahannay*; women never were called by any name beginning with O, but *Ny* was substituted—thus a female of the O'Neill or O'Brien families would be *Ny* Neill, *Ny* Briain.

[8] *A[o]* 16.—The first viscount and his eldest son, Hugh, on the 21st November, 1628, made a grant of *Grangee* or Gransheogh to Hugh Montgomery, son of John, in confirmation of articles of agreement, dated 19th June, 1622. This latter is probably the date which is only mentioned in part by the author in the text. The rent of Gransheogh in the deed above-mentioned was thirty shillings. See p. 134, *note*, 38, *supra*.

[9] *Woodkerns.*—See p. 60, *supra*. It would appear that woodkerne were employed by sir Arthur Chichester to plunder the tenants of Hugh O'Neill. This fact is stated by the latter in his "Articles exhibited to the king's most excellent majesty, declaring certain causes of discontent offered him, by which he took occasion to depart his country." See Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, pp. 201–3.

[10] *Torys.*—See p. 118, *note* 24, *supra*.

[11] *Rapparees.*—The following reference to this class of robbers occurs in Storey's *Impartial History of the Affairs of Ireland*, p. 16 :—"Monday, the 9th September. The soldiers had orders not to stir out of the camp on pain of death, for they stragled abroad and plundered those few people that were left, and some of them were murthered by the Rapparees; a word which we were strangers to till this time. Those are such of the Irish as are not of the army, but the country people armed in a kind of an hostile manner with half-pikes and skeines, and some with scythes or Musquets. For the Priests the last three or four years past would not allow an Irishman to come to mass, without he brought at least his *Rapparee* along; that, they say, in Irish signifies an half-stick, or a broken beam, being like an half-pike; from thence the men themselves have got that name; and some call them *Creaughts*, from the little Huts they live in; these Hutts they build so conveniently with hurdles and long Turf that they can remove them in summer towards the Mountains, and bring them down to the vallies in winter." The author evidently confounds rapparees with the unfortunate natives generally.

[12] *The servants.*—We have not been able to ascertain the date of this massacre. On the 20th May, 1617, Hugh Montgomery, of *Granshage*, obtained, with several others,

Hugh being so found, was carefully attended by a Surgeon, & recovered. I knew this gentleman very well in his old age, & had many of the foregoing memories from him: he died of a great age, & with his father, John, is buried in Donnaghadee church.[13]

This wounded gentlemans second son, named John, was Master of Escury[14] to the Earl of Donnegall:[15] he married Creditably, & had severall children of both kindes. The said Gentlemans eldest son, Hugh, succeeded him in the freehold, and was chief Servant in our 2d Visct's family.[16] He came to be (in the Grand Rebellion time) advanced by S^r^ James Montgomery to be a Captain in his Regiment, and also (by his procurement) was made Major of foot, under S^r^ Charles Coote, Lord precedent of Conaught, and did good service against the Irish, whose cruelty aforesaid was not forgott.

This Major married in a good family of the M^c^Clellands,[17] & had several daughters, whom he matched well, & left but one son, named William, who with his wife Mary (eldest daughter of Captain James M^c^Gill afores^d^),[18] are yet living, and he had issue Lucy, who is lately dead, unmarried, & a son named William, now (viz^t^ A^o^ D^ni^ 1701), in y^e^ College of Dublin at his studys.

This William succeeded to his father, the Major, in the Lands of Gransheogh, and to a B^ls^ lease of Maghera in the Diocese of Derry, where he & Mary his wife now dwell, & hath the great Townland of Ballyhennwood,[19] and the quarter of Gortgribb[20] near Belfast, in right of his wife, as a purchase made by her said father;[21] besides a Lease of some lands near Gransheogh, from our present second Earl, dated the day anno D^mni^ 16—[22]

a grant of denization, but he may have been residing in this country previously, as such grants were not always obtained by settlers on their *first* coming to Ireland. John Montgomery's wife was an heiress, and belonged to a branch of the Stewart family.—Mrs. E. G. S. Reilly's *Genealogical History*, p. 60.

[13] *Donnaghadee church.*—There is a tradition in the district that John Montgomery and the members of his family then massacred were not buried in the church, but in a field near their residence. It is stated that they were buried in one grave, which was marked by a large stone, and tenants on the farm were afterwards prohibited from disturbing the soil within a certain number of feet from this stone. If this tradition be true the remains may have been subsequently removed to the church or churchyard of Donaghadee.

[14] *Master of Escury.*—Or *Escuyrie*, meaning a squire's place, or the estate of an esquire. This word also denotes the stable of a prince or nobleman as the appropriate place of the squire's duties. The French *ecurie*, a stable, is itself from *escuyre*, a squire, the attendant on a knight, a principal part of whose duty was to look after his horse. See Cotgrave's *French and English Dictionary*, and Wedgewood's *Dictionary of English Etymology*. Holinshed defines esquires or masters as "at the first costerals or bearers of the armes of barrons or knights, and thereby being instructed in martial knowledge, had that name for a dignity given to distinguish them from common soldiers called *gregarii milites* when they were together in the field."—*Description of England*, book. ii., c 5.

[15] *Earl of Donegall.*—This was Arthur Chichester, the first earl, who died in 1674.

[16] *Viscount's family.*—See pp. 134, *note* 38, *supra*.

[17] *Of the M^c^Clellands.*—Probably his wife was a daughter of sir Robert M^c^Clelland. See p. 88, conclusion of note 6, *supra*. This Hugh Montgomery represented the borough of Newtownards in parliament from 1635 until 1641.—Mrs. Reilly's *Genealogical History*, p. 61; see p. 120, note 26; and p. 134, note 38, *supra*.

[18] *James M^c^Gill.*—See p. 251, *supra*.

[19] *Ballyhennwood.*—In the parish of Comber.

[20] *Gortgribb.*—Now Gortgrib, in the parish of Knockbreda, barony of Lower Castlereagh.—See Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 11, 379.

[21] *By her said father*—Captain James McGill, father of Mrs. Montgomery, had held other property in the vicinity of Belfast, which he sold in the year 1672, to a merchant of this town named Thomas Pottinger. This property included portions of Ballymacarrett and Ballyhackamore, the corn mill known by the name of Owen Corke Mill, with the nett profit of toll or mulcture thereunto belonging, issuing and payable out of the towns and lands of Ballymacarrett, Ballyhackamore, Ballyknockcolumbkill, Ballyloghan, Strandtown, Ballymather, and Ballymaser. This property appears to have been held jointly by captain McGill and John Kelso, from the year 1669, but afterwards came entirely in the possession of the former, who sold it, as above stated, in 1672.—See *Hamilton Manuscripts*, pp. 56, 57, *note*.

[22] *Anno Dmni* 16.—This William Montgomery purchased from the second earl of Mount Alexander the lands of Flushing Hill, adjoining Grangee or Gransheogh, with the tithes of the same, and also of Grangee, by deed dated 31st August, 1682.

This William, like his father, the s^d^ Major, loves, understands, & keeps a good breed of horses, & is one of the Corporation of horsebreeders[23] afores^d^.

I gave to the said Major (fairly depicted, and also to his son, the said William), their true Coat of Arms, w^ch^ was, and is now, the same which the s^d^ Sir Hugh Montgomery, when Laird of Braidstane bore, viz.: party per pale azure & gules, 3 flowers delice in chief, & 3 Annulettes Sett with turcoises in base, over them a lance & a sword, Salterwise, all the charge being ore except the turcoises, & blade of the sword which are propper, with a cresent argent, as the distinction of a second brother as followeth: the very same shield & charge Bishop Geo. Montgomery, Brother of the s^d^ Sir Hugh, did seal with, & the like is now over the Gatehouse window in Newtown.[24]

I could not learn from young Langshaw,[25] (tho I spoak to him twice in Irel^d^, and wrote to him when he was in Scotl^d^) either what y^e^ bearings of that family, or Hazilheads,[26] or of the house of Giffen[27] were; nor hath he informed mee what any of them have for their crests, but this coat of yors hath an Armed hand holding a flower delice or. As for the motto of these Arms; it must have been the same with the Earl of Eglinton, viz. "*Guarde Bien*," (because our Montgomerys were from that family,) unless Sir Hugh took another diton, of w^ch^ I know not; but now Sr Hughs posterity (& none els) may pretend to carry y^e^ arms & use y^e^ motto of the Lord Visc^t^. of Ards, both w^ch^ were altered when they were first nobilitated.[28]

WILL MONTGOMERY.

[23] *Horsebreeders.*—See p. 269, *supra*.

[24] *In Newtown.*—See p. 109, *supra*.

[25] *Young Langshaw.*—Young Langshaw was James Montgomery, ninth laird of Lainshaw, parish of Stewarton, county of Ayr. This gentleman's name appears on the list of commissioners of supply for the country in 1696. About the same year he was appointed clerk of justiciars for life. He afterwards assumed the title of lord Lyle, as representative of that noble family, and died in the year 1726. Our author had frequent opportunities of meeting him in Ireland, as Lainshaw's sister, Jean, was wife to the Rev. Alexander Laing, rector of Donaghadee, but he was evidently so much engaged in important public affairs as to have no time to spare for the discussion of heraldic questions. He was entitled to bear the arms of Eglinton, Montgomerie, Mure, Lyle, and Cunningham. His crest was a cock, his supporters two leopards, proper, and his motto *An I may*.—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 455. This ninth laird of Lainshaw who was "richly married in Edinburgh" had for his wife Barbara Kennedy, daughter of John Kennedy of Craig, or Barclanachan, in Carrick, but left no children. He died about the year 1726, and was succeeded by his nephew, David Laing, son of his sister Jean and Alexander Laing, rector of Donaghadee. Laing took the name of Montgomery. "Memorandum it is observed, and said by Mr. Ja. Montgomery y^e^ young laird of Langshaw (who hath a good imployment in y^e^ Courts of Judicature in Scotland, and is richly married in Edinburgh, that genlly the Montgomerys of that Kingdom (especially y^e^ cadetts of familys) have raised themselves by lands or togher goods (*i.e.*, marriage portions) gotten by women whom they wedded. It seems when born they have been wrapped in their mothers smocks, but that good fortune hath not so universally happened to our Sirname in Ireland, as may be observed in the ensuing memoirs of them." The above is appended as a note to the author's "*Narrative Concerning some of the Montgomerys in England & Scotland.*"

[26] *Hazilheads.*—The armorial bearings of the Montgomerys of *Hessilhead* were—Azure, two Lances of Tournament, proper, between three Fleurs-de-Lis, or, and in the chief point an Annulet, or, stoned, azure, with an indention on the side of the shield, on the dexter side.—*Pont MS.*, Advocates' Library, as quoted in Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 292.

[27] *Giffen.*—The Montgomerys of *Giffen* bore the following heraldic device—Quarterly, first and fourth, three Fleurs-de-lis, for Montgomerie; second and third, three Annulets, for Eglinton; over all, dividing the quarters, a Cross waved or, and in chief a label of three points of the last, denoting the next house in succession to the earldom of Eglinton.—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 289.

[28] *First nobilitated.*—See p. 110, *note* 2, *supra*. William Montgomery, son of the gentleman here mentioned, to whom the author addressed this letter, was twice married. His first wife was Catherine, daughter of Francis Hall of Strangford, the date of their marriage settlement being 22nd September, 1719. The following extract of a letter from Mrs. Hall of Strangford to her brother, the bishop of Dromore (Lambert), is interesting as containing a statement of the value of the Greyabbey property at the time of this marriage. The return was furnished to Mrs. Hall by captain Montgomery himself, on his proposal of

This Coat Armoriall on the dexter side belongs unto William Montgomery, gentl., son of Major Hugh, son of Hugh, Gentl.; son of Hugh, Gentleman, all Montgomeries, & freeholders of the lands of Gransheogh in Donaghadee Parish, Barrony of Ards, & County of Down in Ireland, wch last named Hugh was son of Robt Montgomery, 2d brother of Adam, the 2d of that name; the fifth Laird of Braidstane in Scotland. The first of wch lairds was 2d brother to Alex Earle of Eglintons Ancestor, lord of Ardrossan, a very Ancient family of that rank in Scotland, all bearing the surname of Montgomerie long before the batle at Otterburn, Ao Dni 1388, agt the lord Piercy, who was taken prisoner by the hand of ye sd lord of Ardrossan, who wth y. ransom money of Piercy (commonly called Hottspur) built the castle of Ponune,[29] & caused carve a spurr in ye stone over the door thereof, in memory of that action, and of the victory (chiefly by his valour & conduct) then obtained, Robt. the 2d being King of Scotland.

The shield on this sinister side depicted, belongs to Mary, wife of the said Wm. Montgomery, the same being certified & sett out by lyon king at Arms in Scotland in King Charles the 2d's raign, unto her father James M'Gill of kirkestown,[30] Esqr., as descending from the Viscounts Oxenfuirds family, having only the bordure wth a new crest & motto (as here underwritten) for distinction. The original grant being in the sd James his posterity's hands to bee seen and is therein thus blasoned, viz. Gules, three martlotts within a bordure argent. The Crest is a Phœnix in flames, on a wreath of his colours: an helmet befitting his degree, about wch & the Armour is a mantleing gules, dubbed Argent. Over all (for a motto) in an Escroule is written, *Sans fin;* all to bee seen on this paper is done (as a memorandum of Love and respect by the hand of mee,

WILL MONTGOMERY."[31]

marriage with her daughter, and her letter embodying the statement is in the possession of colonel F. O. Montgomery, great-grandson of the purchaser of Greyabbey:—

"Yearly Value of Mr. Montgomery of Grangee's lands.

Rosemount about	£300	0	0
Grangee clear of chief and tythes	040	0	0
Tenements and Lands about Newtown not lett	000	0	0
Profitts of the Lease of Maghera	240	0	0
Half pay on the English Establis[t] with benefit of Exchange	100	0	0
	£680	0	0

"Debts with which the above mentioned Lands are chargeable.

To Mr. William Montgomery	£1,070	0	0
To Mrs. Elizabeth Montgomery	0,350	0	0
To Mrs. Marth Montgomery	0,350	0	0
To Mr. Edmonston M[c]Gomery .. .	0,100	0	0

Part of Mr. Montgomery the Elder's money in my hand, which I have applied to my use	0,120	0	0
To Col. Adam Downing by two bonds ..	0,800	0	0
	£2,790	0	0

"This is a coppey of the Paper which he gave me:—

"A conveyance of Hugh, late Earle of Mountalexander, to William Montgomery of Grangee, Gent., of all that parcell of land commonly known by the name of Flushing Hill, adjoining the lands of Grangee, in the Barrony of Ards and County of Downe, together with the tythes thereof both great and small, and all the tythes of Grangee both great and small, bearing date the 31st day of August, 1682. The like conveyance of the lands of Flushing Hill aforesaid, and the tythes thereof from Charles Campbell of Donaghadee, Gent., bearing date the 2nd day of September, 1682."

The letter, enclosing these documents, ends thus :—

"I am boderd with trobel and company, so can say no more to my dearest brother, but I am y^r^ ever affect^h^ sister and sarvant,

"ANN HALL.

"What I main is his reail astate, which will be in a few years £400, and as for the lase, I lave it in his one power to improve his fortune with.'"

Mrs. Hall's brother, Ralph Lambert, was appointed dean of Down, on the 4th May, 1709; bishop of Dromore, on the 12th of April, 1717; and bishop of Meath, on the 10th of February, 1726. He died on the 6th of February, 1731, and was buried in St. Michan's Church, Dublin.—Ware's *Works*, vol. i., pp. 164, 267. Her daughter, Mrs. Montgomery, died in 1723, leaving two sons—Edward, who died in 1726; and William, who succeeded to the estates on the death of his father in 1755. The father re-married in 1725, with Elizabeth Hill, daughter of Samuel Hill, whose grandfather was treasurer of Ireland in the time of the Commonwealth. This lady has left the following interesting record of her children in a precious old Bible which had belonged to her mother-in-law, Mary M^c^Gill, and which is now in the possession of Hugh Montgomery, esq., of Greyabbey :—

"1. Mary Montgomery, his eldest daughter, was born on the 1st of December, 1726; her godfathers were the lord bishop of Meath (Ralph Lambert) and Rowley Hill, Esqr., her uncle. Her godmothers were Mrs. Catherine Rowley and Mrs. Bailie of Inishargey.

"2. Hugh Montgomery was born on the 4th of September, 1727; his godfathers were the Rev. Dean Gore, of Down, and William Montgomery, Esq., of Killough. His godmothers were Mrs. Hall of Strangford, and his aunt Mrs. Mary Hill.

"3. Ann Montgomery was born on September the 20th, 1730. Her godfathers were the Rev. Edward Matthews, and Francis Hall, Esq., of Strangford; her godmothers were Mrs. Montgomery of Drogheda and Mrs. Letitia Hall of Strangford.

"4. Elizabeth Montgomery was born on Sept., y^e^ 29th, 1731. Her godfathers were Archdeacon Usher and William Savage of Kirkestown; her godmothers were her aunt Mrs. Sophia Hill and Mrs. Mauleverer. She died Feb. the 27, 1738.

"5. Rowley Montgomery was born Oct. y^e^ 29th, 1732. His godfathers were Hugh Willoughby and Tom Tenison, Esqr. His godmother, Mrs. Alice Lambert.

"6. Catherine Montgomery was born August the 20th, 1735. Her godfathers were Mr. Tippen and her uncle Samuel Hill, Esqr.; her godmothers were Mrs. Rowelly and Mrs. Ann Hall, junr.

"7. James Montgomery was born y^e^ 14th Nov., 1736. His godfathers were Robert Maxwell, Esqr., of Finnebrogue, and his uncle the Rev. Hugh Hill of Mounthill; his godmother, Mrs. Hall of Strangford.

"8. Robert Montgomery was born August y^e^ 24th, 1738. His godfathers were Robert McGill, Esq., of Gill-Hall, and the Rev. Dr. Bacon; his godmother, old Mrs. Bailie of Inishargey. 1758, 29 December, died at Fennibrogue of a fever; he is buried in Greyabby Church.

"9. Letitia Montgomery was born Oct. y^e^ 4th, 1741. Her godfather, Mr. Hans Bailie; her godmothers, Mrs. Hall of Killough, and Mrs. Ann Fortiscue. July the 12 I unhappily lost my Dr. child by her falling into the cistern in the Court.

"10. Samuel Montgomery was born on Trinity Sunday, May y^e^ 29th, 1743. His godfathers were lord Kildare and colonel Welch; his godmother, Mrs. Lucy Hardman of Drougheda.

"11. Arthur Montgomery born June y^e^ 24th, 1744. His godfathers were the Rev. Bernard Ward and James Echlin, Esqr., of Echlinvail; his godmother, Mrs. Hill of Belvoir. He died July the 15, 1774.

"My Dr husband died April y^e^ 17th, 1755. He is buried in Grayabby Church, where lys seven of my children and a grand child.

"My Dr Daughter, Mary Maxwell, died in Dublin, August, 1775. She lys in a vault in St. Michan's Church.

"Her Dr child, William Maxwell, died August y^e^ 19th, 1756, at Fennibrogue of a sore throat. He is buried at Inch Church, he was just 6 years old. His brother, Edward Maxwell, died 7 Oct., 1756, of the same distemper, and is buried by him.

"Their sister, Elizabeth Maxwell, died at Springvale of the same Distemper y^e^ 28th December, 1756. She is laid by her grandfather and many of her uncles and aunts in the vault of Grayabby Church."

[29] *Castle of Ponoune.*—The chief who so distinguished himself at the battle of Otterburn was sir John de Montgomerie, who succeeded to the lordship of Ardrossan in 1367, through his mother, Elizabeth, a daughter of sir Hugh Eglinton of Eglinton. Sir John's eldest son, Hugh, was slain at Otterburn, fighting by his father's side. "The spear and pennon of Percy were carried along with the body of the gallant youth to Edinburgh Castle (from thence, no doubt, conveyed to the family burial-place at Eaglesham or Kilwinning), and the trophies still remain in the possession of the noble house of Eglinton. It is said that, when the late duke of Northumberland requested their restoration, the late earl of Eglinton replied—'There is as good lea land here as any at Chevy Chase, let Percy come and take them.'"—See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 232, 233.

[30] *James McGill of Kirkistown.*—See p. 251, *supra*. captain James M^c^Gill married Jean, daughter of Alexander Bailie of Inishargy, and by her had several children. Their mother carefully recorded their names and the dates of their births in the old family Bible mentioned in the preceding note, which she bequeathed to her second daughter Mary, who married William Montgomery. The author calls Mary "eldest daughter" of Captain James M^c^Gill, but according to her mother's account in the following record, she was the second. Mrs. Jean M^c^Gill mentions also the names of such of her children as died before her, and the manner of their deaths :—

"Memorandam—Sarah M^c^Gill was born on the 23 of desember being Setterday about 5 o'clock in the efternoune 1648.

"Mem^r^.—Mary M^c^Gill was borne the last of november at 3 in the morning on Seterday 1649.

"Mem^r^.—Elessabeth M^c^Gill was borne on the 15 day of agust on frayday 1651.

"Mem^r^.—Margratt M^c^Gill was borne on the 19 of June 1653 att 6 in the morning.

"Mem^r^.—hugh M^c^Gill was borne on the 21 of Septtember 1655 on frayday att 7 in the morning.

"Mem^r^.—Jeane M^c^Gill was borne on the sixth day of octtober 1657 on teusday.

"Mem^r^.—Kettreine M^c^Gill was borne the 8 day of September 1658 frayday at 11 a clok.

"Mem^r^.—William M^c^Gill was borne on the 13 day of Jeanuerie 1660 on monday morning.

"Mem^r^.—2 Kettreine was borne on the 20 of october 1662 on teusday morning.

"Mem^r^.—The 2 Jeane M^c^Gill was borne 2 day of June 1644 on munday at ten a clok in the morning.

"Mem^r^.—Anne M^c^Gill was borne on the 7 day of June 1665 on teusday in the efternoun.

"Mem^r^.—Jeames M^c^Gill was borne on the 6 day of apryll 1669 on teusday in the efternoun.

"Mem^r^.—Kettreine M^c^Gill 3 was borne on the forth of may 1672 on munday att night.

"Mem^r^.—That my deire husband depearted this Lyff on the 26 of Jully 1683.

"Memer.—That my deir son Jeams M°Gill was murdred att Portglenone bridge with the barbrous Ierisse on the 7 day of apryll 1689, he being just tuintie yeare ould the night befor his death. I brought his bons hom in a box and lead them by his father."

[James M°Gill served under lieutenant-cololonel Shaw, who had charge of the trenches at Portglenone, and who being attacked, on the 7th of April, by a superior force of the Irish, was obliged to retreat after a gallant resistance in which several of his officers and men were slain.]

"Memer.—That my deire sone hugh M°Gill was killed with a connone ball at the sedge of Achlone on the nynteine of Jullie 1690 he being in his thartie fyrst yeare of his edge.

"JEANE M°GILL."

[The death of Hugh M°Gill at Athlone is noticed by Storey as having occurred on Sunday, the 20th of July, 1690. "That day," says he, "one captain Mackgill, a voluntier, was killed at our battery with a canon shot from the castle."—*Impartial History of the Affairs of Ireland*, p. 102. His death is also noticed by a brother officer, D. Campbell, in a letter addressed to sir Arthur Rawdon, and written from *Carricknosure* (Carrick-on-Suir) on the 24th, four days after its occurrence. "The lieutenant-general," says the writer, "broke ground and lost but about 14 men; the enemy raised a battery, and poor unfortunate Hugh M°Gill would needs go to see it, tho' dissuaded from it by every one; his arm and shoulder were shot from him by a cannon shot, of which he immediately fell dead, and not much lamented, because every one condemned his going thither.—*Rawdon Papers*, pp. 327, 328.]

"Memorandom—That my deir mother margrat mertteine depearted this Lyff on the 11 of november 1671.

"Memerandom—That my deir feather allexander Baellie depearted this Lyff on the tharteine of September 1682 of Inshargie.

"Memerandom—That my deir brother eduard Beallie of ringdifference pearted this lyff on the 25 of november 1682.

"Memerandom—That my deir sister-in-lau eleissabeth dumbare depearted this lyff on the seventh of agust 1683.

"JEAN M°GILL.

"Memerandom—That my deir brother, John Beallie of inshargie pearted this lyff on the thread of may 1687.

"Memerandam—That my deir sister-in-Lau Sarah Leix pearted this Lyff

"Memerandom—That my sone hugh's first chyld Lucy M°Gill was borne on the thred day of november 1685 in Casseell balfore in the countie of fermanach.

"Memarandom—That my sone hughs 2 doughter Isabella was borne on the elevent day of Januerie 1686 in belinester in the countie of doun decd.

"Memerandom—That my son hughs thred doughter Lettishia was born on the tenth of may 1688 in belinester in the countie of doun: she is dead.

"Memerandom—That my sone hugh M°Gill's fourth doughter Jean M°Gill was borne on the 27 Jullie 1690 in belinester in the countie of doun eight days after her fa[ther was killed at Athlone]. *See a preceding entry.*

"Jeane M°Gill of bellinesters Book which I promissed to my doughter Mary att my death.

"Jeane M°Gill off bellinester ought this Book.

This book I leave to my deer doughter Montgomrie of Grenchoch, as witnes my hand,

"JEANE M°GILL."

On or about the 27th of August, 1660, William Montgomery of Rosemount, esq., demised to James McGill the lands called Ballynester, alias Corbally, and the quarter land called Ballymurchie, for the term of ninety years, at the yearly rent of £4 5s. In the year 1694, Alexander Browne of Coolsillagh obtained a judgment against Jane McGill for a debt that had been contracted by her husband in 1674, for which Ballynester and Ballymurchie were sold to James Baillie of Inishargie. For these lands Baillie paid £62. He afterwards sold them to William McGill of Ballynester (son of James and Jane McGill), for the sum of £100. In the year 1700, William McGill sold them to Robert Hamill for £140, the latter transferring his right and title of these lands to Ann Hill, for the sum of three hundred and twenty one pounds. On the 28th of February, 1707, a tripartite indenture between Robert Hamill of Ballyatwood, esq., and Jane McGill of Ballinester, widow of James McGill, of the first part, Simon Isaac of Balliwalter of the second part, and Ann Hill of Hillsburough, widow, of the third part.—*MS. preserved at Greyabbey.* Mrs. Jean McGill, widow of captain James McGill, died in the month of January, 1711–12. She made her will on the 6th of December preceding, leaving to her grandson, Samuel Madden, esq., county of Fermanagh, all her worldly goods and claims whatsoever. Another grandson, named Robert Johnston inherited the lease and residence of Kirkistown. According to articles of agreement between these gentlemen, dated 18th January, 1711–12, Robert Johnston of Kirkistown, engaged to pay to Samuel Madden the sum of £40 for his claim derived through Mrs. McGill's will, and also to surrender up all goods bestowed to him or his wife "and in particular one silver tankard and large soop spoon." Johnston also agreed to pay all servant's wages, and all "funeral expenses as they now stand charged by Mr. John Chads his Bill 'merct of Belfast." This agreement was drawn up by William Balfour, esq., and Mr. James Montgomery, clerk; both these gentlemen signing as witnesses.—*MS. preserved at Greyabbey.*

[31] *Will Montgomery.* — The "original" narrative of Gransheogh, as well as that transcribed from it by Mr. Robert Watson, is at Tyrella, both being given to the late A. H. Montgomery, Esq., by major Mathews of Springvale.

The dates of the deeds have not been inserted as requested, nor have the documents been returned! The original narrative of Gransheogh is paged from 237 to 240, as being of some general work, by Wm. M. These arms were given with the other documents by major Mathews of Springvale, and all copied by me, F. O. M."—*MS. note of colonel Francis O. Montgomery.*

CHAPTER XXII.

OF HUGH MONTGOMERY OF BALLYMAGOUN.[1]

I NOW write a narrative of Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagoun Esq[r] and his family, of good Account in y[e] barrony of Ardes: & wherever known; & will begin at his Ancestors, mentioning them briefly, because I want Memoirs of them.

I knew his father Mr. James Montgomery from June 1644 till his death 1647.[2]

This Gentleman was born in y[e] North parts of Scotland, where his father was a minister of Christs Gospel, His Grandfather being a Cadet of the House of Hazilhead[3] in the west, who having transported & transplanted himself thence, fixed his Roots near Monros,[4] at a place called Hatoune,[5] in y[e] said Northern parts, & from him sprung divers male plants, whether removed by death, or into a warmer richer soile beyond our seas I know not; but when they were alive and at home

[1] *Of Ballymagoun.*—This portion of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* was not included in the edition of 1830, its existence being then unknown. It was first printed in the ninth volume of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, pp. 156–171, and 278–283, with an introduction and notes, by the Rev. Dr. MacIlwaine, incumbent of St. George's, Belfast. This gentleman obtained it from Adam Dickey, esq., of Belfast, to whom it had come after the death of his sister. The deceased lady received it (whether on loan or as a gift does not appear) from the family of the late Rev. William Montgomery of Ballyeaston, county of Antrim, who died in the year 1809, and in whose family it had been preserved. The author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* supplied portions of his work to families specially noticed therein, and this fragment was, no doubt, thus given originally to Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown, and transmitted through his representatives until it came into the possession of the Rev. William Montgomery abovenamed. This minister was introduced to the presbytery of Templepatrick on the 11th of March, 1756; on the 4th of May following, he came to a subsequent meeting, bringing with him a certificate from the Rev. Mr. Alexander of Castlereagh, most probably the minister of the congregation in which Mr. Montgomery had been educated, and of which his father's family were members. He was ordained, or settled in the congregation of Ballyeaston, on the 27th of July, 1759, and died there on the 24th of April, 1809. He is interred in Rashee burying-ground, where a tombstone, bearing the following inscription, marks his grave :—

1809.
Sacred
To the Memory of the
Reverend William Montgomery,
For 51 years Presbyterian Minister of
Ballyeaston,
Who died on the 24th April, 1809,
Aged 75 years.

"He was an Israelite indeed,
In whom there was no guile."
Also, of Catherine, his relict, who died
in May, 1818, aged 81 years.
Also, of three infant children.

[2] *Till his death in* 1647.—This clergyman has been already mentioned by the author as attending the funeral of the first viscount, to whom he was related. See p. 135, *supra*. James Montgomery was of the Hessilhead branch, and the first viscount's mother was a daughter of the sixth laird of Hessilhead.

[3] *Hazilhead.*—Robert Montgomery, sixth laird of Hessilhead, who succeeded to that estate in 1602, obtained a grant from bishop George Montgomery in Fermanagh, in the year 1618. These lands he granted to his second son, James Montgomery, on the 13th of August, 1623. In 1626, 10th of May, this James Montgomery, who is styled of Rouskie, conveyed to Malcom Hamilton, archbishop of Cashel, two quarters of land, containing eight tates, in the parishes of Aghalurker and Drummulley.—Morrin, *Calendar, reign of Charles I.*, p. 609.

[4] *Near Monros.*—Montrose is frequently written *Munros* in old charters, and is so pronounced by the natives of the district at the present time.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland, Forfarshire*, pp. 271, 272; Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 7, 146, 153.

[5] *Called Hatoune.*—Hatoune, or the Ha' town, in the parish of Newbyle, Forfarshire, was not far distant from Montrose or Munros. The Ha' or Hall, from which this place had its name, was built, or rather rebuilt, by Lawrence, lord Oliphant, in 1575. This castle was the bishop's residence in 1689, and in that year was used as a church, as appears from the following entry in the parochial records: — "The Prisbitry violently entered the church by breaking up the doors thereof, so that from the 8th day of May aforesaid, the pariochoners did conveen to the Haltoun, where they are to have sermon maintained

they were called the nyne bold brothers of the Hatoune aforesaid. These Gentlemen were unkles (by the Father) to the s[d] Mr. James.

Whom I find to have marryed Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of a younger son of the Ancient family of Dunrod,[6] her mother being eldest daughter[7] of John Shaw, Laird of Greenock, Shee was also widdow of Mr. David M[c]Gill who dyed (as appears by his monument Stone in Grayabby Church wall) y[e] 14[th] of Oct[r] 1633.[8]

This Mr James was Chaplain to the first Visc[t] Montgomery, and appeared as such in the procession at his Lo[ps] funerall, in Sep[tr]: A° 1636.[9]

He brought with him into Ireland (as I am Credibly told) 300[li] ster: and his father secured to be paid unto him as much more, when himself should dy: which Last money was transacted for About A° 1652; as shall herein be mentioned afterwards.

This M[r] James succeeding to M[r] David afores[d] in his bed (and being thereby next cosen to

by the bishop of Aberdeen."—*New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. ix., p. 591.

[6] *Family of Dunrod.*—The founder of the Dunrod branch of the Lindsays was John, a younger son of sir James Lindsay of Cragie and Thurston, one of the slayers of the "red Cumyn." From 1350 to 1602 there was a regular succession of chiefs, their original residence being Dunrod castle in Renfrewshire, from which they afterwards removed to the Mains of Lanarkshire, where the family had held estates from the time of Robert II. The last lord of Dunrod was Alexander Lindsay, who became an active partisan in the feud between the Montgomerys and Cunninghams, on the side of the former. In the prosecution of this bloody work, Alexander Lindsay secretly slew Leckie of Leckie, a noted bravo on the side of the Cunninghams, and brother-in-law to Patrick Maxwell of Newark. See p. 11, *supra*. Lindsay killed him by a shot from a farmhouse window, at Hagton Hill, near Glasgow, and the perpetrator was not known until many years subsequently, when Lindsay himself, in his old age and poverty, acknowledged that he was the slayer of Leckie. In 1619, Lindsay was compelled to sell the family estates, and he is said afterwards to have subsisted miserably and disreputably as a warlock! In concert with certain reputed witches among his former cottars at Innerkip, this once haughty territorial lord, the last of a long line of barons, esteemed the proudest in the West Country, lived by the fees of sea-captains and fishermen, who trusted to his *black art* to secure them against unfavourable winds! His accomplishments as a warlock are asserted in the following traditional rhyme, which is still familiar to the inhabitants of Innerkip:—

"In Auldkirk the witches ride thick,
And in Dunrod they dwell;
But the greatest loon amang them a'
Is auld Dunrod himsel'."

A popular ballad, written subsequently to this local rhyme, describes Lindsay as a very formidable person indeed, reasserting as positively, his character of wizard:—

"Auld Dunrod was a goustie carl
As ever ye micht see,
And 'gin he was naa warlock wicht
There was nane in the haill countrie."

This old gentleman was a near relative, probably an uncle, of Elizabeth Lindsay mentioned in the text. It would appear that other relatives settled in Ireland about the time at which she came with her husband, David M'Gill, to the Ards. The Bucknalls of Turin Castle, county Mayo, and the Lindsays of Holymount, in the same county, are of Dunrod descent, a fact established not only by unbroken family tradition, but the absolute identity of their armorial bearings with those of that ancient house.—*Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii., pp. 290, 293. The laird sold the barony of Dunrod, in 1619, to sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall and Ardgowan. An advertisement for the sale was drawn up on that occasion, and is now a curious document, exhibiting, as it does, the attractions of the property for purchasers, and containing a full list of the laird's tenants, their holdings, their rents in silver and in corn, vittall, beir, maut, meill, salt, butter, cheise, fouls, creills of peits, herring, rouch-wedders (unshorn), turses of hay, daily service, and riding for service. The advertisement concludes thus:—"Wt in ye ground abundans of lymestaine and friestane; in ye widdis all kynd of temmir usuall in yis countrie; the miller takes na milstanes farther yane ye mill floir or the mill geawell (gable). Upone ye north syde ane commonty of mey awin, on ye sowth syde lys ye common commontie; wt. in Dunrod is abundant of gud mos and turfe, qlk. wt. in werie few years wil not be gattin for silver. Ye place is twa towris and fourteine houssis, by (besides) ye throwgange (thoroughfare) turnpyk (circular stair), and transis (passage). Yit it is bot four rumyeis (rooms), and ilk tour twyss wantit, sa ye kirk ye first place and Buriall. [This is obscure, but it probably means that the laird would sell his precedence in the kirk and in the burial-ground.] Yis land falls (produces) mair than thretteen scoir of bolls corne and beir, and fawis (yields) langle-lint and kemp (hemp), ye quhilk is were foren and profitabill. It maws threttie dark of hey: Of tydie ky mae thane nyne scoir, by (besides) yowis, hors, and yell soumis. Ye onsettis (farm-houses) ar weill biggit, and hes guid yardis, and ye tenants int ye best of ye cuntrie."—*Scottish Journal of Topography*, &c., vol. i., p. 275.

[7] *Eldest daughter.*—In George Crawford's *Description of the Shire of Renfrew*, p. 125, Isabel Shaw, who married John Lindsay, is said to be *second* daughter of John Shaw of Greenock.

[8] *October*, 1633.—See p. 123, *supra*.

[9] *Ao.* 1636.—See p. 135, *supra*.

to our 2d visct and to Sr James Montgomery by affinity)[10] he also filled the sd Mr Davids Pulpit, as Curate in Grayabby, till expelled thereout, by the ministers of the Scottish Army, whch sett up presbiterian Governm & ye League and Covenant in Ulster Ao 1643.[11] They Summoned him to their Presbiterys, At one of which he disputed his right by Gospel & Law: but to no purpose, for they told him peremptorily, that he must renounce the Service book, and swear their Covenant; or he should be silenced, whch he refusing to doo, told them, they were too many hounds, thus to pursue one hare: But if they wold dispute with him one after another, he would doo it any manner of way they would assigne: He was vexed by their frequent Citations, to be ridd of which, he had an opportunity to meet him whom they call the Moderator on the Roade in equall terms; and then told him Roundly Mr. John, you and your brethren are a pack of usurpers & you use club Law agt mee, and are resolved to expell mee from my office & Sallary, and you harrass me from place to place by your Sumons, but here I Swear, if you forbear not to trouble me more, or if you presume to give sentence of excomunication agt mee I will take my amends on thy body and bones, for you shall wrong me too much to cause my Sallary be given from me. These words (or the Like) mortifyd the fatt Mr John: and he had Care to stop further citations; and so saved his own bacon from being basted with a Cudgell.[12] Mr James, being thus hindered the exercise of his office in his Parish, was made Chaplain to the Regiment by Sr Ja: Montgy afores^{d} and he earned his pay truely as a Preacher and as a soldier; heartning the men both ways, and by valorous example, agt the Irish Rebells at Dundrum,[13] Ballydugan,[14] in Lecahill and elsewhere, under the command of his Coll: Last named.

This Genue elder brother named Samuel[15] (who was at first an officer abroade, & then Lt to ye Ld Cromwel's Troop, but it being broke Ao 1641) he became Lt in Sr Ja: Montgy troope, afterwards he was major In Scotland: but disliking Genll Lessly's[16] march into England agt K. Ch: ye first, he returned and was made by Sr James afores^{d} eldest Capt of his Regiment: he dyed in Portaferry and is buryd whr Patt Savadge Esq[17] hath now his Seat in ye church; over which there is an

[10] *By affinity.*—In other words, Mr. James Montgomery married Mrs. David M'Gill (Elizabeth Lindsay), who was first cousin to the second viscount and to his brother, sir James.

[11] *Ao.* 1643.—See p. 127, *supra.* It is strange that Adair has kept silence on this case, although it must have created some noise at the time. Adair notices the case of one Hamilton of Dundonald, who repudiated the covenants, and was, in consequence, deposed as a worthless hireling.—*Narrative*, p. 120.

[12] *With a Cudgell.*—This "fatt Mr. John," who prudently gave way rather than have the *argumentum ad hominem* actually applied, was doubtless Mr. John Drysdale, a zealous covenanting minister, who, with Mr. James Baty, had been settled in the Ards, prior to the coming of the Scottish army, the one preaching to Lord Clannaboy's, the other to the Lord of Ards' regiment. Mr. Drysdale was a zealous covenanter, and suffered much for the cause during the course of his lengthened ministry. See Adair's *Narrative*, pp. 94, 98, 122, 210, 277, 281, 294, 296, 298. The Rev. Dr. *Hugh* Drysdale, supposed to be the son of the above Mr. John, became chaplain to the duke of Ormond, and died at Kilkenny, on the 27th of March, 1692. He had also been rector of Castlecomer, archdeacon of Ossory, and afterwards chancellor.—Cotton's *Fasti Eccl. Hib.*, v. 165, 171.

[13] *At Dundrum.*—See p. 311, *supra.*

[14] *Ballydughan.*—See p. 321, *supra.*

[15] *Named Samuel.*—Samuel Montgomery, elder brother of Mr. James, was a member of the court-martial which met at Portaferry on the 2nd of March, 1642, to try sergeant Walter Kyle for the homicide of lieutenant William Baird, both belonging to sir James Montgomery's regiment. (See p. 322, *supra.*) Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown, son of Mr. James, named one of his sons for his uncle Samuel. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii. p. 8, *note.*

[16] *Lessly's march.*—This march occurred in 1640. Samuel Montgomery returned probably in the following year. His name stood first on the list of captains in sir James Montgomery's regiment in 1642. See p. 322, *supra.*

[17] *Patt. Savadge.*—This was Patrick Savage of Derry, a townland in the parish of Portaferry, (see p. 91, *supra*), who succeeded to the Portaferry estate in 1683, on the death of his cousin Hugh, the nephew of sir James Montgomery. Patrick Savage died in 1724.

hollow place made in the wall—wherein it was designed his arms and epitaph should have been put.[18] he died unmarried and left to y^e s^d M^r James 200^{li} owing to the former Patt Savadge,[19] which was lately paid to his son Hugh[20] of Ballymagown Esq^r.

The said Mr. James being divers years a Widdower[21] marryed the daughter of M^r Hugh Montgomery seneschall[22] to the 2^d. and 3^d. Visc^t of Ards, and by this Gent^l woman had children; I knew one of them, called Rob^t (a Pretty man) Like his father, but he dyed in his brother Hu^s house without marriage.[23]

M^r James dying A^o 164$\frac{7}{8}$ left the said Hu (his son by the first Venter) about the age of years but his other children were very young, and his widdow and they all were well provided for, but she taking to husband one M^r Smith hee treated them all ill, w^h was both a Loss and a burden to y^e s^d Hu (of whom this narrative is designed chiefly to speak) for his Stepmother dyed & the other children were left bare and a charge to him.

I come now in the next place to prosecute my desygned undertaking as touching the first Person herein named, viz: Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown Esq^r, whos s^d father (on his 2^d marriage) sent him to his friends in Scotland;[24] he returned and was at school both in Grayabby (where he was born A^o ——) and at Newtown Also; and then hee and I came acquainted and intimate A^o 1649.

A^o 1649 I went to Scotland, thence to Holland, came to London & Dublin; & went twice to London, and oftner to Dublin; Soliciting for my Estate and making onely visits into the County of Downe, till in or about A^o 1656:[25] and then my Intimacy with the said Hugh was renewed.

But long before this time viz. A^o 1652, my late Dearest Visc^t[26] hearing of my fathers death[27] (unfortunate for us all) and that his chief papers etc: were lodged with S^r Alex^r Sutherland of Duffus[28] (beyond Aberdeen) his Lo^p to the End they might be brought H ome for my use employed therein Cap^t Hu: M^cGill, brother uterin to the s^d Hu: (who then remained w^th his other bro: by y^e Same Venter, Cap^t Ja: M^cGill.)[29]

The s^d Cap^t Hu:[30] haveing this opportunity (as being sent on my business into those northern

[18] *Should have been put.*—This "hollow place in the wall" probably remained unoccupied by a monument to Samuel Montgomery. Harris has preserved no notice of any epitaph or inscription in Portaferry old church, although he mentions the existence of *three niches* in the south wall, such as that described by the author in the text. See *State of the County of Down*, p. 46.

[19] *Former Patt Savadge.*—"The former Patt Savadge" was son in-law of the first viscount, and died in 1634. He was the brother of Rowland, whom he succeeded in 1619, both being sons of a Patrick Savage who died in 1603. See p. 89, *supra*.

[20] *His son Hugh.*—Hugh of Ballymagown was son of Mr. James. This money was not paid to the latter, to whom it was left, for he died in 1647, but to his son.

[21] *A Widdower.*—After the death of Elizabeth Lindsay, otherwise M'Gill.

[22] *Seneschall.*—In 1630, "J. Montgomerie, Seneschall," was a witness to the indenture between the first viscount and the sixth earl of Eglinton. See pp. 111, 112, *supra*. This J. Montgomerie was probably father to Hugh Montgomery, seneschal to the second and third viscounts, and whose daughter became the second wife of Mr. James Montgomery the clergyman.

[23] *Brother Hus house without marriage.*—Rather in the house of his *half-brother* Hugh of Ballymagown.

[24] *Friends in Scotland.*—Probably at *Hatoune*, near Montrose, Forfarshire. See note 5, *supra*.

[25] *About Ao.* 1656.—The reader may see these movements on the part of the author more fully described in the memoir of the third viscount, pp. 195, 199, *supra*.

[26] *Late Dearest Visct.*—The third viscount.

[27] *Father's death.*—See p. 345, *supra*.

[28] *Of Duffus.*—See p. 337, *supra*.

[29] *Capt. Ja. McGill.*—Hugh McGill, James McGill, and Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown, were sons of Elizabeth Lindsay by different husbands.

[30] *The said Capt. Hu.*—Captain Hugh McGill, whilst in Scotland recovering sir James Montgomery's papers for the author's use, also collected for Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown certain debts, or as much of them as could be recovered from the Scottish debtors.

Parts) he transacted the s^d^ Hugh's affaires with his debto^rs^ (as himself Lately told mee) to his Loss; so it seems he Escaped not a Minority bad fate, as to that part of his Stock, which was due to his father in Scotland; perhapps those Aberdeen shire debt^ors^ plaid a Northland game in his Concerns.

Anno 1656 (lately mentioned) y^e^ Intimacy affors, being renewed; & there being a necessite for me to goe again to Westminster, and I haveing had no hired serv^t^ since I went to Holland, The s^d^ Cap^t^ Hu: and other friends thought it fitt both for me and the s^d^ Hughs Education, and to save his Stock partly, that he should attend mee. Now this way of placing younger sonns or orph^ts^ in France, is accounted no disparagem^t^, but an advantage to such youths in Seeing y^e^ World, and understanding affaires, & by contracting frendship of the family they serve in, rather than loiter at home (like droans) devouring their own honey.[31] And I was glad; therein to oblige a kinsman, and to have a faithfull helper in what I had to doe, and then we went together, and liked one another so well, as we parted not for divers years.

In A^o^ 1657, I was in suite of law ag^t^ S^r^ B: O'Neile for possession of Ballyhornan, and happning to meet him, in the Remembrancer of Excheq^rs^ office, wee fell on some discourses, wherein Mutuall Reflections past. I had given him no wors language than he had used to me, and I thought there wold be no more of it, in that place, but on a sudden the Baronett struck me a great blow with his fist on y^e^ mouth and nose which bruised and bled me abundantly, So that I could not give him half Requitall, being soon parted by y^e^ Clerks and Clyents; but I should have payd him that Debt on next Sight, had not the s^d^ Hughs indignation Stomached him to that degree (when he had heard of the Abuse done me) that unknown to mee, he finding the Bar^t^ in the street bestowed on his shoulders liberally and publiquely le coups de bastoun: for which Rash assault on battery Hugh was immediately taken and confined, wherof word being brought to me I got him enlarged, reprimanding him for takeing my Quarrel out of my own hand.[32]

[31] *Their own honey.*—The history of almost every family of rank furnishes illustrations of this custom. Among the Montgomerys of Ards, we have other instances besides this one mentioned in the text. This same Hugh of Ballymagown, transferred his services from the author to the third viscount, in whose household he lived and prospered as a head servant for many years. Another Hugh Montgomery (of Gransheogh) is mentioned by the author as attending the funeral of the first viscount in his capacity of servant to the second viscount. See p. 134, *supra*. It is to be observed, however, that the practice was frequently adopted from necessity, and only when the young gentleman's "own honey" was all gone. The following letter, from dame Grissall Roos (lady Keir), to Anna, sixth countess of Eglinton, is a curious illustration:—

"MADAME,—My most deutiful commendations remembrit. Pleis zour ladyship that this zung (young) gentilman, my sister the lady Carnebeis sone, being deseyrus to be placit in service vith sum nobilman, and hes villit me to mak my moyen for the saming in respect his father hes sumquhat outschot him self in misgoverning his rent; and I, accounting zour ladyship, and (my lord zour) husband, as the most speciall freinds that I have to imploy, vill most affectuisely request your ladyship that ze vill place this zung man ather in my lord zour husband's chamber to putt on or aff his cloths and vait on his lordship, or in quhat other office zour ladyship think meit for such a one, and I vill be ansuerable to your ladyship that he sal be faithful and obediant to my lord or zour ladyship in quhatsoever ze imploy him. I think very to have met with zour ladyship for sindrie respects: bot I bliss God that I heir so guid neues of your ladyship, and prays God that it may euer continue. Sua referring to zour ladyship's ansuer, I rest zour ladyship's louing ant to command,

"GRYSSALL ROOS.
lady Keir.

"Ochiltrie, the 5 of November, 1612.

"To my very guid lady, my Lady Countes of Eglintoune, this be delyueritt."—Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 182.

[32] *Out of my own hand.*—The lands of Ballyhornan, about which this dispute arose, are situated in Lecale. A colonel Bryan O'Neill was traditionally known as the *butcher*, because of his atrocities, perpetrated at several places, throughout the county of Down during the massacres of 1641. (See Harris's *State of the County of Down*, p. 35.) He is not, however, to be confounded with another Bryan O'Neill, whose extensive family estates had been almost wholly swept away by confiscations from time to time, and who was compelled to go abroad in early life as a soldier of fortune. The latter served for a time in Holland under the Prince of Orange, and afterwards in the army of Charles I., being probably induced to do so by his kinsman, Daniel O'Neill. For his bravery at the battle of Edgehill, Charles conferred on this colonel Bryan O'Neill the honour of an English baronetcy, by the title of sir Bryan O'Neill of Upper Clannaboy. His first wife was Jane Finch, a lady of the Nottingham family, by whom he had one son, sir Bryan, the second baronet, who became baron of the exchequer in 1687.

The said Hugh was Likewise Zealous in Soliciting (as I instructed him) in Severall particulars of that Suite, till I recovered Possession of Ballyhornan afores[d] wherein I placed his half brother y[e] s[d] Cap[t] Hugh to Dwell.[33] Item I had an Order from Hen: Cromwell in his Councel Board, dated the 10[th] of July 1658 for haveing y[e] Quarters Rent of Florida Lands,[34] due the last day of that month, sequestered into the hands of our High Sheriff, who was then Major Bingley,[35] I sent the Order to him, by the s[d] Hugh, who used wonderfull diligence and circumspection therein, not only

His second wife was Sarah Savage, daughter of Patrick Savage of Portaferry and Jean Montgomery, and cousin-german of the author, William Montgomery. By Sarah Savage, sir Bryan O'Neill left also one son, Hugh, who became a justice of the king's bench. Mary, daughter of the latter, married Charles O'Neill, of the Feeva, county of Antrim, and died in 1790, aged one hundred years. Sir Bryan, the first baronet, died about the year 1670. He was twice member of parliament for the borough of Downpatrick. His assault on William Montgomery, as mentioned in the text, was in keeping with his characteristic violence of temper, which occasionally involved him in serious difficulties. The following extract from the *Commons Journals* for 1662, has reference to this gentleman's demeanour as a member of the house:—"Capt. Fitzgerald reported from the Com. appointed to take into consideration the petition of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House, against Sir Bryan O'Neill, which is as followeth: That whereas Sir B. O'N. having been by warrant of this House, dated the 29th of November last, committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms for a breach of the privileges of this House; and whereas the said Serjeant, upon request of the said Sir Bryan, took bonds of the said Sir B. upon the 22nd of Decr. last for his, the said Sir B.'s, surrendering himself into the custody of the said Ser., on or before the 2nd day of Feb. last, and there to remain until discharged by the House; that the said Sir B. outstayed the time limited in the said bond three or four days; whereupon the said Sergeant gave orders to his men to find out and apprehend said Sir Bryan; that on the 5th of Feb. last the said Sir Br. appeared in the Lobby before the Parliament door; that the said Serjeant having notice thereof, went out of the said House to him, and after blaming him for not rendering himself a prisoner at the time he was to come in, the said Sir Br. refused to submit himself a prisoner, and resisted the said Serj., opposing and assaulting him, giving foul language, until at last the said Sir Br. was carried away by the serjeant's command, to the Serjeant's house; which act of the Serjeant's, in taking the said Sir Br. again into custody, the Com. did allow of as being in discharge of his duty and trust reposed in him by this House, the said Sir Br. so resisting and assaulting the Sergeant being a breach of the privileges of this House. Ordered upon question, that at the next sitting of the House, Sir Br. O'N. be, by the Serjeant at Arms, brought to the Bar, thereof there to receive a reprehension for his violating the privileges of Parliament by two particulars; the first for abusing Daniel Hutchinson, Esqr., a member of this House; the other for affronting and assaulting the Serjeant at Arms."—*Commons' Journals*, vol. ii., p. 308. See also vol. i., pp. 494, 495, 500. Of the second baronet, archbishop King has the following notice in his *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, p. 53:—"He (Mr. Nugent, afterwards baron Riverstown) was assisted on the bench by sir Bryan O'Neill, a puny judge, a weak man that had nothing to recommend him but venom and zeal, being otherwise disabled both in his reason and body. Only he had the faculty to do what he was bid, especially when it suited with his own inveteracy against Englishmen and Protestants. This character may seem rigid, but as many as knew him will not think it exceeds." This sir Bryan and his brother Hugh, abovenamed, clung to the cause of James II., and thus lost all the lands that had remained to them from previous confiscations. See Burke's *Vicissitudes of Families*, first series, p. 156.

[33] *Capt. Hugh to Dwell.* — This was captain Hugh McGill, who, it would thus appear, resided for a time in Ballyhornan, a little distance southward from the old castle of Kilclief. "Hugh Savage, of Portaferry, Esqr., by deed of feoffment, dated 8th April, 1665, conveyed the lands of Ballyrussally and Ballygarvegan, with those of Ballyhindry, to James McGill of Ballyministragh, and William Houston of Carricknebres, subject to redemption on payment of 700l, and the interest, and at the yearly rent of 10s until such redemption; which mortgage was in trust for Hugh McGill of Ballyhornon, and Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagowan, Esqrs., 500l of the said 700l being McGill's money, and 200l Montgomery's; and by a deed of partition, dated 16th September, 1675, they made a division of the said lands; soon after which McGill died without issue, whereby his interest descended to the said James McGill, as his brother and heir, who took Ballyrussally and Ballygarvagan as his proportion, at 6s 8d rent, and Montgomery took Ballyhendry at 3s 4d; and the said James McGill's interest coming by assignments to Rowland Savage, of Ballygalget, he became attainted, whereby the said lands and mortgage money of 500l were vested in the trustees, which by this deed they sold to Charles Campbell, Esqr., of Dublin, on the 27th Feb., 1702, for 687l 2s 4½d, subject to redemption by Patrick Savage, of Portaferry, Esqr., heir to the said Hugh Savage, the mortgager."—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 384.

[34] *Florida lands.*—See p. 211, *supra*.

[35] *Major Bingley.*—This was Richard Bingley, who was high sheriff for Down in 1658, under the Protectorate. He was appointed a justice of the peace for the same county, under Charles II., on the 7th of March, 1663. Two brothers of this surname came to Ireland in the reign of James I., and became distinguished servants of the crown. The elder, John, was appointed comptroller of the musters and checks of the army, and the younger Ralph, served with distinction as a military officer. They were both honoured with the dignity of knighthood. See Morrin's *Calendar of Patent Rolls, reign of Charles I.*, pp. 136, 137, 146, 147, 372, 377, 396, 397.

by a speedy delivery of y^e^ Order, but also in going to all the Tennants w^th^ orders from y^e^ Sheriff, that they should come & pay him their Rent, The said Hu: Likewise persuading them to side w^th^ me; this being but an Introduction to my getting possession of the Lands: wh^ch^ I had bought with Debentures:[36] & that they sh^d^ disreguard Coll: Barrow's Agents, in whose hands they were to come no more; and his management had good effects, as I had expected from his Care and Fidelity therein, for, before the end of the s^d^ Month (as I remembered) I Sent down to him, another Order, for possession wherein y^e^ s^d^ Hughs other brother Cap^t^ Ja^s^ M^c^Gill assisted him, and the sheriff was friendly and quick, in giving them possession for my use. Thus I had the iron beaten whilst it was hott, because I had heard of Ol: Crom: sickness, and his death (which hapnd the 3^d^ of 7ber) came not to our knowledge a good while after, & so neither Sheriff nor y^e^ governors were superseaded till I recv^d^ atturnem^t^ and the s^d^ quarters Rent into my friends hand.[37]

After this Grand Affaire done, the said Hu: returned to me to Dublin, Where haveing seen Richard proclaimed Protector, & commotions a brewing; we came into this County, did our private business, made visits, went again to Dublin, stayd not long there, but returned home; and we parted not till K. Ch^s^ Restauration: before which I had Seized Rosemount house, and Quintinbay Castle, into my Possession.[38]

It was much about this time (as I think) the s^d^ Hu: desireing further Improvem^t^ and advancm^t^ that I willingly Resigned him into our late Visc^ts^ service.[39] I have guessed at the time of the s^d^ Hughs engagement & mine to one another.

And I must here note, that I doe not remember of any Sett time of our continueing together, or that any wages were conditioned for or demanded or given; So it seems Wee joyned hands for Better for worse, &c. Yet wee parted as afores^d^ (not as divorced couples A Mensa & Thoro) for misdemannors, or Dislikes on either sides (the Causes for which M^r^ Officiall makes his Separations) but Loveingly and with hearty wishes for one anothers Promotion. This One mark of my Respect to him comes now to my mind, (but I doe not mention it for any Vanity, or to boast, the gift being Smal) that I equipped him in new Clothes from the Shopp when he was leaving me (Hee being then also fitted by education) to be & appeare as our 3^d^ Visc^ts^ gentleman: and the s^d^ Hugh (some months thereafter) bestowed and sent to me a delicat Sorrel nagg (wh. I called the Rose) & there are still kind Giff Gaffs,[40] of one sort or other between us. And this I may further say, for us both, that wee doe (and always did) Love each other, never thwarting one the other for anything of our own Concerns (w^ch^ cannot now interfere) And Likewise I must Note, that his bosome female frend,[41] was ever Very acceptable Company to my better half, my dearest bed-fellow.

A^o^ 1660 it was that our Hu: (so I now take leave to call him, because Hee) came into better

[36] *Bought with Debentures.*—See this matter fully explained at pp. 208, 210, *supra.*

[37] *Into my friends hand.*—See pp. 221, *supra.*

[38] *Into my Possession.*—See pp. 221, 222, *supra.* These matters are still more particularly referred to by the author in his memoir of himself, *infra.*

[39] *Late Viscts service.*—The third viscount who died in 1663.

[40] *Giff gaffs.*—This phrase, which is still in use, is formed from the present and preterite tenses of the verb *gif* to give,—*gif* I give, *gaf* he gave, and is always employed to express mutual giving or obligation. The phrase is sometimes divided, as in the following sentence:—"In this world, I think that the *giffs* and the *gaffs* nearly balance one another; and when they do not, there is a moral defect in the failing side."—*Annals of the Parish*, p. 344, as quoted in Jamieson's *Etymol. Dictionary of the Scottish Language.*

[41] *Female friend.*—By this title the author designates Hugh Montgomery's future wife, Jane Hamilton.

hands than mine, viz. (as I said) into our 3d Viscts Service; wherein (besides his Preferrm[t] He attained to more Sorts of knowledge & to understand things at Court much better than he could in Ol[e] usurpation, when he was in my company. For our s[d] Visct had that affection and affiance for this our Hu: that (by Degrees) his Lo[p] put him in the stations following, viz. Imprimis he made him Gentl. (as I may term it) of his Bedchamber, to be first in the Morning, and Last at night therein (except y[e] Ladys waiting woman) to See his Lo[ps] wound seringed,[42] and to receave Orders, for in the Dressing Roome attended y[e] Valet du Chamber and y[e] Page. Item his L[p] made him privy Purs filler; and his Casheire & Paymaster to all his Serv[ts], Shoppkeepers, Sadlers, Harnass Makers, Tailors, etc.: and made him M[r] of his Escoury,[43] giveing him Authority over all his men Serv[ts], to Comand and Correct them, comitting the hireing and choice of them unto him also. Now in all this, who cannot but see the Love & Trust I spoke of (in the beginning of the last foregoing paragraph) couched under other words?

These kind Reguards and Likeings, now increased in his Lo[p] to our Hugh, on y[e] grounds following, viz[t]. first, our Hugh was (as others were) 2d Cosen to his Lo[p], by affinity afores[d]: next he had his name given him for his Lo[p], for the 2d Visct[s] Sake; there haveing been none of his Race (that I could Learn) of that name before himselfe, who was of y[e] S[r] name also.[44] But the chief motives w[ch] hightned the s[d] likeing to a Love, and to give him Large allowances for accidental expences; was our s[d] Hughs skill in chooseing and buying his Lo[ps] (saddle and coach) Horses and furniture: His care & conduct of the Stable, & makeing Provisions for the same: His honnest frugal yet Creditable dispursem[ts] therein: and in the Jorney his Lo[p] made (w[th] his Lady) to London,[45] Stay there, Return to Dublin, & aboade in it, & wherever his Lo[p] travelled, and his being carefull to have his Acc[ts] often revised, examined and found Just: wherein our s[d] Hughs Love and fidelity to his Lo[p's] service more & more appeared as they ought to be done, So that our Hugh was deservedly his Lords Favorit, whence he obtained the designation of my Lords Hugh, and so he was called by y[e] best Relations of his Lo[ps] family, as well as by y[e] dependants and Tenants thereof. Hee not haveing (as yett) laid out his money on Lands, from which to be so stiled as now he is, neither did I hear that his Lo[pp] (at his entry to his Service) conditioned for, or paid him any wages, but admitted himself & his serv[t] into his troop, duly free.

In all his Sunshine I am verily of opinion, that this our Lords Hugh (by which name I will write of him hereafter) made not any Hay to himself of his Lords grass. Hee having expectations enough to be gratified or raised by his Lords own hand (to which he looked) and so needed not to carve for himself, who in those dayes had aboundance at his will, but no wife or children to provide for, or to be covetous for their Sakes: besides these his considerations, his lawfull gatherings and layings up, might be hindered; in that he lived splendidly on the troop pay or allowances afores[d], and on the yearly products of his own money Stock, for his Lord's further credit (as he

[42] *Wound seringed.*—See pp. 152, 153, 241, *supra.*

[43] *Mr. of Escoury.*—See the meaning of this term explained at p. 358, *supra.*

[44] *Y[e] S[r] name also.*—In other words, the christian name Hugh was unknown among the Montgomerys settled in the north, near Munros, and was first introduced in that family when Hugh of Ballymagown was named for the second viscount.

[45] *Wth his Lady to London.*—This journey was undertaken immediately after the third viscount's *second* marriage, and when he was appointed by the house of lords to go as one of four commissioners to London. See p. 252, *supra.*

perchance, then thought) In so much that carrying great Sailes, and Steering his Course in the fair Weather, & gales of his Lord and ladys favor, and demeaning himself obligeingly and gentily in his converssation & haveing commendation for honest and Prudent Managements, I say under these circumstances, & the Prospect men had of his arriveing to a good harbour of Advancem^t, He was Coveted for an husband by divers women, who had good fortunes (& indeed both for personage, features & breeding he was gen^ly desireable of that Sex) for a match: and he might have had a very Rich one in London (as I have often credibly heard told and believed) but his dearest Lord was his best beloved, and he wold not leave him in that Citty, to Look after a new Serv^t, No not to gain a wife & much money too. And this was According to an Axiom he held (& w^ch I heard him maintaine by discours) that every Gentleman (especially Private ones) should have some Potent Personage of y^e Nobility (if of kinn the better) to bee his friend; to scarr men from Atempting Injurys, and unto whom he may resorte for protection, when wronged: And to take shelter under his Cover, in stormy times; it being necessary (sayd hee) and prudent also to conciliate (at least) the bon Graces of Great men, if they be good men and truely noble, otherwise to keep aloof from them.

I now come to the woefull Month of September 1663 wherein death parted our dearest Lord (the first Earle of Mount Alex^r) from us all: whose Hugh had been watchfully and carefully tender of his L^op in his Last great Sickness in Dublin & in his lethargy in the Contry, whereof he dyed[46] and expired in his Armes. So he enjoyed & deserved Still his s^d Title, and was respected for it, as I now come to recount.

Our Late Earle's Funerall (at w^ch, next before the Hers, walked the Defunct's Secretary, Dudley Loftus,[47] & on his right hand y^e s^d Lords late Hugh, in deep Mourning) being solemnly performed;[48] wee went with our new Earle to Dublin, & the s^d Hugh was received into y^e Kings troope of Guards, w^th great expectations of Preferment in y^e Army; being well known to y^e Duke of Orm^d and all his sonns, & household, who reguarded him as y^e late Earles Kinsman, and quondam Chief Servant.

But his Grace going into England, & Governo^re being changed, and the s^d Hu: getting no Suitable Post offered him: He quitt y^e Guards, and lived in our Contry, w^th his very good wife a near relation of Kindred to y^e Earle of Clanbrassil,[49] with whose Countess y^e s^d Hu: was acquainted, when his late Lord visited Mellifont, or sent him thither: and when She was in Dublin.[50]

This Hughs last martial employ was a Com^n from the Prince of Orange for being Cap^t of a foot Company, which he raised and Armed the best could be done in A^o 1688.

These last two lines were an interjection, and I must recurr to the Series of this Narration.

M^r James Montgomery afores^d his arrears of Pay as Chaplain[51] to the s^d Regim^t, and the s^d Samuels also as L^t to the said S^r James Montgomerys troop, for the time he served therein, being

[46] *Whereof he dyed.*—See p. 241, *supra.* His death took place at Dromore.

[47] *Dudley Loftus.*—See pp. 238, 252, *supra.*

[48] *Solemnly performed.*—See pp. 244, 253, *supra.*

[49] *Ye Earle of Clanbrassil.*—His wife's father, Hans Hamilton of Carnasure, was cousin to James, first earl of Clanbrassil; she was, therefore, nearly related to his son Henry, the then earl.

[50] *She was in Dublin.*—This lady was Alice Moore, daughter of Henry first earl of Drogheda, and niece of the third viscount Montgomery's first wife, Mary Moore.

[51] *As Chaplain.*—See notes 2, 13, 14, *supra.*

by me (out of my Love to the s[d] Hugh my fellow-traveller in the usurping times) on our Kings restauration, carefully gott Stated to advantage, as from first to Last of the Service; without trouble or cost to him, the s[d] Hugh joined the Debentures for the same, into the Lott of debt due to his wives unkle, Cap[t] William Hamilton of Erinagh,[52] for Satisfaction whereof, a lott of credit was drawn of Houses in Gallway, and lands within the mile line of y[e] River Shannon.[53] And then the s[d] Hugh was invited by his said unkle to manage the whole Lott for them both; and to have a good allowance for Agency, and y[e] worth of her Marriage Portion, joyned contiguous to the satisfaction of the s[d] Arrears of Pay,[54] and to have conveniencys for himself and his wife to live on, added thereunto, wh[ch] (for his encouragement to accept y[e] s[d] Invitation) should be his own.

But:

The s[d] Hu: desireing to be the 2[d] Earles Hugh (as he had been his fathers), and his wife (as I may presume) enclineing rather to be near her mother, brother, sister, unkle also,[55] and other kindred than a farr off among strangers, therefore y[e] s[d] Hu: came and told me the said offers that were made to him, for setling his Fortune in and about Gallway afores[d], but withall said he would first tender his Service to our Earle, and prayd me to know if his Lo[p] would employ him: I did propose the Matter with full frendship, because I thought him fitt to bee imployed, besides he deserved kindness at my hand.

Then about y[e] Latter end of A[o] 1667 (as I now think), the s[d] Hu: was made Receiver of the s Earles Rents[56] (the common people calling him the factor, as they doe such agents in Scotland), and afterwards he was Seneschall to all his Courts, upon Cap[t] John Mont.[57] (y[e] late Earles Cosen

[52] *Hamilton of Erinagh.*—William Hamilton of Erinagh, parish of Bright, in Lecale, was third son of John Hamilton of Tollimore, brother of James first viscount Clannaboy. Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 7. On the 17th of March 1658, James Shane of Mullagh, assigned to this captain William Hamilton the lands of Kiltaghlins, Marshalstown, Erenagh, and Carrowmaltagh, of which he (Hamilton) received a further grant from Wingfield, second earl of Ardglass. "Captain Hamilton, on acquiring these lands settled in Erenagh, in the house now occupied by Mrs. James Graham, at the Three Roads End, whence for the sake of distinction he was surnamed of that place. . . . Under the Act of Settlement, he obtained, 5th Feb., 1670, in equal shares with John Bush, a grant of 206a. 3r. 25p., of the two towns of Upper and Lower Ballydergan, the forfeited estate of John Dowdall, at a rent of £2 15s 10d, and having purchased Bush's interest, and from Alderman Hutchinson, the lands of Clonmagherey, Terela, Ballyplunt, Glovett, upper and lower Island-na-Muck, Island-boy, Clontabegg, 25 acres of Commons, with the lough called Inisloughcullin, late the estate of George Russell of Rathmullan, and also the lands of Munnicarragh, he, by letters patent 2nd March, 1676, obtained a grant of the entire, whereby they were erected into the manor of Hamilton's Hill, so named from the Windmill Hill in Ballydergan."—Hanna's *Account of the Parish of Bright* published in the *Downpatrick Recorder*.

[53] *y[e] river Shannon.*—For this lot, in which captain William Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery went together, the debentures of the former amounted to the sum of £5516 17s 9d, and those of the latter to the sum of £1382 2s 11d. To satisfy these debentures, they were assigned houses and lands in Galway, Clare, Dublin, Meath, and Longford, the denominational names of which possessions are printed at pp. 165, 166, of vol. iii. *Irish Records Reports.* See also page 303. The 1649 officers had assigned to them all the lands in the county of Clare and in the province of Connaught to within a mile of the sea and the river Shannon.

[54] *Arrears of pay.*—In other words, the lands assigned to Hugh Montgomery as his wife's marriage portion adjoined those which he himself had obtained for his debentures.

[55] *Uncle also.*—Her mother, brother, and sister resided at Carnasure in the vicinity of Comber. Her mother was a daughter of David Kennedy of Killarne. After the death of her first husband, Hans Hamilton, she married a gentleman named Savage. Mrs. Montgomery had three brothers, but William, the eldest, who inherited the family property at Carnasure, is probably the one here referred to by the author. She had also three sisters, viz., Anna, Ursula, and Matilda. Two were married, and one lived at Carnasure. The unmarried sister is probably referred to in the text. Her uncle resided at Erinagh, as above-mentioned.—Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol., iii., pp. 7, 8.

[56] *Said Earle's Rents.*—This was the fourth viscount and second earl.

[57] *Capt. John Montgomery.*—This officer was second son of the hon. George Montgomery, and a cousin once removed to the first earl. See p. 151, *supra*.

German) his waveing to accept that office, and his speaking to his Lo^p^ in favor of the s^d^ Hugh; whom I believe to have been Just in his acc^ts^, though I was not put to Audite them; but I have the foot of one of them which I think faire, and have not heard him taxed to the Contrary which his maligners would not have omitted had there been Umbrage for it.

The s^d^ Hu: (now twice or thrice dipt to be called my L^d^s Hugh again) was diligent in y^e^ Sonns, as he had been in the fathers bussiness, as every looker on might see.

I will mention one Material Instance thereof; for he came to me A° 1669 at Rosem and brought a Letter from his Lord (wh^ch^ I have) praying me to Superseade our Sheriff, M W^m^ Waring, who had entered his Lo^p's^ Lands to levy Subsidys and Crown Rents, suffered (for about 4 or 5 years before then) to runn in Arreare, this was in his Lo^p^ minority, out of which he was not gone till above two years after this time.

I was much perswaded by y^e^ s^d^ Lo^r^ Hu: to write and signe the s^d^ Supersedeas, and to committ thes ame to his Speedy Management; wh^ch^ wold putt off the present great mischief that was comming on his Lo^p's^ tennants by y^e^ s^d^ Sheriffs Gen^l^ distrainning them.

Hee was importunate for his Lord's Concern, tho I shewed my grounds of fear, that I should be left in y^e^ sudds, by reason of his Lop's minority, but I dreaded most to be imposed upon by ou^r^ neighbour Earle, when I should be charged to Leavy his Lo^p's^ like Arrears, wh^ch^ at this time was put off by my said Supersedias: I was much swayd by my Lord's Hugh's Earnestness, but compassion mooved me most, to prevent that imminent Storm from falling on y^e^ Earle's tennants, because these poore Sheepe paid their fleeces, and what had they done to incurr the Slashes of an Exchequer Sword.[58]

My Lord's Hugh lived those yeares at Cuningburn[59] and in Newtoun, till much about y^e^ time (if I remember aright) that our Earle was 21 yeares of Age, viz., A^n^ 1671,[60] and then his Lo^p^ appointing Com^rs^ for the affaires of his Estate and debts, the s^d^ Hugh, tho nominated one of them, would not be concerned therein,[61] because that clashing against him might arise from Cap^tn^ H. M.[62] and his nephew H. C.[63] (likewise named one Com^r^) for their horses had stood in Severall Stables before this time.[64] Therefore he came to live at Ballymagown,[65] where he built and planted, as

[58] *Exchequer Sword.*—A supersedeas, in law, is a writ whose purpose is to supersede proceedings in an action. Hugh Montgomery, in the case here mentioned, evidently urged the author for a supersedeas, although no writ had been taken out expressly for the occasion. This remedy is occasionally applied, on good cause shown, in actions which, otherwise, ought to proceed. The circumstances to which the author here refers were probably such as to justify this application of the supersedeas without delay. William Montgomery was asked to act probably in virtue of his office as *Custos Rotulorum.*

[59] *At Cunningburn.*—The lands of Cunningburn, with those of Templechrone, Ballyblack, and Ballywaticock, were sold by the second earl to sir Robert Colville, for £3,000, on the 26th of November, 1675. Cunningburn is between Newtownards and the present Mountstewart house, on the side of Strangford lough. See p. 268, note 35, *supra.*

[60] *Ao* 1671.—In the following year, 1672, the youthful second earl married his first wife. See p. 266, *supra.*

[61] *Concerned therein.*—Probably William Shaw was appointed a commissioner, on Hugh Montgomery's refusal to act. See pp. 265–267, *supra.*

[62] *Captn. H. M.*—This gentleman was Hugh of Ballylessan.

[63] *Nephew H. C.*—H. C. was Hugh Campbell. See pp. 265–267, *supra.* His mother was a daughter of John Shaw of Greenock.

[64] *Before this time.*—This is a proverbial saying, meaning in this instance that the gentlemen referred to were of different political sentiments, or at least had belonged to different political parties. Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagowan appears to have been always a royalist, whilst Hugh of Ballylessan, and Hugh of Gransheogh, had served in the armies of the Commonwealth.

[65] *Ballymagown.*—This place was afterwards and is still known as *Springvale.* The Rev. Hans Montgomery,

you now See: his Purchase thereof haveing been made formerly, wherein he gratifyd y^e^ possessor by 100£ for his consent: as he did gain the good will of another person in his Purchase of Bally Limp,[66] and in other concerns wh^ch^ he hath in fee farm paying Small cheifry to his wives kindred, S Robert Hamilton[67] and his son, Mr. Hans,[68] who by his mother is heir of S^r^ Hans Hamilton,[69] Baronet, as to his Lands tho not to his title of Honor at that time.

It is now seasonable to speak of his wife and their Children (the pretty modells of themselves) tho but briefly, and then of his parts and enjoym^ts^, concluding with some remarks, which some may say are Superfluous, (because he is well known and trusted), but what is that to me? who intend the Satisfaction of those Montgomerys that Live afarr off in other countys,[70] seldom (if ever) meeting, thereby knowing much less than wee his neighbours doo, besides this, I would have mine and neighbours posterity know him as I have done.

Therefore be it known that this our Lords Hu: his very good wife died before our troubles, which came on us in A^o^ 1688,[71] God takeing her from the ensueing Evils, her body is interred (with some of her children near it) in his burying place, about the pulpit in Gray abby church, to the new roofeing whereof himself contributed very cheerfully the sum of five pounds Sterling money.

Their issue liveing are first M^r^ Hans Montgomery the eldest, a good Preacher (as his Grandfather M^r^ James was) Hee is Parson of Killinshee, Vicar of Ballywalter, and Curate of Grayabby Parishes; and hath them well Served: his residence (being hitherto unmarryd) is at Ballymagown with his father, and his Ministration of God's word and Sacram^ts^ is at gray abby and Ballywalter by turns [72]

who succeeded to this property on the death of his father, Hugh, in 1707, is described on the tombstone in Greyabbey as of *Springvale*. He died in 1726, so that the place had received its present name prior to that date.

[66] *Bally Limp.*—A townland in the parish of Ballywalter, and barony of Upper Ards.

[67] *Sir Robert Hamilton.*—Of Mounthamilton, county of Armagh. Sir Robert married Sarah, only daughter and heir of sir Hans Hamilton, of Monella and Hamilton's Bawn, county of Armagh. Sir Robert was created a baronet in 1682.

[68] *Mr. Hans.*—This son died in 1739, and with him the second baronetcy became extinct.

[69] *Sir Hans Hamilton.*—This sir Hans, father-in-law of sir Robert, and grandfather of "Mr. Hans" abovenamed, was himself a nephew of the first viscount Clannaboye. Sir Hans died in 1681, his estates passing to his son-in-law, sir Robert, father of "Mr. Hans."—Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies.*

[70] *In other countys.*—His father's family had settled in the north of Scotland, where many members thereof probably resided at the time this memoir was written.

[71] *In A^o^* 1688.—The inscription on the tombstone in Greyabbey stated that she died on the 22nd of July, 1689. The following is the inscription:—

"HERE LYET YE BODY OF HUGH
MONTGOMERY OF BALLYMAGOUN
ESQR. AGED 72, & DEPARTED THIS
LIFE THE 31st OF OCTR. 1707, AND HAD
ISSUE SIX SONS AND SIX DAUGHTERS,
VIZ. HANS, HUGH, HAMILTON, JAMES,
SAMUEL, VERE, ELIZABETH, CATHERINE,
JANE ELINOR, ALICE, AND CHRISTIAN.
HERE LYETH YE BODY OF
JANE HAMILTON WIFE TO HUGH
MONGOMERY, AGED 37, WHO
DEPARTED THIS LIFE YE 22 OF
JULY, 1689.
HERE LYETH YE BODY OF YE REVD.
HANS MONTGOMERY OF SPRING
VLE ELDEST SON OF HUGH MONT
GOMERY, WHO DEPARTED THIS
LIFE YE 27th OF NOVEMBER, 1726, AGED
58, & HAD ISSUE BY ELIZABETH TOWNLEY
HIS WIFE, FOURE DAUGHRS,
MARY, LUCY, JANE, AND ALICE."

[72] *Ballywalter by turns.*—This Rev. Hans Montgomery was ordained a priest in March, 1691. In October, 1709, he married Elizabeth, sister to Harry Townley Balfour, esq., of Piedmont, county of Louth. By her he left four daughters, viz.—Mary, married to Nicholas Ford; Lucy, married to alderman Harman, of Drogheda; Jane; and Alice, married to Allan Bellingham of Castlebellingham.—Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol iii., p. 8, *note*. The inscription on the family tombstone in Greyabbey states that he was 58 years of age at the time of his death, November, 1726. On a tablet in Castlebellingham church is the following inscription:—

Underneath the Chancel are
deposited the remains of
Alan Bellingham, Esqre., of
Castle Bellingham, who died the 19th
June, 1796, aged 87;
Also, the remains of Alice
Bellingham, wife to the above, and
one of the daughters and co-heiresses
of the Rev. Hans Montgomery, of
Springvale and Grey Abbey, Co.
Down, who died on the 6th of
December, 1785, aged 68 years.

Then is Elizabeth, wife of Cap[n] Johnston,[73] commander of a foot Company in the Standing Army in Ireland, this gen[tl] raised himself to this post by his Services in Flanders, to which he & his company is now A°. 1710 remanded, with whom his tender said wife is gone, Ledd by the intireness and perfection of congugall Matrimoniall Love.

Also Hugh, a propper tall Gen[tl], who served in y[e] Army dureing the warr ag[t] y[e] Ireish, and then in the Duke of Ormonds troop of horse Guards in Flanders and Engl[d] : Hee is a well bred grave man, of good Reading and discours, free he is of all Camp or guarison Vices, his father at first sent him to Sea & he was twice in America, and is now with the said Guards to push his fortune away beyond our seas. He is now (A° 1702 in May) marryed to a Frenchman's widdow, a good fortune to him.

Next is Hamilton Montgomery, he served in Co[l] Russells[74] troop who had a love & care for him, he being young, makeing him Comrade to his son of like age, and that Regim[t] being broke, he as an Ensigne & is now a Lieu[t] to foot; he is by his Aspect and voice more like a soldier of Venus than Mars (tho fitt for both their camps). He is not above two years marryed to M[rs] Grace Ronane[75] Eldest daughter of a Gen[tl] of good extraction, and hath a good portion, her unkle en-

In describing Hans Montgomery as *of Greyabbey*, the writer of the foregoing inscription must have meant that he (Hans) had been curate of that place

[73] *Captn. Johnston.*—For a notice of various members of the Johnston family, see p. 54, note 33; pp. 134, 135, note, *supra*. The captain Johnston mentioned in the text was probably the founder of the Gilford branch. Sir William Johnston, of Gilford, who died in 1722, married Nicholia, daughter of sir Nicholas Acheson, by whom he left a family of four sons and a daughter. His eldest son, Richard Johnston, esq., succeeded to the family property, and was created a baronet of Ireland on the 27th of July, 1772. He married Anne, daughter of William Alexander, esq., by whom he had issue one son, William, and two daughters, Mary Anne and Catherine. His son, sir William, died unmarried, in the year 1841, and the title became extinct. See Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*.

[74] *Col. Russell.*—This was most probably colonel Theodosius Russell, whose name is returned as a claimant against the forfeited estates of the earl of Clanrickard, John Burke called lord Bophin, Peter Martin, Walter Burke, Bart. Russell, David Magee, David Power, and John Power. See *List of Claims, &c.*, pp. 268–270. "In the year 1700 the lands of the Irish adherents of James II., were sold by public auction, or 'cant,' at Chichester house. From these forfeitures, amounting to upwards of one million of acres, large grants had been made by William III. to the foreign officers who had served under him in the Irish wars. An act of resumption, however, replaced these lands in the hands of the English parliament; and when sold, they were so much deteriorated in value, by embezzlement and malversation, that the sum they produced was comparatively small; the greater part of the estates of the Irish Jacobites, instead of having been applied to reduce the heavy expenses of the Williamite wars, thus served to aggrandize and enrich a number of adventurers. The claims of the various parties interested in these estates began to be heard by the trustees, in September, 1700; and the sittings concluded in 1702. The particulars of these proceedings are preserved in a large volume of 363 pages, printed in 1701, and entitled *A List of the Claims as they are entred with the Trustees at Chichester House on College Green, Dublin, on or before the 10th of August*, 1700. During the latter part of the period appointed for the registry of the claims the crowds attending at Chichester house were very great, and on one day upwards of 300 petitions were presented. The sales terminated on 23rd June, 1703. The auction bill was printed on large sheets of paper, under the following heads:—'Late proprietors' names, and nature of their estates; denominations; number of acres, Irish Measure; yearly rents, 1702; real value per annum; neat value to be set at; tenants' names; quality of the land, &c.; estate or interest, claimed or allowed.' A collection of these bills, containing the names of the purchasers, and the amounts realized by each lot, was made by the late Austin Cooper, and bound in a large volume with the following title:—*A Book of Postings and sale of the forfeited and other estates in Ireland*, vested in the Honourable Sir Cyril Wich, Knt., Francis Annesley, Esq., James Hamilton, Esq., John Baggs, Esq., John Trenchard, Esq., John Isham, Esq., Henry Langford, Esq., James Hooper, Esq., John Carey, Gent., Sir Henry Shere, Knt., Thomas Harrison, Esq., William Fellowes, Esq., Thomas Rowlins, Esq., Trustees, nominated and appointed by act of parliament made in England in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of King William the Third, intituled *An Act for granting an aid to his Majesty by the sale of the forfeited and other Estates and Interests in Ireland, and by a Land Tax in England, for the several purposes therein mentioned.*—Gilbert, *History of the City of Dublin*, vol. iii., pp. 68, 69.

[75] *Grace Ronane.*—The name of this lady's father was James Ronaine, whose estate, in the county of Cork, was inherited by his brother, his daughters, Grace, Anastace, Elizabeth, and Margaret, receiving dowries therefrom. Grace, the eldest, who became the wife of Hamilton Montgomery, received £400, Anastace or Anastasia, £300,

joying ye estate, & hath encreased the number of the Montgomerys, and hath reconcilled and reduced his wife with her mother and sister to the Protestant Church Established by Law.

Then is Katherin marryed to Mr Barnard Brett[76] of Ballynewport in Lecahill, both the said named Sisters are good wives, and have kind husbands (which is a sign of wives complacency) their father consenting to their Wedlocks, and giveing his blessing to them.

James is the 4th son, a pregnant witty schollar, this yeore 1701 is his 4th in the University at Dublin.

Jean the 3d Daughter resembles her mother. She is discreet and marriageable.

Samuel, ye 5th son hath been kept severall years abroad at ye Latin school, he may be a merchant, to which mistery haveing prepared himself by learning Arithmetick (as he has done a fair hand in writeing) he is now entered an apprentise, and if he chance to be infortunate in those Arts he will make a stout Soldier[77] (the males all resembling their father in Courage), to which he is more inclined than to study for a Bishoprick.

Eleanor, the youngest of them, is comely (as they all are) and well: she is entered into her teens and no doubt will be Looked for.

In short they are all well Conditioned, and dutyfully humble and observant towards their father, lovers of their Relations, and courteous to others.

and the others, £200 each. These portions were claimed under a deed of settlement, dated the 27th of April, 1680, made by James Ronaine, pursuant to marriage articles, dated the 15th of July, 1678, with Richard Donovane, James Sarsfield, John Swiny, and Owen Callaghane.—*List of the Claims as they are entred with the Trustees at Chichester House, &c.*, p. 10. Grace Ronayne's father, though of "good extraction," appears to have been reduced in means, which arose no doubt from the forfeiture of his estate. The following letter, probably written by him, and the accompanying list of plate, furnish melancholy evidence of the decay of a once comfortable family:—

"MADAM.—There hapned a difference betwixt yr husband and mee about a small heire loome or Crosse belonging to my ffamily the same with other things belonging to yr father came to yr husbands hands, yr father by sev'rall letters wch I have to produce ordred mee to demand my sd Crosse of yr husband wch when I have done he submissively tould mee I should have the same & the contrary fell out, the passage weare tedius heere to bee related, but in fine hed wrongfully detaynes my Crosse and tells mee I shall not have it but by due course of law playing uppon my p'sent weake condition, a thing not becoming an honest gentleman to doe, yr ffather alleages that the Crosse *was pawned* to him for thirty shillings wch I would pay to yr husband upon receit of my Crosse for soe yr ffather ordered it. I offered yr husband a hundred pounds security in p.sence of Alda. Hannan yr brother Laker and Mr. Laurence St. Laurence to save him harmlesse from his ffather in their difference wch he refused. This acct. I give yu that yu may nott for the future forgett it, and excuse the trouble given yu herein by madam, yr Servt.,

"JAMES RONAYNE.

"An Inventory of Plate & Gould which I suppose is what plate my father left & my mother now has. March ye 25th 1717.

"One large silvr tankard, one small silvr tankard, one small silvr Skillott, 3 Kastards, 10 Spoones, one large Sauce Spoone, one tumbler, 3 Salts, one dram cup large, one cup of mothr of pearl, 7 plaine rings, 2 wth stones in im, one without a stone, 4 ps (pins) Gould bended, one pr of Gould buttons (taken up to be worn), one long gould chain, one wth a stone, one large Silver Crosse, 2 pr of bobbs, one plain ring, one weare, 2 my wife weares, one dyned to the turkey stone, do. broaken plate, 4 peecs of old plate guilted, 12 nsker buttons, 6 broakn Spoones, 2 big and 4 little, one fork, one old dram cupp, 8 dozen and 4 silver buttons, 2 small whissel, one bitt of a broakn dram cupp & a bottle top screwe, 115 peeces of old coine, one large buckle, one silvr ring, 2 tumblers, one large sugar box, one dram cupp round tumbler like, one salt good, 3 do. bad."—*Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. i., new series, pp. 168, 169.

[76] *Mr. Barnard Brett.*—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 8, *note*, describes this gentleman as captain Bernard Brett, of Ballynewbrett in Lecale. "Under the act of settlement, Ballystrew was allotted to William Brett of Saul, and afterwards of Ballynewport; but the widow of Patrick Russell, to whom the lands had belonged, is said to have gone to London, and to have so represented her case to Charles II., that the grant to Brett was abrogated and the lands returned to the Russells. Among those attainted in the county of Down by king James's parliament, in 1689, were William Brett of Ballynewport, and his two sons Jasper and Bernard. The elder, Jasper, was a clergyman, and, in 1700, married Mary, daughter of the Very Rev. John McNeale, dean of Down, and vicar of Rathmullan. In 1707, the Rev. Jasper Brett was appointed prebendary of Rasharkin, county of Antrim, and, in 1731, was collated to the chancellorship of Connor. In 1720, he was appointed vicar of Rathmullan, and in the following year, he published an *Essay against Smuggling*. The Mr. Brett died in 1736. His younger brother, Bernard, or captain Bernard, who married Katherin Montgomery, resided in the mansion house of Erinagh, from the year 1680."—Hanna's *Account of the Parishes of Killeagh and Bright*, in the *Downpatrick Recorder*.

[77] *A stout soldier.*—It would appear that although Samuel was originally prepared for mercantile pursuits, he ultimately devoted himself to the military profession. He died in 1715, and is described in the *Register of Mortcloths* (see p. 185, note 39, *supra*), kept by the first congregation of Belfast as "Capt. Sam: Montgomery of Spring: Vaille." At his funeral, "7 Clockes at 3s per

The fruitfull Mother of them all was Mrs. Jean Hamilton, eldest sister of James of Carnesure, Esq^r (a well spoken man) hee had a good estate wh^ch is now faln to his young (only) daughter, to whom (if she dy without children) the s^d Lords Hughs eldest Son & M^r George Ross his heire (the offspring of the s^d Esq^rs other Sister) will succeed as next of Kinn.[78]

The Said Mother was an Excellent wife & housekeeper, not loseing (by neglect) any profit wh^ch y^e Garden, Dairy, or Flock yeelded (and the product was Valuable) more than served her plentyfull household & table.

She brought a considerable marriage Portion (called togher good in Scotland[79]) and managed her Matters with discretion. Shee was of a cheerfull humor, and sometimes in joak of her many children (most of wh^ch were young when she dyed) said they were her small profitts: on which occasion, I once told her that they were all perquisits of matrimony (wh^ch she had contracted) and belonged to her, as her own Act and deed; that they were of God's sending as his blessings; & in time would be beneficiall Servants to her.

Her husband (as I heard said) converted her from attending her mother to the Presbiterian Meetings[80] (for she lived after marriage severall months with her) when himself was in the Guards at Dublin under the hopefull expectation afores^d) to be a constant conformist to our true Protestant Church established by Law (as well as her children are) An happy man was he in that, and her, with whom & them I have often communicated at our Lords holy Table. She was sincerely Pious and bred her children to fear God, & Reverence their father, and Shewed them good examples of Industry; not Suffering them to be idle, yet still to go neat in their apparal: 'twas admirable to see with what gravity and attention her youngest girls sat in church (to wh^ch shee took them in her Cullosh,[81] herself driving the same exactly well,) so they could make no excuse to stay at home, for she had them all Still in good Order, chiefly on the Lords day; as if they had been dressed to go to a Wedding, as brides maids, or to a christning as Partners.

Haveing thus touched upon mother and children, I will not yett pass by himself (my fellow traveller, kinsman, & friend) in Silence but will not say many things of him, lest I be esteemed too fond or a Partial Panegyrick.

Clocke" were hired from the congregation "pr. Mr. Jno. Young senor," and paid for on the 23rd July, 1715.

[78] *Next of Kinn.*—James Hamilton of Carnasure married Christian, daughter of James Hamilton of Tollimore, and died in 1691, his wife following the year after. They had a family of three daughters, two of whom died before their parents, and the youngest, Margaret, (born soon after her father's decease), was married to John Cuffe, afterwards created lord Desart, in 1707.

[79] *Togher good in Scotland.*—This phrase denotes the dowry brought by a wife to her husband. The following illustrations are given in Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*:—"Peace wes reborat with the Danys in this sort. King Charlis douchtir Shee salbe giuen in mariage to Rolland.—And Rolland with all the Danis sall ressaue the Cristin faith, and in the name of *touchquhare* sall haue all thai landis whilk wer namit afore Newstria."—Bellenden's *Chronicle*, Book X., c. 22. "King James III., being of the age of twanty years, taketh to wife Margaret the King of Norroway's daughter, and got with her in *tocher-good* the lands of Orkney and Shetland, with all right, and title of right to them, pertaining to the King of Norroway at that time."—Pitscottie, *Chronicle*, p. 72. "The first was married upon Sir William Crighton, heir to the said Lord Crighton foresaid, and got with her the land of Frendraught in *tocher*.—*Ibid.* p. 26.

[80] *Presbyterian Meeting.*—Her mother's name was Mary Kennedy, a good presbyterian name in those days.

[81] *Her Cullosh.*—The more usual forms of this word were *calash* and *caleche*, meaning a carriage similar in shape to the present *chaise*. John Locke, in a letter to his friend, Anthony Collins, says—"I endeavour to make the best use I can of everything; and therefore, though I am in despair to be wiser for these learned instructions, yet I hope I shall be the merrier for them, when you and I take the air in the *calash* together." In a letter to Jacob Tonson, the poet Dryden says—"I intend to come up at least a week before Michaelmas, for Sir Matthew is

First then, as to his outward parts, his stature is of a middle proportion; His Complexion Ruddy, and his Skin white; His Nerves Strong and Agile (considering his Age, which is past his Grand Climacterick.[82] He wears no wigg, his Haire is mous-colored, the intermingling white ones not being near equall to y^e^ Rest. His countenance is Spritely and cheerfull, yet can weare a frown when needfull: his eyes quick gray & piercing; his body and Limbs Shapely, and he wears his habits neately, wh^ch^ are not cours but plain: he is early in going to bed and up rising from it, his hours not being so late as tenn for the one, nor after Six for the other: his temperam^t^ is a Right Sanguine, Seasoned with Choller, yet his body (now in its declining state) is subject to Rheumatisms and the grievous Gout. as to his Mind (so far as an Estimate may be made thereof from his Actions, and the tree is best known by y^e^ fruits) it is Generous as his Circumstances will permitt, which have not brought him into any debt. It is a lover of Gentile and civil company which it will cherish mostly in his own house, in wh^ch^ it delighteth to keep neat rooms & a Constant orderly able, and well stored Sellers. So that a gentleman coming before, or after meale time, never or Seldom, can miss of Souced or other cold meat: & for y^e^ bread, butter, cheese, and good liquor, they are always at hand with an hearty wellcom to Gentlemen; and hospitality to the needy. His mind is not a wanderer or astray, but is fixed to becoming Principles. It abhors durty or mean things, or ways; It cannot endure to hear of any honest civil Gentlemans being traduced, or slighted for his Age or Poverty, for he thinks no man (tho rich in money or lands) to be a gentle without honesty & curtesy: It stirrs up his indignation to censure (above board) any wrongs done, and will not lett him spare to tell the faulty person thereof, when they next meet (if the matter be worth an home reproof) but will not give it in his own house; thus he prevents his words from being mis reported and shows a friendship and an Ardor becoming a Gentleman. Its love, where Setled or promised) is dureable, and shows itself in good effects, whereof his Advices given (when desired) and sometimes (if need be) unasked, are not y^e^ least obligeing proofs of it. It ever had a compassionate pitty for indigent boys, that were towardly willing to serve a gentleman honestly, especially if they were born of Gentile parents. I will name but one of many he hath preferred, by his recommendation. Hee is John Franks,[83] whose father was Provest Martiall in Tangier, and his Mother a Sutler there; the boy knew not well where to gett meat, or Lodging in Dublin, but by pence he gained in Singing ballads, or witty songs: him he got to our young Earle's Service, for a diversion to his Lo^pps^ Melancholy, and he did thrive so well therein that he was rich and well marryed to a fair gentlewoman with a fortune before he left it.

He hath trained up all his children Vertuously, continuing (as their mother did) to instruct them in their Agenda, in which he hath not failed to infuse the dutys of the fifth command wh^ch^ hath the motive (St. Paul calls it promise) Annexed; and he hath Suitable observances rendered him

gone abroad, I suspect a-wooing, and his *caleche* is gone with him."—Richardson's *English Dictionary*. The islandic word *kialke*, or *kalke*, denotes a dray or sledge, and the Gaelic word *Calchen*, derived from it, means a square frame of wood with ribs across it, used by the Scotch for drying purposes.—Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary*.

[82] *Grand Climacterick.*—See p. 74, *supra*.

[83] *John Franks.*—Nothing is stated farther in the narrative to give us a knowledge of this gentleman's family. He is one of the witnesses to the release given by the author to the second earl of Mount-Alexander, for the payment of his (the author's) wife's dowry. See p. 290, note 5, *supra*

when other (Remiss or too Indulgent) Parents, have their sons and daughters great crosses and disgraces to them, for want of this Care. And yet he is not Severe to grieve them, or to let them want Education and decent Apparell, and fitting Liberty of visiting their kindred.

He keeps a Just and requisite hand over his Servants also, which makes them obedient, watchfull, and dutifull, and so to like him, that I know not of any that left his Service till death or wedlock parted them.

In a word I doe not see a more orderly regular household any where; without cursing swearing, obscenity, Gameing, and debauchery, every one being industrious, and yet without noise.

Good useage and Awe; makes hors his plow draw.

And he so began with theeves and tresspassers, that ever Since the rush bush keeps his Grass and Cattle safely.

When the children were very young (and therefore wittless yet) they were not heard or seen to Ramble or make a stirr, in so much that the Guests thought they were put out of the house, would aske where they were kept, they were still made ready for appearance before they were called for.

I have heard him say concerning Children's clandestine marriages to this purpose, that they were fools to conceale their fixed resolutions from their Parents, who Surely would make the best bargains for them: And for his own part toward them, as he wold straine and bind them (not by any Severitys) to accept his choice for them; So (for the love sake he had to their mother) he would not altogether deny his consent to y^e^ Matches they made for themselves, if tollerably Reasonable; altho' he could not give his approbation nor the full kindness, Portion he intended, had they asked his Council and concurrence.

He had often observed the Mischiefs of Suffering such breaches of Duty to goe unpunished, and knew of y^e^ miserys attending such precipitations, in a leape wh^ch^ many times is made but once in ones life.

He was not to learn that Ladds loves and Lasses Likeings wanted solid foundations, and Strong Cement to make Congugal affections durable, and that the Honeymonth would soon be over, when both, or either of y^e^ marryed Partys condition of liveing changed to y^e^ wors, or became less Splendid than it was formerly: giveing thus occasions enough to Repent at Leizure their Rash inconsiderate Haste & Follie, for which easy or speedy Pardons and Reconciliations were not to be expected nor must be given.

Therefore hee seeing some late examples in nighbouring and Related familys; Hee did openly and smartly (on occasion discoursing thereof) display the undutyfulness and imprudence of such Practises, expressing his high Detestation and Anger ag^t^ them yet without threatenings, condemning the fault *in Thesi*, onely, as not haveing grounds (wh^ch^ I hope he never shall have) to feare the like from any of his own well-educated offspring: for (as he used to say) Manners makes the man.

His Skill in Husbandry is seen to Excell his neighbours (even those whose trade it is and Livelyhood) and he Cultivates his mind (whereof I have spoken in part) by reading good classical authors, in Divinity and History; haveing studied all sorts of mankind formerly, as he yet doth new acquaintances (whereof he is not fond), which exercises are (for the most part) the Recreations

for his whole compositum or Person, to which may be added his Reception of Visitants which recurrs frequently.

I cannot wholly pass by the Lords Hughs past and present Enjoym^ts. I will only mention a few of the best of them.

Imprimis (besides his obedient offspring, etc. before expressed) Hee had a triple Love for him, or was beloved of Three persons, y^e chiefest in y^e Montgomery family of the Great Ardes: viz. the first and 2^d Earles, and of myself. He was loved also of y^e Viscountess Dowager,[84] and of Cap^t Geo. (their Lo^ps unkl) and his Sonns: Especially he was affected by Cap^tn John afores^d y^e younger deceased; as he is still by the elder (called Ballylessan[85]), and his Son Hercules his heire, and by my Son also, and hath the Respects of the Earle and his brother, and that family as he hath of his nighbours, and of their acquaintances near & farr off. I said that this Earle was with him at Ballymagowne, the day after the defeat at Drumore,[86] and hath seen him three divers times Since then.

Among all whom (unless I should put in a by for myself) I cannot Equall any of their loves for him unto that of his first and dearest Lords (whose memory he almost Idolizes, giveing his Lo^p preference in his esteem Clerical Laick, if words praises can confer that honor), for;—

His s^d L^d (I really think it) had more affection for this his Hugh than for all the three Cap^t Hughs viz: Shaw, Montgomery, M^cGill, tho he had advanced them in more lucrative stationary employm^t, but this Hughs promotion was hindered by y^e death of his Lo^p: who (I doubt it not) entirely affected him: otherwise his Lo^p had not excused and forgiven some of his errors (No young man wanting them altogether) nor had not owned and Supported him ag^t the envyous Intrigues wh^ch were contrived and sett on foot to disgrace and discard him, by Some persons, both within & without doors of his Lo^ps houshold.

This Hugh also enjoys this good fortune, that he is not Ey Sore to any of our family or others by his Present Possessions and Acquests: Seeing he hath made his Purchases among the Hamiltons, his wives said kindred, Fairley (as must be confessed) for he always had and still retains the Love and Respects of them all; he not taking any Part or Sideing in their differences.[87] Neither hath he

[84] *Viscountess Dowager.*—Catherine Jones, wife of the first earl. See p. 250, note 55, *supra.*

[85] *Called Ballylessan.*—Captain the hon. George Montgomery's elder son Hugh was so called from having got possession of that house prior to his father's death.

[86] *Near Drumore.*—See p. 241, *supra.*

[87] *In their differences.*—These "differences" among the Hamiltons, which became quite notorious at the time, arose from a cause very likely to produce such bitter results. The first earl of Clanbrassil (of the first creation) by his will dated 18th June, 1659, directed that in case of failure of his sons, his estates were to be divided into five equal parts among the eldest sons or issue male of his five uncles, as the lands could be laid out in equal and just divisions. His son Henry, the second earl of Clanbrassil, who had married Alice Moore, daughter of Henry, the first earl of Drogheda, died on the 12th of January, 1675, without issue, leaving his real estates to his widow, the countess Alice and her heirs, thus altogether ignoring the devise in his father's will abovementioned. On the death of the countess Alice, her brother Henry, the third earl of Drogheda, became seized of the estates, excepting the Killyleagh portion, which had been settled on the dowager countess of Clanbrassil, then married to sir Robert Maxwell. Sir Hans Hamilton and James Hamilton of Bangor commenced several lawsuits on behalf of themselves and others, as representatives of the five uncles, and claimed under the will of the first earl of Clanbrassil. The earl of Drogheda was quickly brought to compromise the matter with these numerous and powerful claimants, and by deeds of the 17th and 18th of January, 1679–80, granted his interest in the estates to sir Hans Hamilton and James of Bangor. Disputes then arose between these and the other claimants, but eventually, in 1696, the Clanbrassil lands were divided into five proportions, for which the several claimants cast lots. By the articles of partition, it was arranged that the several parties should hold their respective proportions as manors distinct in themselves. See Hanna's *Account of the parish of Inch*, in the *Downpatrick Recorder.*

had Law Suites ag^{t} him, nor hath he moved Suites ag^{t} men, but lived without giveing or receiving disturbances, worth the while to be named. So that now it may be inferred from y^{e} premises alone, without help of what may be further said of him) that this Hugh had enjoyed been M^{r} of a considerable stock of Humane Prudence, wh^{ch} is another happy enjoyment^{t} or possession.

It is needless therefore, and because he is of Age and able (by his Actions) to speak for himself, as it is Superfluous, to recount & to tell y^{e} Readers of his, the s$_{d}$ Hughs Orchards, Warrens, Dove Coate, and his other buildings wh^{ch} are obvious to all Passengers.[88]

On these contemplations I am withdrawing my Pen, leaving all other things needful to be incerted in this Hughs fuller History and character by his S^{d} Eldest Sonn, who may learn Enough of matter (whereof I am ignorant) from his (I mean his Fathers) own mouth, to be a supplem^{t} hereunto; I haveing been brief therein: & perhapps a little disremembered in the points of time (whereof I kept no dyary) or have been, it may be, otherwise mistaken, unwillingly: praying that all my Errata (if any) in the foregoing pages may be Corrected and Amended: for I am Confident that no one thing in any of them, doth deserve to be Expunged or Omitted, for inveracity or redundancy. Yet I desire my writeing may be taken complexly (and not to be crumbled into Atoomes) because I shall be best understood So: and for that I have bestowed some pains by this Picture wh^{ch}: is like him in all the lines drawn therein) to represent him to his Posterity and my own, as worthy their diligent imitation, in all his Vertues herein recited. Therefore I come now to a Conclusion, not heeding to Enlarge this Short narrative, by discanting on this Hughs Actions, in his Severall other Capacitys and Stations of Justice for the Peace, Com^{r} for the Array, Subsidys, and Pole monys, in all wh^{ch} he served his King and Country as worthy of Approbation.

Neither will I tire the Reader, by telling him all might be Said Concerning this Hughs and my own travells by Land and Water together: and of our being Contemporarys (as it were nighbours) these very many years past, meeting of later Yeares (Since our residences came to be So neare as they are) almost Constantly on Lords day in our Heavenly Fathers house, partaking of His word & holy Table therein at due Seasons Nor will I mention what may be Said of our haveing been together in our own habitations and Publiq Inns frequently: nor what Jollity, harmless drollery, mirth and good Company we have had at Such meetings: or how free we were then to take good Liquor (wh^{ch}: gladdens the heart of mankind), but let it be remembered, wee still

After the death of Henry, the second earl of Clanbrassil, his countess married lord Bargany, a Scottish nobleman, who came in for serious trouble, and not much gain, by his alliance with the countess. Although Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagown did not take any part in the disputings of the Hamiltons among themselves he assisted in arranging certain difficulties which had arisen between the Hamiltons and lord Bargany. See *Hamilton Manuscripts*, pp. 102—105.

[88] *To all passengers.*—The improvements here referred to were those made by Hugh Montgomery at Ballymagoun. Harris, *State of the County of Down*, p. 68, referring to this residence, says—"The lands about it are looked upon as the best arable and pasture grounds in the Barony." This superiority was, no doubt, in a great measure, owing to the care and skill of Hugh Montgomery as a cultivator.

[89] *Comr for the Array.*—To protect the kingdom from domestic insurrection, or provide for the public safety in case of invasions, it was usual for the crown to issue *commissions of array*, under which officers of trust were sent into every district to muster and array, or set in military order, such of the inhabitants as were available for active duty. The commissioners of array were instructed to take up their position at such places as were considered most convenient for taking a general muster of all the companies and forces, both of horse and foot, in the kingdom, and to examine their numbers, quality and arms. They were further required to examine the provisions supplied for the soldiers' use, and to investigate all informations touching abuses, frauds, or misdemeanours, committed by any captain, lieutenant, muster-master, officer, commissary, or victualler. They were always enjoined to take convoys of soldiers for their protection, when travelling from place to place.

parted friends, as wee mett: nor will I rehearse any of our other occurrances. Yett lett it be known, that tho I am now in the last paragraph of these memoires; I must not withhold or Suffer to be forgotten a piece of this beloved Hughs Character, given of him when he was our present Earle of Mount Alexanders Agent, and all eyes open and upon him, to observe him. I say given of him by L^t^ W^m^ Montgomery[90] and approoved by y^e^ Contray, viz:

Whereas the s^d^ Lieu^t^ (who was a Jocose Ingenious discerning Gen^tl^ & a good fellow) had made his Remarks freely on many men (great and small fish falling into his nett); He called one Gen^tl^ the Fox another he styled a wolf, a third he termed a weesel, for nimble insinuations and activity to suck and gett favor and profitt: and such like Epithets he gave of the rest wh^ch^: hitt patt Enough; but Speaking of this Hugh, he Said, my Lords Hu: deserved to be called the Lyon; for he acted Generously, his nature being to have a Noble Anger, according to Lyons, viz *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.*[91]

Yett this is not all; for this Hugh still was and is fitt and ready to make Peace, by Compromises (when desired) between nighbours and Kindred Relations.

My Sonn and I (with firm Confidence and on good Grounds of Knowledge) choose him a Feofee in Trust, in our mutuall Setlements of our Estates made to each other:[92] in which he was

[90] *Lt. Wm. Montgomery.*—In 1641, William Montgomery served in the regiment of sir James Montgomery as an ensign, see p. 322, *note* 65, *supra*. He appears, from the reference to him in the text, to have resided in the neighbourhood of Ballymagoun and Rosemount, but we cannot state positively to what branch of the family he belonged. He was, probably, a son of Adam Montgomery of Ballyalton and Ballyhenry. See p. 146, *note* 104, *supra*.

[91] *Debellare superbos.*—The kings of Scotland had this motto on their arms.

[92] *Made to each other.*—This arrangement was made in the year 1691, between William Montgomery of Rosemount, in the county of Down, esq. (the author), of the one part, James Montgomery, esq., son to the said William Montgomery, of the second part, and sir Robert Adair of Ballymenagh, in the county of Antrim, knt., and Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagoun, in the county of Down, esq., of the third part. William Montgomery "to the intent to preserve his Estate in his name and family, and for the Love and affection he bears to his said son James Montgomery, and in consideration that the said James shall pay and discharge the severall Debts in the Schedule hereunto affixed, mentioned, and sett forth, and for and in Consideration of five shillings sterling to him the said William Montgomery by the said James Montgomery before the ensealing and delivery of these Presents,"—granted to the latter all that the "Mannour and Capitall Messuage of Rosemount with all its Rights, Members, ffranchises, Royalties, and Appurtenances, and also all and singular out houses, barns, stables, Dovehouses, orchards, gardens, lands, meadows, pastures, watercourses, fyshings, Tythes of all sorts both great and small, with all lasements, profits, comodities, hereditaments whatsoever." William Montgomery reserved to himself from his estate an annual sum of £39, to be paid to him by his son at two equal payments at the Feasts of Philip and Jacob and All Saints. He also reserved certain privileges and benefits which are stated in the words of the Indenture as follow:—"The said James Montgomery doth by these presents covenant and agree to and with the said William Montgomery, that he the said William shall and may at all times hereafter, during his life have full and free liberty of ingress, egress, and regress, for himself, servants, or such as he may appoint to hunt, hawk, fysh, or fowle, or upon any other recreation, upon any part of the premisses without the Lett, hinderance, or molestation of him the said James Montgomery, or any other person whatsoever claiming any title to the premisses from, by, or under him: And the said William Montgomery shall, during his life, freely, quietly, and peaceably occupy, possess, and enjoy all and singular the Rooms, chambers, and other the Conveniencies in and about the Mansion house of Rosemount herein after mentioned and sett forth (viz.): the said William Montgomery shall have and enjoy to his own use during his life all and every the Rooms and Chambers and other Conveniencies built upon the first floor of the said Mansion house of Rosemount, except the Hall, which is to be enjoyed by the said William and James in comen between them, and also the said William shall have and enjoy to his own use the pantry with the back stairs thereunto adjoining, together with the Cellar and Convenience for botles under the gun flanker, and also the upper room upon the north flanker, and the whole entire new slated stable, with the conveniencies and use of the brew house, the three ovens, the mash house, and bleachyard, the said William Montgomery and James are to enjoy in comen; the said William shall likewise have and enjoy during his life to his own use the meadow commonly known by the name of Shansdrum, and to have all corn and grain to be spent in his apartments in the said Mansion house ground at the mill free of all toll and custome the said William to have turbary, and leave to cut three hundred load of turf in that part of the moore which Hugh M'Gill, Innkeeper, had last year: And the said

mainly consulted: and by another Writeing, Hee is one (even y^e^ cheifest relyd on) Arbitrator to determine differences, if any sh^d^ chance to arise between us (as there hath been none, nor are any Likely to bee moved by either of us) Praised be God for it.

So that for a Conclusion of all the Premises (wh^ch^ I think are sufficient to be remembered at this time) I will now take the Liberty to claim again a Joynt title to him; as I Quondam had, and have not forfeited it, viz. to call him our beloved Hugh; whom and all his I wish ever well to fare; and doo in particular desire that he may See my Earthly remains lodged in their proper prepared resting Place: as I have often told him my hopes were he wold doe it, without Expectation of being invited by a buriall lett^r^, for nice Ceremonys were always needless between us; tho mutual respective differences were never wanting.

Fineally as a Valediction to y^e^ Reader (if he be an envious or carping Momus) I say

Rode Caper! vitem; tamen, Hic cum stabis ad Aras,
In tua, Quod fundi, Cornua possit Erit.[93] This Englished among my other works.

James Montgomery doth promise to cause the said turf, and all grain and hay belonging to his father to be Led home, and putt in the usual places, he said William giving meat and drink to those that shall carry and bring the same, and pay for stacking thereof: And it is also agreed that the said William shall have yearly a third part of all the tyths of herrings that shall be received, and the third part of all the fruit and pigeons, with sufficient quantities of cabbages, cale roots, and herbs for his own and servants' use, and be at liberty to keep two sadle horses to be grassd with his said sons sadle horses, and two milch cows to be grassd with his sons milch cows, and a work horse to be grassd with his sons work horse." This document was signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of James Ross, Ch. Campbell, James Young, Thos. Craford, Not. Pub. The following is the "*Schedule of Debts to be discharged by James Montgomery, esq., pursuant to the Deed with in mentioned*":—

"To James Dunlap of Kilwalgan, by stated accompt. ..	03 15 01
To Hugh M'Gill in Gray Abbey, Innkeeper, by two bonds, ...	27 12 00
Remaining of Interest due Alsts 90 (1690)	03 03 00
To James Boyd, Glastery's brother, August, 88 (1688) by Book accompt, if yet unpayd, ...	00 16 02
To William Little, yeo, by book accompt, ...	00 09 06
To James M'Donell of Dromardan, by book accompt,..	00 10 06
To James M'Neely of Slans, by book accompt,.. ..	00 09 00
To Symon Isaac of Dunover, by book account, ...	00 08 00
To John M'Cormick, Portaferry, by book accompt, ..	02 13 03½
To Adam M'Cormick, of the same, by bill of acct, and borrowed	02 00 00
To John Park of Ballyhalbert parish, by bond, ...	05 00 00
Interest due from Alst 88 to May 91 (1691), ...	01 05 00
To William Little Taylor, by bond, ...	04 00 00
Interest ending at May, 1691, ...	01 00 00
To the said William by acct for work, ...	00 18 02
To Mr. Robert Pierce, Clke, for Sallery, ...	60 00 00
To Symon Isaac afforesd by assumpsit, ...	03 10 00
To William Nevin, Bally M'Crues, by bill, August, 1686,	01 04 00
More to him by bond, Jan.y, 1687, ...	11 00 00
for three years Interest	03 06 00
To him also by late accompt	00 10 00
To the Ex^rs^ of Thomas Wallace of Donaghadee 1686 ..	01 03 00
To William Pinckstan of the same by acct. 1686	01 03 00
To John Montgomery of Creigboy by bond	05 10 00
Interest due at May 1691 about	01 12 06
To ffrancis Allen of Donaghadee 1686	01 01 00
To Ditto by book accompt	01 02 00
To Hugh Montgomery of the same	00 06 00
To John Milling of the same by acct.	01 00 00
To James Ross of Portivo Esqr. by bill	00 18 00
To his son Mr. James Ross on a letter March 1688 ..	01 03 00
To Andrew Clarke in Bangor Chanler 91 (1691)	03 03 06
To Hugh Garvan of the same Glasier	01 01 00
To Samu^ll^ Martin A Murry by bond payable 1688 ..	08 00 00
For Interest at May 1691	02 00 00
To Mr. Thomas Knox of Belfast by bond	05 10 00
To Mr. David Smith of the same merchant	00 18 00
To Robert Cluggstone of the same..	00 07 08½
To M^r^ Robert Nevin of the same by book acct.	02 00 07½
To John Young of the same by book acct.	01 14 08
To James Young of the same merchant	04 18 02
Charges in April 1691 three years Interest	01 09 03
To John Smith of the same merchant	03 12 00
To John Chalmers of the same merchant	01 05 08
To Doctor Victor fferguson	02 06 00
To Hugh Hamilton of Killeleagh, 88 (1688)	04 08 06
To S^r^ Robert Collvile by Rent charge as assigned to Alex Dalzell and by two bonds interest till May 1691	83 16 00
To Provost Curry in Newtown by bill & acct .. .	00 17 06
To Robert Bell of the same shopkeeper by Letter ..	01 15 00
To Provost Montgomery of the same by book acct. ..	03 01 06½
To Robert Montgomery of the same gent. by bill dated December 1687	03 05 11½
To George fferguson of the same rests of book acct. ..	00 18 01
To James Costian in Cumber glasier by book acct. ..	00 07 08
To Robert M'Kee Whan's brother in law	01 15 00
To Mr. George Rogers of Lisburn	01 07 05
To James Smallett & Thomas Inglish in Edinbrough and John Cochran Glasgow	25 00 00
Interest of the same till Lamas 1691	02 16 00
To James Montgomery of Craftdyke in Scotland ..	01 04 00
To Servants Wages	17 11 06½
To Patrick Paton of Drumireagh by two bonds	50 00 00
For Interest till May 1691	07 10 00
To John Heslep of Ballyrusselly by bond	40 00 00
To him for Interest till May 1691	10 00 00
To Thomas Scott of Ballywalter, by bond	50 00 00
To him for Interest till May, 1691	10 00 00
To Major Samuell Stewart by bond and Rent charge ..	300 00 00
for two years Interest till 1691	050 00 00
To William Crafford John Crafford merchants in Belfast as Ex^rs^ of Thomas Aitkin	494 09 03
To John Moody of Cardy by bond	100 00 00

"The total whereof is fourteen hundred fourty seven pounds seven shillings nyn pens & three farthings sterling."—*MS. Papers preserved at Greyabbey.*

[93] *Cornua possit erit.*—

"Rode, caper, vitem: tamen hinc, cum stabis ad aram,
In tua quod spargi, cornua possit, erit"—Ovid, *Fasti*, i., 357.

Mr. James Montgomerys Arms, & Epithet, & a Metaphorical Epitaph on him are to be seen painted on a board hanging neare the Pulpit in Gray Abby Church, or in my treatise of funeralls,[94] and is here incerted as followeth, viz—

Predoctus, fidelis, et strenuus Evangelii Præco Jacobus Montgomery gen.
in Artibus Magister (ex familia de Hasilhead in Scotia oriundus)
Militi Aurato (ejusdem utriusque nominis) curator Animarum, vigilantissimus
Cujus Spiritus migravit (e terris in Cœlis) Deo datori 7° Martii Anno
a Christo nato 1647, Corpus autem (sub Cathedra Veritatis) hic jacet
Sepultum, Posteritasque Conditur, in Spe Ἀναστάσεως.

Epitaphium Metaphoricum

Occidit, hic (mirum !) nulla, SOL, nocte secuta
this sunn hath sett and yett no night ensued :
No wonder ! for God, here his light renew'd.
Posuit amicus L:M. A° a mundo Taxato 1692.[95]

W. M.

[94] *Treatise on funeralls.*—This treatise is not mentioned in the list of the author's writings appended to his *Description of the Ards.*

[95] *Taxato* 1692.—This inscription differs slightly from that preserved by Harris. See p. 135, *note* 43, *supra*. The date of Mr. James Montgomery's death is here recorded in full, being supplied to the author, no doubt, by Hugh Montgomery, son of the deceased, after the inscription in the abbey had been written. The date 1692, here recorded, is 1693 in the copy of this epitaph preserved by Harris. The capitals L ; M, in the last line, are the initial letters of *lubens merito*, written entire in the inscription as it appeared to Harris. See *State of the County of Down*, p. 53.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OTHER MONTGOMERYS.

NOW having mentioned our 6t Laird of Braidstane & his offspring with two cadets of former lairds of Braidstane: viz. Thomas of Blackstoun[1] and Gransheogh[2]; & two other familys, viz. Creboy[3] & Ballymagouns all Montgomerys, & being his next relations, I will not forget (nor suffer to be buried in oblivion) our forenamed serjant & his Posterity: because of his good service done to yᵉ sᵈ sixt laird, my venerable grandfather.

Robert Montg.

You have heard he was called Robert Montgomery,[4] & that he was a chief Instrument in yᵉ sᵈ Laird's Escape, & that he brought his dutch wife with him. Them yᵉ sᵈ Laird entertained at Braidstane, until his plantation in Ireland, that he brought them over & settled them in yᵉ lands of upper Cuningburn[5] in the Great Ards (so called from the multitude of Coneys or Rabits that were in the banks of the said Bourn or brook); in fee farm, under a small chief rent. The deed was only written in paper (as Scotish instruments of that nature comonly are), & not registered or renewed, but was observed inviolate by all the three first Lords.

The deed had an Endorsment, every word written & signed by the said Laird (then Viscᵗ), whᶜʰ I have read, & it was (as neare as I can remember) in the following terms, viz.

I do hereby heartily recomend yᵉ within named Robᵗ Montgomery, & all his posterity heires males, to yᵉ favour of my son Hugh, & to all his descending heirs, leaving unto them all (who shall be kind to him & them) my blessing on that Account, as a memorandum of my good will and respect to yᵉ said Robᵗ & his dutch wife, who under God wrought my delivery out of the Marshall-sea in the Hague.[6]

Yet notwithstanding all this care & kindness of the sᵈ first three Lords, in the minority of this present Earle, & unknown to him & his nearest relations of kindred, the sᵈ deed of fee farm, so indorsed, was fraudently got out of the sᵈ Robᵗ his 2ᵈ wifes hands when she was his widdow, had his daughter & two sonns to maintaine all under ninteen yeares of Age.

William, yᵉ the eldest son, served mee some years at Rosemount, and went into Scotland & died unmarryed, he was a propper young man & had expectations there.

[1] *Blackstoun.*—See pp. 26, 28, 116, *supra.*

[2] *Gransheogh.*—See pp. 356–362, *supra.*

[3] *Creboy.*—See pp. 28, 52, note 25, *supra.* Thomas H. Montgomery, in his *Genealogical History*, represents both Creboy and Gransheogh as descended from the two younger sons of Adam, fourth laird, which, if so, would make this Patrick of Creboy *first cousin* of John of Gransheogh and of sir Hugh the first viscount. But although the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* designates John of Gransheogh as the first cousin of the first viscount (*Narrative of Gransheogh*, p. 357, *supra*), he nowhere calls Patrick of Creboy cousin of the first viscount, but only brother-in-law (see p. 52, *supra*), nor does he ever speak of Creboy and Gransheogh as *cousins-german.*

[4] *Robert Montgomery.*—See p. 12, *supra.*

[5] *Cuningburn.*—The name of a townland in the parish of Newtownards. See p. 373, *supra.*

[6] *In the Hague.*—See p. 12–15, *supra.*

Henry, the 2d son in Ao 1689, I saw him Quarterm[r] in ye Earls of Eglintons troop, he is marryed & well setled.

The daughter was marryed to one maxwell, for whom I took paines & was at expense to rid him out of troubles, for Robts sake.

This memoir I think due to Robts fidelity, & service to my grandfather, he generously foregoing his halbert, his Pay and ye arrears thereof, & hazarding his life, for love of a gentlman of his surname, then in distress; on what account is before related.

Other Montgomerys.

Many Inferiour Montgomerys came over[7] & had mortgages some of fifty, some of one hundred pounds ster. on single townlands, paying a small chiefry and the tyth (wch ecclesiasticall right, our first lord did not, nor would ascertain, the most of his lands belonged to Abbeys and Pryorys, and so might have disposed of them) for Instance

Montgomery of Ballyhenny[8] in Newtoun parish, had one thousand merks Scotesh mony on ye town called B:heft[9]; & payd but one shill rent per annum, but when hee (and I believe also his son) was dead, a favorit of another name, since ye restauration, had ye redemption of the mortgage given him by ye 3d Lord, it came to fifty pounds i3sh and 04 as I thinke & he had above 20£ ster yearly out of it.

Item John Montgomery of B:volly (the son of one of the first planters) was remooved out of his houlding (his fathers originall mortgage mony being given him) so he was forced to remoove & take a farm in ye north west of Ireland, by wch change he lost, and ye incomer gained a yearly income, for by a law made in King Char: ye martirs reigne, any mortgaged Lands, wch yeelded more than io[lb] per cent., all ye overplus rent might be counted up as paymt in part (pro tanto) of the original mortgage mony,

I incert these two names onely to show that there were substantiall montgomerys (besides the aforenamed) who came over as planters, besides Artificers & yeoman, & those whom (to avoid ostentation) I name not: some of whose Posterity in newton parish and near it, are thriveing farmers, and well to pass.

Now that I have related most I had to say of our 6th Laird and his three Sonns Hugh, James & George & of his two Daughters, and also have written of ye 2d Viscounts children, Elizabeth, James, and Hugh ye 3d Visct and first Earle of Mount Alexr and of his offspring, Jean, Henry, Katherin, Elizabeth, & of Hugh, ye 4th Viscount & 2d Earle now liveing.

appology.

It may be alleadged that I have Acted ye Panegyrist, and not noted their Imperfections and faults (wch in any man is seldom overweiched by his vertues) & so I must, or shall, be called too favorably Partiall to ye stock from whence I am sprung, & to my fellow branches & nighbours.

[7] *Montgomerys came over.*—The following persons of this surname received grants of denization in 1617:—John Montgomery of Ballimacrosse, Robert and William Montgomery of Donoghdie, Thomas Montgomery of Knockfergus, John Montgomery of Redene, Matthew Montgomery of Donoghdie, Robert Montgomery of Edenacanany, Robert Montgomery of Moneyglasse (now the Glass Moss), and John Montgomery of Ballymagorrie.—*Calendar Patent Rolls*, James I., pp. 326, 339.

[8] *Ballyhenny.*—This is a misprint for Ballyhenry, the name of a townland in the parish of Newtownards. Hugh Montgomery of Ballyhenry was present at the funeral of the first earl in 1663. See p. 250, *supra*.

[9] *Ballyheft.*—Now *Ballyhaft*; this is also a townland in the parish of Newtonards.

[9] *B:volly.*—This is a misprint for *Ballyrolly*, a townland in the parish of Donaghadee. John Montgomery of *Bellie Rollie* was requested by Hugh Nevin to assist in carrying out the provisions of his will. See p. 135, note 41, *supra*.

Therefor as to this Impeachm^{t} I shall so farr defend my self & Reputation, as to Answe thus, viz.

Imp^{r} if I saw my forefathers, or Relations, or Christian Nighbors nakedness or infirmitys, I should (according to my duty & Love) cover them as Sem and Japhet did, rather than deride them as Cham did Noahs, for which, his posterity Cainan was accursed.

Item it is a Maxim and Axiom in my books viz. De mortuis nil nisi bonum de absentibus nil nisi verum, & the Trueth, (especially y^{e} whole trueth) should not be told in all times and places, where it may be scandalum acceptum; tho non datum: except when upon Oath before a Magistrate

Item it is ag^{t} the designe of this natrative w^{ch} is (not to speak evill of any man but) to shew y^{e} good Acts and qualifications of those Montgomerys I have named; thereby to stirr up Posterity to imitate their vertuous Examples:

But to come nearer the answer to y^{e} objection, I protest y^{t} Imitation of posterity is y^{e} chief end of my writeing.

2do to shew my gratitude to those I ow it, or to their children.

3^{tio} to be an example that others after mee may begin where I leave off, & so continue y^{e} memoriall of our hono^{ble} family, better than I have done, or could doe (not haveing adverted and begun sooner) for times past, & always to reguard trueth, as I have laboured and studdyed to doe.

But 4^{thly} to come up closer to y^{e} objectors (if any bee) I must tell them, that wee should doe to all men as wee would they should doe towards us: & that I believe they doe not desire their own sores (old or new) should be scarifyed or ripped open to view, but rather carefully plaistered and concealed.

And 5^{thly} (to speak to y^{e} subject matter of y^{e} objection) I again protest, I have written without Bribe, or any expectation of Reward, & without varying from the trueth, either to the right or Left hand (that I know of) but have pursued the straight Roade of Duty; w^{ch} I conceived I owed to my family, nighbours and acquaintances of the surname of Montgomery: God haveing given mee ability and leizure to performe as I have done.

I confess no flesh is faultless, nor myself (perhapps) in point of time, w^{ch} I could not exactly know, for want of Records thereof, but that those I write of were naturally or habitually vicious, or were cursers, swearers, lyars, gamesters (at cards or dice etc.) simulators (alias dicti, hypocrites) Idolaters, drunkards, gluttons, whoremongers (abusers of themselves with man or beast) manquellers (*i.e.* homicides) or suicides, proud, disloyall to the Crown, oppressors, cheaters, or any ways wickedly profane, or presumptuous, and customary sinners, I utterly deny it, in Thesi: and on the faith of an honest Christian, I believe as I now write, and I never did reade or learne to the contrary. Yet for, and after all this; All of them had some faults rather to be termed omissions than comissions, their greatest & most frequent infirmity was to think men honest who professed sincerity and trueth, & therefore they sometimes trusted before they tryed; and were often more Generous than was needfull; and I know for certain, divers of them were imposed upon, cheated and ill rewarded, after protestations, and oaths of sincerity, fidelity, and kindness given to them: beyond which, no man can expect assurance without hostages.

I haveing in this appollogy sufficiently provided against asspertions of my foregoing writeings, I shall now relate concerning other Montgomerys, for whom there can be no cause of suspicion.

derrygonnelly The first I name is Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly,[10] where he lives gentily, within ten miles of Enniskillen; He is a Justice of Peace, and was a Capt of hors when ye fermanagh men defended that town & County from Justin M^cCarty[11] comander of ye Irish, A° 1689.

Hee is the eldest son of Mr Nicholas Montgomery of Derrybrosk[12] (near the sd town) who was Lt in Sr Ja. Montg: Regimt after he was driven to flee for his life from ye Irish in A° 164i. This Mr Nicholas is aged 84 yeares, and was made Mr of Arts in Glasgow, and his father was Mr Hugh Montg: whom our Bp Geo setled there,[13] and made him receaver of his Rents, in that part of Clogher Dyoces. This Hugh dyed befor that ye rebellion broke out A° 164i.

This Nicholas had debentures in Irela for service before the 5th of June 1649.[14]

Robert his 2d son is a Lt in the Army and lives unmarryed with his father, he hath a good fortune, and is a proper well-bred man.[15]

Andrew his third Son is a good preacher, hath wife and children and a good liveing and stock at Carrickmacross,[16] he is wel! Loved and in great respect.

[10] *Of Derrygonnelly.*—This gentleman is styled captain Hugh Montgomery in Hamilton's *Actions of the Enniskillen Men*, p. 23; and also in M'Cormick's *Further Account of the Actions of the Enniskillen Men*, pp. 34, 53. This Hugh Montgomery signed the memorable Declaration issued by the council of war held at Londonderry, on the 13th of April, 1689, requiring all who were able and willing to fight for their "country and religion to assemble at Clady-Ford, Lifford, and Long Cassiway, bringing a week's provision themselves, and as much forage as they can for horses."

[11] *Justin M'Carty.*—This was an experienced officer in the army of James II. In May, 1689, he was created viscount Mountcashel, and appointed commander of the forces intended to reduce Enniskillen. Against the gallant defenders of that town, Mountcashel led three regiments of infantry and two of dragoons. In a battle near Newtown Butler, this force was almost annihilated, and its commander wounded and carried by the victorious Enniskilleners into the town, where he lay helpless, but carefully tended, for a long time. So soon as he had regained sufficient strength to attempt an escape, he laid his plans for this purpose, and succeeded. In Storey's *Impartial History*, part i., p. 51, there is the following brief account of this affair:—"The town of Enniskillen stands upon a lough, and the water came to the door of the house where he was confined, or very near it. He found means to corrupt a servant, and to get two small boats, called 'cots,' to carry him and his best moveables off by night." He made his escape to the Continent, and died in 1694, at Barege, from the effect of wounds received at the battle of Chantilly in 1691.—D'Alton's *King James's Irish Army List*, pp. 490, 494.

[12] *Of Derrybrosk.*—See p. 99, *supra*.

[13] *Bp. Geo. setled there.*—See pp. 99–101, *supra*.

[14] *5th of June* 1649.—His debentures, so far as we can discover, were value for only £267 2s. 4d.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 295.

[15] *Well-bred man.*—Lieutenant Robert Montgomery's arrears of pay, amounting to £503 8s. 8d., were secured by a grant from the savings made out for him and others, in the name of William Montgomery, the author.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 306. This lieutenant Robert Montgomery had the honour of bearing the standard at the funeral of the first viscount in 1636. See p. 134, note 33, *supra*.

[16] *Carrickmacross.*—The Rev. Andrew Montgomery, A.M., was admitted vicar of Maghe Rosse, or Carrickmacross, in the year 1680. He rebuilt the glebe house at Derryolim, as appears by a mutilated inscription found there in 1841. The old church of Maghe Ross was rebuilt in 1779. In the interior of its old tower is the following inscription, engraved on stone, with the crests of Barton, Hill, Montgomery, and a bishop's mitre:—

"THIS CHURCH WAS RUINED IN THE REBELLION OF 1641,
AND REBUILT IN THE YEAR 1682,
AT THE EXPENSE OF THE REV. DR. ROGER
BOYLE OF CLOGHER, WILLIAM BARTON ESQR.
ROBERT HILL, ESQR.,
AND ANDREW MONTGOMERY VICAR OF THIS PARISH."

The area of the old church contains, among other sepulchral inscriptions, the following:—

Arms. In a lozenge, quarterly, 1 and 4, az. three fleur de lis, or. *Montgomery.* 2 and 3, G. three rings or, gemmed az. *Eglinton.*

"HERE LIETH THE BODY
OF MRS. ELIZABETH MONTGO
MERY DAVGHTER OF MR
ANDREW MONTGOMERY
MINISTER OF THIS PARISH
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
THE 9TH DAY OF JVNE IN THE
TWENTY THIRD YEAR OF HER
AGE AND OF OUR LORD. 1716."

Among the church plate belonging to Carrickmacross is a small silver cup, with the following inscription:—"The Gift of the Reverend Mr. Andrew Montgomery to the Parish of Magheross for ye use of ye sick." Arms. Montgomery, impaling three unicorns' heads, a mullet for difference. This clergyman was also admitted as vicar of the parish of Magheracloone, in 1692, as appears from the registry of the bishop of Clogher. It is curious that a *Nicholas* Montgomery, A.M., a kinsman, no doubt, immediately preceded him in both charges, which he had held from the year 1664. In 1702, an Andrew Montgomery, probably the minister above-mentioned, was admitted rector of Killanny parish, which extends into the counties of Louth and Monaghan.—Shirley's *Account of Farney*, pp. 163, 164, 171, 172, 173.

Hugh y$_e$ father of this Nich : was in esteem with our two first Visc^{ts}, as being come of braid- his Coate.
stane,[17] and his coat Armoriall (w^{ch} I caused to be engraven on a silver penner, and bestowed to y^e s^d M^r Nich : as he had given a yonge mare for breed to my Son) is the same wth y^e beareing of the old lairds of Braidstane with a distinction of a Cadet, but y^e kindred I know not, y^e coat is y^e same with Bp : Geo : S^d Tho : montg :[18] and Gransheoghs.

This last Hugh the Ancestor used to make presents to y^e s^d two Visc^{ts} of fine colts or fillys, haveing had, (as his posterity still retain) a good breed of that sort and other Catall, he is mentioned p. 54 as planted at derrybrosk aforsaid.

S^r Ja : montg : when he courted his 2^d lady (margarit S^r W^m Coles[19] daughter) stayd severall nights in this Hugh's house, and y^e morning he was Bridesgroom, went from thence, being attended by him and many Montg : (his tenents all well mounted) of w^{ch} Surname I saw neare one hundred liveing within the 12 tates[20] of Derrybrosk (the s^d M^r Nich : his land from y^e church) when I was ther : looking for a troublesom reprizall.[21]

Our present Hugh afores^d is marryed to a beutifull granddaughter and heiress to S$_r$ Jo : Dumbarr,[22] and his estate, whereof Derrygonnelly is y^e chief mansion place, besides w^{ch} he hath his fathers, and his own purchases.

I was in A° 1696 three nights in his new house (for y^e old walls are not rebuilt) it is a pleasant seate, a River Running by it, within half a muskett shott, and thereon a corn and a tuck mill, in w^{ch} one may walk dry in slippers, he hath a pretty garden, and a plantation of fruite trees, there to also a pretty litle chappell opposite to the house door, about nine score yards from it [to w^{ch} one may goe dry in like maner) built and endowed by S^r Jo : Dunbarr aforesaid, for a deacon to reap prayers, homilys, or preach in, when the weather is badd.

I saw a rarity at that house, to witt a two edged sword of excellent metall, [w^{ch} this Hugh never caused to be made] but had it [I have forgott what he told mee thereof] in y^e late warr about Enniskillen. I am of y$_e$ opinion there is no smith in Ireland can forge so good a blade : or I saw it severly tryed.

The sword is inscribed on y^e right hand side of the blade thus

Robertus Bruschius Scotorum Rex } i3io & on y reverse si de { pro christo et Patria } D : ER

[17] *Braidstane*—Hugh, the founder of the Derrygonnelly branch, is supposed to have been a younger son of the *fourth* laird of Braidstane.

[18] *Tho : montg :*—This Thomas permanently settled in the county of Leitrim, and was of the Braidstane branch also. In 1617, a Thomas Montgomery, then of Carrickfergus, received a grant of denization.

[19] *Sir W. Cole.*—See p. 157, *supra.*

[20] 12 *tates.*—The *Tate*, or *Tathe*, was the land measure best known in the county of Fermanagh. It contained about thirty acres. Of forfeited lands there were in the county of Fermanagh 1070 tates, or 33,437 acres.

[21] *Troublesome reprizall.*—William Montgomery, the author, obtained among other latds, to satisify his debentures, 741a. 3r. 33p. in the county of Fermanagh, one of the denominations being Lisderney, *alias*, *Montgomerystown.—Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 170.

[22] *Dumbarr.*—Sir John Dunbar was an undertaker of lands in Fermanagh to the extent of 1,000 acres, called *Drumere*, where he built a bawne of stone and lime 80 feet in length, 45 in breadth, and 14 in height. In the time of Pynnar's visit, in 1618, the whole family of John Dunbar resided on this property, and also the families of nine tenants, two of whom had freeholds, and the others held leases of their lands.—Pynnar's *Surrey* in Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 172. In, or about the year 1620, sir John Dunbar was high sheriff of Fermanagh. See *The Spottiswood Miscellany*, vol. i., pp. 19, 20.

There are some obliterated, or worn out words supposed to be y^e^ cutlers name, the Lettrs being seen but by halfs and quarters whereof wee could make nothing.[23]

This reciteall minds me that Speeds history says of the great Talbot sword, found in Godwins sands (as I now think) whereon was written by aqua fortis (scarce known in those days) these words viz

Sum Talboti ensis pro vincere Inimicos suos.

Now if this blade were good and trenchant, yett the Latin was bad and blunt enough.[24]

But to return to this Cap^t^ Hugh himself, his wife & children (whom I saw in his new house A° 1696) they are all comely and well favoured, & live in a good plentifull condition: and so I wish they may continue without occasion to use y^e^ royall blade, unless the Queen or Lord Lieu^t^ please to kn^t^ him w^th^ it.

This Cap^t^ Hughs estate at present pays him above three hundred pounds per annum, and is in half a winter days journy to S^d^ Thomas montgomerys Lands & habitation in the County of Letrim.

I hope he hath my picture w^ch^ I bestowd him, & for w^ch^ I paid twenty dollars to collonel Roseworm an Hungarian and w^ch^ I delivered unto Robt Hamill to be carefully sent to him at Derrygonnely.

In y^e^ next place there is James Montgomery of Lissduff[25] a stout yonge man, he was born in Rosemount (his mother being my deare wives gentlewoman) when she marryed his father whose name was Hugh; but because there be many Montgomerys of that name, he was comonly called (for distinctionsake) Grave Morrice, in reguard his father was an officer under a Prince of that name, beyond our seas.[26]

Grave Morrice

[23] *Could make nothing.*—Neither can we make anything in our attempts to discover this remarkable sword. The editor has made application to Scottish antiquarian authorities on this subject, but although the author's statement excited great interest, no information is forthcoming. The earl of Enniskillen kindly took the trouble of making inquiries among the present representatives of the Derrygonnelly branch, but in vain. It is quite possible, however, that the sword of Bruce may be lying in some old store-room in the county of Fermanagh.

[24] *Bad and blunt enough.*—Speed's notice of the inscription on Talbot's sword is as follows:—"That yee may know the man not to have been studious in fine phrases, vpon the one side of his sword-blade was engraven *Sum Talboti*, and vpon the other this boysterous blunt sentence—*Pro vincere inimicos meos.*"—Speed's *Historie of Great Britaine*, fol., 1632, p. 816. "Talbot's sword," says Camden, "was found in the river Dordon, and sold by a peasant to an armourer at Bordeaux. It had this inscription, *Sum Talboti*, MCCCCXLIII. *pro vincere inimicos meos*. 'But pardon the Latin,' says Fuller, 'for it was not his, but his camping chaplain's. It was a sword with bad Latin upon it, but good steel within it. This sword had belonged to the renowned sir John Talbot, afterwards earl of Shrewsbury, who was repeatedly lord deputy of Ireland, and of whom Shakespere said:—

"Is this the scourge of France?
Is this the Talbot so much feared abroad
That with his name the mothers still their babes?"

See various interesting particulars of this warrior in dean Butler's *Notices of the Castle and Ecclesiastical Buildings of Trim*, p. 60.

[25] *Lisduff.*—This place is situated about three miles from the town of Longford.

[26] *Beyond our seas.*—A prince of Orange, in whose army Hugh Montgomery had served, was surnamed the *Grave*, an epithet which was afterwards applied to this officer for the purpose of distinguishing him from the several others of the same name in the Ards. The prince, whose nickname he retained, is thus described in Howell's *Familiar Letters*, pp. 30, 31:—"This prince (Maurice) was cast in a mould suitable to the temper of his people, he is slow and full of wariness, and not without a mixture of fear; he is the most constant in the quotidian course and carriage of his life of any that I have ever heard or read of; for whosoever know the customs of the prince of Orange, may tell what he is doing here every hour of the day, tho' he be in Constantinople. In the morning he awakes about six in summer, and seven in winter; the first thing he does, he sends one of his grooms or pages to see how the wind sits, and he wears or leaves off his waistcoat accordingly; then he is about an hour dressing himself, and about a quarter of an hour in his closet; then comes in the Secretary, and if he hath any private or public letters to write, or any other dispatches to make, he does it before he stirs from his chamber; then comes he abroad, and goes to his stables, if it be no sermon-day, to see some of his gentlemen or pages (of whose breeding he is very

This Hugh was one of the Duke of Ormonds troop of horse Guards, & getting no comand in y^e^ Army (as courage deserves to be encouraged) becaus he had no mony to purchas a comission; he therefor (being marryed) betook himself to Lisduff afores^d^ (one of y^e^ fower cartrons and an half in Longford, w^ch^ he had in satisfaction of his fathers, & L^t^ Coll Hugh Montgomerys services in Irel^d^ before Jane 1649 the same being ultra reprizes worth above thirty two pounds per annum.[27]

He lived there within three miles of Longford town, his wife & children were barbarously abused by y^e^ Irish in K: James his time: because himself was very active ag^t^ them: he died, about y^e^ sixty third year of his Age, And left fower sonns and three daughters, & his widdow: who and her first fower children may tell of their shelter, and maintenance they had at first in Rosemount, & other kindnesses I did to him and them, in passing the lands in my Pattent, and getting him possession gratis; and imploying him as my Agent in that contry, and being suerty for him etc. for wh^ch^ I have had but ungratefull returns, but I leave y^e^ said widdow and her children In God's good hands, and wish prosperity to all of them that are alive.[28]

The two last familys furnished mee with small matter of discourse, but to supply this defect they are desired (to the honor of their Surname and extraction) to doe worthyly & to add the relation thereof to the coppy of this Account (wh^ch^ to transcribe will not be denyd them), & the same will be an appendix and supplement to what I have so briefly written, because of our liveing so farr distant from one another, that I am the less informed in their concerns.[29]

But there are Montgomerys of greater name and fame for warlick feats than those two, & some others before named: to these gentlemen I am a stranger, and therefore will speak of them by hearesay from worthy men, only.

Mr. Alex^r^ Montgomery & his offspring

They are grand children of M^r^ Alexander Montgomery, prebend of Do[30] in y^e^ County of Donne-

careful) ride the great horse. He is very accessible to any that hath business with him, and sheweth a winning kind of familiarity, for he will shake hands with the meanest boor of the country, and he seldom hears any commander or gentleman with his hat on: He dines punctually about twelve, and his table is free for all comers, but none under the degree of a captain uses to sit down at it: After dinner he stays in the room a good while, and then any one may accost him and tell his tale; then he retires to his chamber, where he answers all Petitions that were delivered him in the morning; and towards the evening, if he goes not to Council, which is seldom, he goes either to make some visits, or take the air abroad. And according to this constant method he passes his life."

[27] *Thirty two pounds per annum.*—The author gives no hint by which we can discover the particular families to which these two 1649 officers belonged. Neither can we distinguish them from so many other officers of the same name, so as to be able to say how much their debentures were worth.

[28] *That are alive.*—The author here refers to some 'difficulty' between himself and the Longford Montgomerys, of which we have not heard any account. We know, however, that among the lands mentioned in William Montgomery's patent, and assigned to him as satisfaction for his debentures, there were 591 acres in the district where this family dwelt, but as he got lands intended for them passed in his patent, to save them certain expenses, we cannot discover how much of these 591 acres belonged to him and how much to them. These lands comprised the following lots, viz., Gurtinloe, 1 cartron, part, 112a. 2r.; Derrymore, 1 cartron, 52a. and 24p.; Aghanappa, ⅗ cartrons, 163a. 2r. 4p.; Cartron-Garrow, Tuaralin, and Cartron-Keele, 2 cartrons and a quarter, 143a. 2r. 24p.; Lisduffe, 2 cartrons, 118a. 3r. 12p.—all in the barony of Moydow, county of Longford.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 176. From what the author states, we infer that the family residence of the Longford Montgomerys was in Lisduffe, about three miles from the town of Longford. The family residence was afterwards known as *Cartron-Garrow*. A daughter of the last heir male of this branch married a Mr. Nesbit of Drumaconnor, in the county of Monaghan, who held a highly respectable position, "driving his carriage, when there were not five carriages in the county." Mr. and Mrs. Nesbit's family consisted of two daughters, the elder of whom married a Mr. Macaulay of Dublin; and the younger became the wife of the Rev. William Henry of Tassagh, county of Armagh. The Henry family for a time owned a portion of the Cartron-Garrow property, which now, however, belongs to Mr. Courteny, also a descendant of the Hugh Montgomery who originally settled here.—*MS. Notes of R. Cunningham, esq., Castle Cooley, Londonderry.*

[29] *In their concerns.*—The materials intended to supply the "appendix and supplement" here mentioned, are, probably, in the possession of some descendants of the Montgomerys of Leitrim and Longford.

[30] *Prebend of Do.*—See pp. 100, 101, *supra*.

gall, who (when debarred by y^e^ Presbiterians to use the Word,[31]) took the Sword, & valiantly weilded the same ag^t^ the Irish, and he gott a command (as M^r^ Nicholas did) in wh^ch^ he served divers yeares in y^e^ begining of y^e^ Grand Rebellion in Ireland, and never turned taile on y Kings cause nor was Covenanter, so he well deserved y^e^ Satisfaction wh^ch^ his posterity has for his s^d^ services before June 1649.[32] This M^r^ Alex^r^ is mentioned in Bp. Geo. Montgomerys life, page 55, and here follows his Epitaph lately given mee by M^r^ Alex^r^ M^c^Causland.

Now Hee to Nature his last debt bequeaths
who, in his life, charged through a thousand Deaths.
One man, y' have seldom seen on Stage to doe
the Parts of Samwell, & of Sampson too.
fitt to convince, or Hew an Agag down
feirce in his Arms, & Priestlike in his gown.
These characters were due as all may see
to our Divin, & brave montgomery.
Now Judge with what a Courage will he rise
when the last trumpet sounds y^e^ great Assize.
And for y^e^ grave stone
By what here underlys you may conclude
what ere he bee, how either great, or good:
nor might, nor meekness can from death secure us
here lys a Parson utriusque Juris.[33]

The s^d^ M^r^ Alex^rs^ son, major John Montgomery joyned himself to our third Visc^ts^ party, & was taken by y^e^ usurpers soldiers: whose officers had ordered him to be putt to death, and he had been executed, had not the two Ladys montgomerys their request intervened.[34]

[31] *To use the Word.*—This was another case of deposition by presbyterian authority, but unnoticed by Adair.

[32] *Before June* 1649.—Two 1649 officers are mentioned of this name, one as captain Alexander Montgomery and the other simply as Alexander Montgomery. The former is no doubt the gentleman mentioned in the text, as the author describes him as having, "gott a command," and as well deserving the satisfaction enjoyed by his family on account of his reward. His arrears amounted to £1764 11s. 8d., which, with several other sums, were secured by a grant of lands made in the names of Randal Clayton and Andrew Lindsay.—*Irish Record Comis. Reports*, vol. iii., p. 304.

[33] *Utriusque juris.*—The following is the inscription on the tombstone of Alexander Montgomery's wife in Doe Church: *Here lyeth ye body of Margaret Montgomery, alias Cunningham, who was ye wife of Alexander Montgomery, whoe deceased the 18th of June, Anno Domeny* 1675, *ætatis.* . ." The lady's age as recorded on the stone is obliterated. This inscription is surmounted by the Hessilhead arms impaled with those of Cunningham. —*MS. Notes of brigadier-general George Montgomery of the Bombay Army.*

[34] *Request intervened.*—This major John Montgomery was, most probably, captured at the defeat of Lisnastrain, near Lisburn. See pp. 191, 192, *supra*. The two "ladye Montgomerys," whose efforts to save him proved successful, were no doubt the third viscount's mother and wife,—Jean Alexander and Mary Moore. "This major John Montgomery resided at *Croghan*, and his will was proved on the 28th of August, 1679. He directed his body to be buried in the chancell of Lifford church, and left £100 for funeral expenses. He mentions his brother William, and his dear kinsman, Dr. John Leslie. He bequeathed Carran and Castle Oghry (still portions of the Convoy estate) to his son, with a charge on them to his deare wife. To his seven daughters, Catharine, Nichola, Rebecca, Margaret, Mary, Eliza, and Ann, he left legacies, —the largest, £150, to Nichola. His personal estate amounted to £1400. This will is sealed with the Hessilhead arms. The seal has the initials A. M., and probably belonged to his father. In Ulster's office, there is a funeral entry of this John Montgomery, which mentions his son John, and his grandson, also named John. I have followed this, and made colonel Alexander Montgomery, deviser of the Donegal, Cavan, and Fermanagh estates,—a second son. Croghan was sold by Robert Montgomery, in the year 1800. Castle Oghrey is near Invor, county Donegal."—*MS. Notes of brigadier-general George Montgomery of the Bombay Army.*

I have seen m^r Alex^r montgomery at Letterkenny not farr from Do, in A° 1643,[35] and heard men talk much to his credit for his valourous actions Ag^t the Irish Rebells.

The first of his Grandsons was named John[36] and was a major of Dragoons in Coll Rob^t Echlins regiment,[37] I saw him in october 1696 in Dublin he was a Taal propper person : as comely w^th all as one shall see in a summers day. he was lately married to y^e Lady moor (a great fortune) in Mounster, but he died soon after, and left males and female children by his first wife.

Alex^r y^e 2^d Grandson was and is still a capt in y^e 3^d Regim, now A° 1704 a major because it was not reduced : He marryed Cap^t Coles[38] (in y^e County of Monaghan) his daughter & heiress, and now lives within two miles of Monaghan town,[39] and hath a son, this gent^l hath a good Estate, and is a thriving man and a great tenant to y^e present duke of Ormond.

Rob^t y^e youngest brother[40] is still a cornet in y^e same Regim^t, & may gett a good fortune in warr or peace if he live.

These three brothers are grand nephews[41] to the late S^r Albert Coningham,[42] as also their Coll

[35] *In Ao.* 1643.—In 1643, the author was only ten years of age, but old enough, it seems, to have enjoyed the popular account of his kinsman's valorous exploits.

[36] *Was named John.*—This was John of Castle Oghrey, and founder of the family at Beaulieu, near Drogheda, county of Louth.

[37] *Robert Echlin's regiment.*—Robert Echlin was the third son of Robert Echlin, esq., of Ardquin. This soldier's father was the grandson of bishop Echlin, and his mother was a daughter of Henry Leslie, bishop of Down and Connor, afterwards advanced to the see of Meath. "In a lease of the lands of Ardquin from Dr. Alexander, bishop of Down and Connor, to Charles Echlin (as administrator to his father, John Echlin, late of Thomastown), dated 1808, it is stated that the demise was made 'also in consideration of the great services done by Robert and Henry (Echlin and Leslie) formerly bishops of the sees,—the one the great-great-great grandfather, and the other the great-great grandfather of the said John Echlin.' This lease I have. *J. R. Echlin.*" See Crawford's *Memoirs of the Echlins, edited by J. R. Echlin*, p. 25, *note.*

[38] *Capt. Coles.*—Alexander, the second grandson, married, prior to 1696, Elizabeth, daughter of captain Cole, of Ballyleck, and by this lady Ballyleck came into the family of Montgomery. He is the ancestor of the present family of Convoy, near Raphoe, formerly of Ballyleck.—*MS. Notes of brigadier-general George Montgomery.*

[39] *Monaghan town.*—There is a tradition in Tyholland, within two miles of Monaghan town, that the first Montgomery in that neighbourhood was a very fine-looking man. Tradition also affirms that sometime prior to his death, he had lost several head of cattle which mysteriously disappeared from his pastures. Two men were taken up on suspicion as the cattle stealers, tried, and condemned on circumstantial evidence,—Mr. Montgomery urging forward their trial, under the impression, of course, that they were guilty. Hanging was then the certain doom of convicted cattle-thieves, and these hapless men were hanged. But soon afterwards, on the approach of winter, the missing cattle re-appeared, coming forth from the extensive woods which then covered much of that district, and into which they had withdrawn during the warm season. Mr. Montgomery, it is said, was so shocked when thinking on the fate that had befallen innocent men, that he never afterwards came abroad, but sunk gradually into his grave.—*Local Tradition.* Alexander Montgomery's marriage with Elizabeth Cole, occurred prior to 1696, and he died in the year 1726. His eldest son, Thomas Montgomery, is said to have been disinherited, because he married without the consent, or contrary to the wishes of his parents. He probably emigrated to America, for his third son, Richard, became afterwards a general in the revolutionary service, and was slain at the storming of Quebec, on the 31st of December, 1775. These facts were communicated, in 1864, by lieutenant-colonel George Samuel Montgomery, Bombay army, to Thomas H. Montgomery, of Philadelphia, author of the *Genealogical History* of the several American families of this surname.—*MS. Notes of Colonel F. O. Montgomery.*

[40] *Robt ye youngest brother.*—This gentleman was ancestor of the Montgomerys of Bessmount. In Tyholland church, near Monaghan, there is the following inscription on the tomb of one of his descendants:—

Alexander Nixon Montgomery, of Bessmount Park, died on the 1st of April, 1837, in the 76 year of his age. As a husband and father, he was unequalled, and as a christian, will be held in veneration by all classes and denominations of Society. "Mark the perfect." "Let me die the death of the righteous."

Mrs. Eliza Mont., wife of Alexander Nixon Montgomery, died on the 8th of May, 1827, Aged 40 years.

Mark Anthony Montgomery, late ensign in the 76th Regiment, died at Manchester, on the 26th of April, 1844. Aged 20 years.

[41] *Grand-nephews.*—The three Montgomerys, brothers, mentioned in the text, where sir Albert Cunningham's grand-nephews, being the grandsons of his eldest sister, married to —— Montgomery, esq., of Bonnyglen, county of Donegal.—Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vii., p. 179. The Montgomerys of Bonyglen, or more correctly *Bun-na-glynn* 'foot of the glen,' are descended from William Montgomery, fourth son of the first earl of Eglinton. Hugh Montgomery, of Auchinhood and Bowhouse, was grandson of this William. Robert, third son of Hugh of Bowhouse came to Ireland, sojourning for a time at Rosemount, where he had a son born in 1660, and settling afterwards at Bun-na-glynn. His son,

Echlin is his next nephew[43] who being L^t Coll at his unkles death, gott y^e Regim^t, for his remarkable speakeing, and acting at y^e fight of y^e boyne, for King William bid him stay on y^e ground he was in, till he should come again, and Coll Echlin answered yo^r Maj^ty shall find me here, alive or dead. and by going over to y^e K : when prince, and by coming with him from Holland into England.[44]

There are other Montgomerys gent^l of lesser account than the three last mentioned familys, and are men having fee farm estates, greater than many (now eminent) men had to beginn the world with, and therefore they are not to be neglected or forgotten.

Hugh the Seneschall

The first w^ch I shall name was M^r Hugh Montgomery of Newtoun in y^e Ards, he was seneschall[45] of all our second and third Visconts Courts, one of whose daughters was marryed to m^r James Montgomery curat of Grayabby (mentioned in the memoires of his Son) as his 2^d wife.[46] The s^d seneschall his eldest son Hugh dyed unmarryed, being an officer under our 3^d visc^t and taken prisoner (at y^e defeat his Lo^p had in lisnestrean A^o 1649) he was (contrary to Laws of warr) shott by order, and thrown into a sawing pitt, I know y^e place where his bones yet ly.[47]

The s^d Seneschall his other Son David left his freeholds in Newton afores^d being by his mother (Jean Herriott)[48] neare kinsman to y^e first Lord Glenawly,[49] & setled himself and family in his lo^p Estate, in or about Ballygaly[50] in y^e County of Tireowen, and when y^e s^d Lord and his Issue male

also named Robert, married the daughter of the Rev. Alexander Cunningham, dean of Raphoe.—Playfair's *Family Antiquity*, vol. vii., p. 861, as quoted by T. Montgomery, in his *Genealogical History*, p. 120.

[42] *Sir Albert Coningham.*—Sir Albert Coningham, or Cunningham, was son of Alexander Cunningham, first Protestant clergyman of Inver and Killymard, afterwards promoted to the deanery of Raphoe, all in the county of Donegal. He died in 1660; in the same year his second son, Albert, was knighted, receiving with this honour, the appointment of general of the ordnance. He commanded his own regiment of dragoons at the Boyne, and was also present at the siege of Limerick. Being ordered afterwards to join the forces intended for the reduction of Sligo, he sent his regiment forward, following by a shorter route, with only a guard of ten men. On his way he was met and slain by rapparees, in the mountains, near Boyle. Sir Albert was a 1649 officer, but his arrears of pay only amounted to £99 18s. 10d. See *Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 304; Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vii. pp. 180–82.

[43] *Next nephew.*—Colonel Echlin was nephew of sir Albert Cunningham, being the son of sir Albert's second sister, who was first married to ——— Hamilton, esq., and afterwards to Robert Echlin of Ardquin.—Playfair's *Family Antiquities*, vol. iv., p. *cc*. This lady must have been Robert Echlin's second wife, his first wife being Mary Leslie, daughter of bishop Henry Leslie. The editor of Crawford's *Memoirs* of the Echlins was not aware of this second marriage.

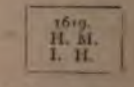
[44] *Holland into England.*—The incidents here referred to were, no doubt, told at length in the author's account of sir James Montgomery, but several portions of that memoir are evidently wanting.

[45] *Seneschall.*—See p. 366, *supra*.

[46] *As his 2^d wife.*—See p. 367, *supra*.

[47] *His bones yet ly.*—For the battle of Lisnastrain, see pp. 191, 192, *supra*.

[48] *Jean Herriott.*—Hugh the seneschall was probably twice married, his second wife being Jean Herriott, a daughter of "Maister John Heriot, minister of the Word at Kilbirnie," and Jean Barclay, his wife. Jean Herriott was married to Hugh Montgomery of Irvine in 1615.—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 120. This couple probably came to the Ards soon after their marriage, the husband being appointed seneschal of Newtown, an office which he held for several years. See p. 366, *supra*. A John Herriott, probably brother of Jean, held lands in the Ards adjoining those of John Shaw. See p. 52, *supra*. On the front of a house on the south side of Castle Street, Newtownards, opposite the Market Cross, there is, or was in 1845, a stone inscribed thus:—



This house was probably the residence of Hugh Montgomery and Jane Herriot his wife. The *Fleur de lis*, for Montgomery, was cut in the stone between the letters H M.

[49] *Lord Glenawly.*—The relationship of Jean Heriot to lord Glenawly came through the families of Barclay of Kilbirnie and Hamilton of Ladyland, in the same parish, but we cannot discover the particular degree of relationship that existed between them. Lord Glenawly was eldest son of Archibald Hamilton, archbishop of Cashel; and he was uncle to the brave Gustavus Hamilton, governor of Enniskillen in 1689.—Hamilton's *Actions of the Enniskillen Men*, p. 3.

[50] *Ballygaly.*—This place is now known as *Ballygawley* in the parish of Errigal-Keerogue, and barony of Clogher. Adjoining the present Ballygawley house, are still the remains of an old residence, which are supposed to have formed a complete hollow quadrangle of fortified building. This had been probably the castle of lord Glenawly.

dyed, the s[d] David went to Carolina (as his sister says) but what is become of him, or his children (not having heard of them these many yeares) I know not.

Provost Hugh Montgomery & his offspring

Item S[r] James Montgomery returning from his travells thro holland brought with him one Hugh Montgomery the son of a Montgomery in Scotland, who (on an assault made upon him in Irwin by the Coninghams when the fewd was between those two Sirnames)[51] was left for dead on y[e] streets) having rec[d] 17 or 18 wounds and therefore called ill slain Hugh). This Hugh y[e] son of him first named, being in holland desolate of employment addressed himself to the said S[r] James Montgomery, and was entertained of him, and brought thro England to Ireland, and by him was preferred to our 2[d] Visc[t], as his master of y[e] household: he being an acute knowing man and well bred, and afterwards, by y[e] s[d] Visc[t] and y[e] s[d] S[r] James means was marryed to a rich widdow in Newton afors[d]; and how beneficiall leasses were made fee farms, or freeholds for his sake, to be and in ure to their children, of w[ch] widdow he had one son named James, who was a Marriner, who gott about five hunder acres in Jamica, (as his plantation), called the blew point, but he dyeing unmarryed the right thereof came to y[e] children of y[e] s[d] Hugh by Eliza Graham[52] his 2[d] wife (sister of W[m] Shaw[53] of Newton his first wife) by whom he had three sons and a daughter, the first whereof was

Hugh a thriveing attorney employed by all our familys, till on his Client M[r] Curry of in fermanagh his account hee was killed in a duell by one M[r] Cole.

Item he had a 2[d] son called William, who [being bred an Attorney under his brother Hugh dyed under the phisitians hands.

Item he had Rob[t] 1701 now liveing who enjoys the said freeholds, and is still unmarryed.

The s[d] first named Hugh [father of these three last named] was many yeares Provest of Newton afores[d]: had a brother named John, who was a rich merch[t], till in y[e] grand Rebellion time 1642, a great cargo of meale was taken from him by y[e] Scotish Army, on y[e] publiq faith, for which he was never paid.

The s[d] Johns Son, Hugh, enjoyed his possessions in and about Newton: and was many yeares Provest of that town but he dyed of a long distemper of y[e] Gout A° 1699, and left his freeholds to his Son Hugh bred an apothecary [w[ch] trade he left off, and is now dead Afore May 1702, and hath left a widdow with children of both sorts.

The s[d] John had another son named Alexander, an hatter, who was well marryed in belfast and is now dead having left children.

Item W[m] Montgomery of Ballyskeogh [a gent[l] of better acc[t] than those two last named brothers, had two sonns viz W[m] his eldest who marryed his cozen the Laird of Langshaws sister, he died in Scotland where his offspring [men and women] now reside.

[51] *Two Sirnames.*—The Montgomerys and Cunninghams. For notice of this feud, see p. 6, *supra*.

[52] *Eliza Graham.*—This lady and her sister, Mrs. W. Shaw of Newtown, were doubtless members of the family of Graham of Glovett, in the parish of Tyrella. Dorothy Graham, the relict and administratrix of Andrew Graham of Glovet, sold that estate to Jocelyn Hamilton, second son of William Hamilton of Erinagh. James Graham, son of Andrew and Dorothy, about the year 1700, married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Dr. Hawkshaw, and died in 1722, leaving one son, Richard, who sold north Tyrella to Mr. Waring, and other lands to George Hamilton of Ballybranagh, for £1,200. See Hanna's *Account of Tyrella, in Downpatrick Recorder.*

[53] *Wm. Shaw.*—See p. 355, *supra*.

Item he had Hugh (now liveing) a merchant in Belfast, who hath two sonns viz William a Master Marriner, well marryed in Dublin. The other is named James an officer in the Queens Navy but unmarryed.

Divers other Montgomerys, with their familys and flocks, are come out of Scotland, since A° 1692, and have taken farms in Ireland, of whom I can give no certain account,[54] and therefore I here end my storyes of that S^r^name of w^ch^ there bee many rich yeomen whom I doe not know and therefor turn my pen to other subjects, as imprimis of Learning.

OF LEARNING.

I hope the foregoing. and subsequent Remarks will not be called Reflections (as the word is understood for as noteing, or taxing of faults) I intended no such thing ag^t^ any particular man, much less towards those Montgomerys I writ of; but gen^lly^ I have touched at, and told you my meditations on Some facts of y^e^ Usurpers (as I am priviledged therein) because Loosers have leave to talk.

And tho I have observed in y^e^ family of y^e^ Great Ards, and their Cognations (from y^e^ first to y^e^ Last now Living) that none of them was learned like our B^p^ Geo: (as Learning is commonly Esteemed, for Skill in Latin, Greek, & y^e^ Ancient Oriental tongues.) So as to make them B^ps^ Secular Judges, or Phisicians,; Yet I may Say for some of them, that they did not Read to these purposes, or to gain fortunes thereby; because they thought themselves Sufficiently provided for as to Estates. And Indeed ever after A° 1641, the Times agreed not to encourage men to Studdy those Professions: The use of y^e^ Sword & y^e^ Gun, was with less Labour (tho with more dispised Hazard) acquired. (and without book too) Sooner than those Linguas; w^ch^ fitt only churchmen, best; to interpret & vindicate (from Hereticall Glosses) the Volumes of y^e^ Sacred Scriptures. And it must be confessed that ex quovis Ligno, non fit mercurius: w^ch^ in Scotts Proverbs, is as much as, Spade Shafts beares no Plumbs.

Yet it cannot bee deneyed (but allowed) that such of our Family as were bred at Latin Schooles, and that all of them had (till Some Lost it by neglect thinking it useless) a competency of Latin, And S^r^ J: M: tooke degree of M^r^ in the Liberal Arts in S^t^ Saviours Colledge in S^t^ Andrews: but this was in times of profound Peace, when Gown men were in fashion.

However; there might be others, & but Some few Such learned men; w^th^ a great Skill in

[54] *I can give no certain account.*—One such family has been long known in the parish of Killead, county of Antrim. The late Rev. Henry Montgomery, LL.D., of Dunmurry, a member of this family, was one of the most talented of the many remarkable men who bore this surname. Of several families thus settling in various parts of Ulster, and evidently belonging to the same stock, another was well known in the parish of Ramoan, county of Antrim. The founder of this branch was named Hugh Montgomery, who settled at *Moyarget*, in the above-named parish, not later than 1620. His grandson, also named Hugh, died in 1719, and was buried in the old church-yard of Ramoan. The latter left two sons, Hugh and Alexander. Hugh, who was heir to the family property, sold the greater portion of it to John Wilson of Carrickfergus. His son, Robert, sold the remainder of the freehold in Moyarget, engaged deeply in business speculations, and was unsuccessful. A younger brother of the latter, named Alexander, was an officer in the 111th regiment of foot, of which Hugh Percy, lord Warkworth, was colonel. Montgomery's commission is dated October, 1761, and bears the autographs of George III. and George Grenville. The first-named Alexander Montgomery lived and died in Moyarget. He left one daughter, Mary, who married William Fullerton, a descendant of William Fullerton, who distinguished himself in the defence of Ballintoy castle against the Irish in 1641, and a brother of Dr. Alexander Fullerton, who purchased the Ballintoy estate after it had passed from the Stewart family. See p. 80, note 41, *supra*. A daughter of this couple, named Mary, married Adam Hill of Moyarget, and their son, William Hill, of the same place, died in 1854, at the age of eighty years. With the Hugh Montgomery who first settled at Moyarget came a kinsman named *Robert Giffen*, who was, no doubt, also a Montgomery from the barony of Giffen, in Ayrshire. The descendants of Giffen emigrated to America early in the present century.

Latin, Greek or Hebrew: Yet I cannot see any absolute necessity for any Person (other than those intended for Clergymen) to disturb his braines, or trouble themselves (So long as they doe) with obsolet words, or w^th^ nouns, participles, etc. Genders, Cases, Moodes etc.[54] (that are comonly forgotten,) which at y^e^ beginning to learn them, puzles and confounds, childrens notions, loads their memories, and tire them into a disgust of all Such readings.

for I call him a learned man (in this or that Science civil or military) who hath most knowledge therein; how ever he come by it, and this may be, and was, had by divers of our family (they gaining the french, dutch, or Italian) another way; and in their own mother tongue (in which Last the Ancients wrote those books for w^ch^ they are now So much revered) and I cannot see why those latin Authors Should be taught everywhere (as they are) without any great profit (or rather to the prejudice of those who handle Such books) for those heathen writers especially y^e^ Poets, gen^lly^, doe not benefit y^e^ mindes and memorys of Christian youth;[55] but hurt them; by takeing up roome therein, & by looseing their time in Such Studys: wheras they might be better furnished, for the

[54] *Genders, Cases, Moodes, etc.*—The author thus probably intends to condemn or correct a sort of mania that had prevailed during many years previously among all, even the humblest classes in Scotland, to acquire a knowledge of the Latin tongue, and especially to express their thoughts in Latin verse. This power was considered such a distinction in the seventeenth century, and was so generally possessed, that even so early as the year 1617, when King James I. of England visited Perth, his visit was commemorated by several Latin poems, which had been written for the occasion by merchants, and even tradesmen, of the place. Two volumes of Latin poems were collected by sir John Scott, and entitled *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, containing Latin verses from many hands on a great variety of topics. The first volume contained poems by archbishop Adamson, Henry Anderson, sir Robert Aytoun, John Barclay, William Barclay, Mark Alexander Boyd, sir Thomas Craige, James Crichton, George Crichton, Henry Danskin, Thomas Dempster, David Achlin, Peter Goldman, James Halkerston, David Hume, Arthur Johnston, and John Johnston. The very second name on this list, Henry Anderson, was that of a small trader in Perth. The second volume contains contributions of David Kynlock, Principal Melvin or Melville, James Malcolm, lord Thirlstane, Thomas Maitland, Thomas Murray, Adam King, Thomas Reid, John Rose, Andrew Ramsey, Hercules Rollock, Alexander Ross, John Scot, sir John Scot, Thomas Leggat, George Strahan, George Thomson, Florence Wilson, and David Wedderburn. Several of the above-named writers had no other or farther connexion with literature than what was required to enable them to write Latin verses.—David Irvine's *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, vol. i., pp. 102, 103, *note*. Alexander Ross was the author of *Christias*, which may safely be pronounced one of the queerest books ever brought into existence. The following is the full title of this work:—*Virgilii Evangelisantis Christiados libri xiii. in quibus omnia quæ de Domino vestro Jesu Christo in utroque testamento vel dicta vel predicta sunt, altisona Divina Maronis tuba suavissime decantantur, inflante Alexandro Rosæo.*

"Arma virumque Maro cecinit, nos acta Deumque,
Cedant arma viri, dum loquor acta *Dei*.
"Roterodami, 1653."

"By a marvellous ingenuity he strings together on a new sequence nearly every line that Virgil wrote, adapted, sometimes with the change of a word, sometimes with no change at all, to what may be termed a poetical exposition of Christianity."—Burton's *The Scot Abroad*, vol. ii., p. 124.

[55] *Memorys of christian youth.*—In Mrs. H. B. Stowe's *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands*, the following observations on this question occur at the close of letter xix.:—"It is a curious fact that Christian nations, with one general consent, in the early education of youth, neglect the volume which they consider inspired, and bring the mind at the most susceptible period under the dominion of the literature and mythology of the heathen world; and that, too, when the sacred history and poetry are confessedly superior in literature and quality. Grave doctors of divinity expend their forces in commenting on and teaching things which would be utterly scouted were an author to publish them in English as original compositions. A Christian community has its young men educated in Ovid and Anacreon, but is shocked when one of them comes in English with Don Juan; yet, probably the latter poem is purer than either. The English literature and poetry of the time of Pope and Dryden betray a state of association so completely heathenised, that an old Greek or Roman raised from the dead could scarce learn from them that any change had taken place in the religion of the world; and even Milton often pains one by introducing second-hand pagan mythology into the very shadow of the eternal throne. In some parts of the *Paradise Lost* the evident imitations of Homer are to me the poorest and most painful passages. The adoration of the ancient classics has lain like a dead weight on all modern art and literature; because men, instead of using them simply for excitement and inspiration, have congealed them into fixed imperative rules. As the classics have been used, I think, wonderful as have been the minds educated under them, there would have been more variety and originality."

Latin; with Treatises like M^r^ Alex^r^ Ross his Virgilius Evangelizans,[57] Buchanan,[58] or Johnstons[59] versions of K: Davids Psalms Cowleys Davideis[60] etc.

For I observed in Holland, that Parents put not their Sonns to latin Schools, except 'tis found (upon tryal) that they are apt & desirous to learn it: And indeed it's necessary for clergymen, Travellers & Trafiquers, in Christondome (as y^e^ Dutch are) to attaine a Little Congruous Latin, for w^ch^ purpose if they find them apt & docile, they Send Such children (as Soon as they have acquired y^e^ knowledge of the alphabetts, & can read their horn-book :) I say they put them to y^e^ Latin or french Schools to learn to reade those Linguas, & to write fair orthography; the one being a recreation after the toile of the other: w^ch^ enables them to be merch^ts^, (or factors rather) Divines, physitians, & Travellers: So thus y^e^ time is Saved w^ch^ would be Spent in learning to reade their own Dutch Tongue.

[57] *Virgilius Evangelizans.—See note* 54.—Ross also published a work containing several remarkable productions in prose and verse, and entitled, *Mel Heliconium; or Poeticall Honey, gathered out of the Weeds of Parnassus.* London, 8vo, 1642. Some of his Latin poems are printed in Scot's *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, already mentioned. Among his prose works is one—perhaps the best, certainly the most useful—entitled, *View of all Religions*, which has been translated into French, Italian, and German, and which contains a good portrait of the author.—Irving's *History of Scottish Poetry*, edited by J. A. Carlyle, p. 574, *note.* Dr. Ross adhered steadily to the cause of episcopacy in covenanting times, and was compelled in consequence, to seek refuge in England, where his genius and learning were far from being appreciated as they deserved. Butler's sneer at him in *Hudibras* was more popular than perhaps any of his own most poetical efforts :—

> "There was an ancient sage philosopher
> That had read Alexander Ross over;
> And swore, the world, as he could prove,
> Was made of fighting and of love."

The following is an entry in Evelyn's *Diary*, under date 1st February, 1653, during the exile of Ross in England :—"Old Alexander Rosse (author of 'Virgilius Evangelizans,' and many other little bookes) presented me with his book against Mr. Hobb's 'Leviathan."—Evelyn's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 270. Sir Thomas Urquhart, a good authority, speaks of Ross as "a most learned and worthy gentleman, and most endeared minion of the Muses, who hath written manyer Excellent books in Latine and English, what in prose, what in verse, than he hath lived yeers."—Irvine's *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, vol. i., p. 132.

[58] *Buchanan.*—George Buchanan, the great Scottish historian and poet, wrote a Latin version of the Psalms, which is, perhaps, the most truly appreciated of all his poetical works. Mackenzie, in his *Scotch Writers*, speaks of Buchanan's translation as "executed with such inimitable sweetness and elegance that his version of the Psalms will be esteemed and admired as long as the world endures, or men have any relish for poetry." It is generally admitted that to Scotland belongs the honour of having produced the finest Latin version of the Book of Psalms. "At a time when literature was far from common in Europe, Buchanan, then a prisoner in a foreign land, produced a work which has immortalised his name, and left scarcely anything to be desired—as far as the beauties of diction and imagery are concerned—in a translation of the sacred songs. There are twenty-nine different kinds of measure in the work, in all of which he shows how completely he was master of the varied forms of Latin verse. His translation of the 104th Psalm has frequently been selected as one of the finest specimens of sublime poetry. A translation of Buchanan's Psalms into English verse was published by the Rev. C. J. Cradock of Maryland, in 1754."—*Allibone's Critical Dictionary.*

[59] *Johnston.*—Great as was Buchanan's fame for this performance, he had a very able rival in Dr. Arthur Johnston, a poet who was born near Aberdeen, in the year 1587, and who died at Oxford, in 1641. Johnston was one of the best (if not the very best) Latin scholars of his time. It is somewhat remarkable, and is a proof of how justly he was able to estimate his own literary powers, that he ventured to attempt the same great work which Buchanan had already performed so well. Johnston's Latin version of the Psalms of David—*Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica, et Canticorum Evangelicorum*, was published at Aberdeen, in the year 1673. For many years after its publication, the critics keenly disputed the relative merits of Johnston's and Buchanan's versions, some assigning the palm to one poet, and some to the other. Of Johnston we have the following brief, but expressive notice from Morhof :—"*Arturus Jonstonus, in Psalmorum versione, quemadmodum et in operibus cæteris, ubique purus et tersus est, ut ego quidem nihil in illis desiderare possim.*"—*Polyhistor, tom. i.*, p. 1066. The following editions of Johnstons *Psalms* have been published:—Londini, 1637, 8°; Aberdoniæ, 1637, 12°; Midleburgiæ, 1642, 12°; Londini, 1647, 12°; Cantabrigiæ, 12°; Amstelædam, 1706, 24°; Edinburgi, 1739, 8°; Edinburgi, 1739, 12°; Lond. 4°, 1741.

[60] *Cowley's Davideis.*—Cowley wrote a poem entitled *Davideidos Liber Primus*, which is also remarkable as an effort in Latin verse. The author's opinion that such books, in the education of youth, would be preferable to the Roman classics, appears to have been pretty generally adopted and carried out in Scottish seminaries and even colleges. Our copy of Buchanan's version of the Psalms was edited by Ruddiman, and printed in 1786. We observe from the fly-leaf that it originally belonged to a student of King's College, Aberdeen, named *James Cameron*, and that subsequently, in 1815, it was the property of another student named *William Spence.*

I am also of Opinion, that had wee English Schooles, and Academys, (as in France they have in their own Speech) to teach Rhetorick, oratory, Logicks, physicks, (or natural philosophy) & metaphysicks, medicin, navigation, merchandiseing & the mathematicks &c., And for y^e^ Military Art, & Disciplin; & (for intermediall Recreations) Fenceing, Danceing, Carveing, Rideing, &c. Then our Gentry and Noblemens Sonns would so (w^th^ greater delight & Study, & with less expence of Time & mony) become Knowing (Ergo learned) men. for Lords & Lozells,[61] would betake themselves respectively to learn what were most propper, or Liked them best, & thus w^th^ Ease improve their natural Talents.

For we see there are English bookes of All Arts & Sciences (originall or Translations) much more correct & improoved, than the writeings of former ages. So that Teachers are only wanting, & these may be had at y^e^ Same Sallarys, w^ch^ retain masters in the County Schooles, or other Schooles endowed by Noblemen, for Encouragem^t^ of builders in a new laid out town: w^ch^ masters nevertheless ought (& may) be able to teach Latin, Greek & Hebrew, to those who have Braines, Leizure, Sedulity, & money, to travaill that Toilesome, Tedious roade about y^e^ bush, to gaine a frothy Admiration; wheras Understanding & Knowledge, are the Same in every Contray or Language, & doth not consist in learning Sundry Alphabets or Lett^rs^, (w^ch^ (as I Said) is properest, for Clergymen & Travellers;) for many Persons (Especially young Princes) without Gramar, learn Latin, as also the French & Dutch Speeches, & y^e^ Sciences by y^e^ sole Conversation of Tutors; the Natures of men, born & bred high, (least of all and) Scarcely enduring the Fatigue Confinem^t^ & bondage of a gramar Schoole, to be cloggd with hard words of Participles, Gerunds, pronouns, interjections, Genders, tences, moodes, & Such like designations; unintelligible to many Masters themselves; & w^ch^ are very burdensome to y^e^ memory, by reason of y^e^ intricacy of their definitions, w^ch^ at y^e^ very first tryall, Seem insuperable to childrens Capacitys: it being implanted in the Natures of all Mankind to affect, & Endeavour Liberty & ease.

Now having taken this Liberty to descant, a Little upon Pedantick Learning you may read (if you please) Some of my thoughts concerning Poesy. I have heard for an old Roman Adage *nascuntur Poetæ, fiunt oratores*.. Yet this former wants Art to Methodize & Polish them, as well as y^e^ Latter.

Of Poesy.

It is Said that y^e^ word ποιεσις is derived from ωοιειν w^ch^ Signifys makeing & fiction, as well Invention as writeing Verses, w^ch^ are contrived in Severall Shaps and formes, as Statues are carved. Rime and Meetre, from y^e^ Greek Ριθμος and μετρον Signify admeasurm^t^, & are two words, for that one of Poesy & doe not import Lines or Sentences, w^ch^ chime, (Sounding alike at the ends of them:) for then wee Should find no Latin or Greek Poesy except what y^e^ Monasticks affoord us; or their few apish imitators. But these Original derivative Nouns denote that Verses Should have

[61] *Lozells* or *Losels*.—Meaning such as have "lost or cast off their own good or welfare, and so are become lewde and careless of credit and honesty." In Holinshed's *Richard II., anno* 1381, there is the following illustration of this word:—"But he that resisteth the proud and giveth his grace to the humble, would not permit the ungracious devices of the naughtie and lewd *lozzell* to take place, but suddainlie disappointed his mischeefous drift." Spenser, in his *Fairie Queen*, book ii., c. 4, employs and explains the word thus:—

"The whyles a losell wand'ring by the way,
One that to bountie never cast his mynd,
Ne thought of honour ever did assay
His baser breast," &c.

certain foot, Some have three measures wch are Six foot called Τριμετρον Some fewer measures named Τετραμετρον Some five termed Pentameters, Some Six, called Hexameters &c. hence Verses are in Generall called Numbers, because the Severall Sorts of them are Scanned, reconed and denominated, from ye number of their foot.

wch foot are words consisting of one or more Sylables of different extent (called quantitys) in pronouncing Some Long and others Short: but I designe not here to discover the Poetic Art, haveing Said more thereof els where:[62] but certainly I may conclude (according to my observation) That those Persons who are naturally enclined thereunto have more elevated & Refined mindes, than those whose thoughts grovell, on gaining earthly things: & So (for ye most Part Poets miss those left hand blessings. but it holds not that Poets must therefore be neglectors of estates. for poesy may be used as a Recreation, & as a pollisher of Speech, & not be the employmt of Life.

I shall therefore mention onely a few of our Family who were endowed with that Accomplishment.

Imprimis Capt Alexr Montgomery, mother brother to our 6t Laird.[63]

This Gentl man was an Excellent Poet, Witness his Poesy called the cherry & ye Slae[64] (that magi-

[62] *Thereof els where.*—What the author may have written on this subject is probably lost. We have nothing in the *Manuscripts* descriptive of, or defining the poetical art, but there are certain references to poets belonging to the Montgomery family, at p. 148, *supra*.

[63] *Mother brother to our 6t laird.*—See p. 12, *supra*. Alexander Montgomery, one of the most justly renowned of the early Scottish poets, was thus uncle of the sixth laird of Braidstane, afterwards first viscount Montgomery of the Great Ards. This statement of the author is very interesting, as it confirms the testimony of Timothy Pont respecting the particular branch of the Montgomerys to which the celebrated poet belonged. In Pont's *Topography of Cunninghame*, written about the year 1610, there is the following passage:—"Hasilheid Castle, a strong old building, environed with large ditches, seated on a loche, veil planted and commodiosly beautified: the heritage of Robert Montgomery, laird thereof. Faumes it is for ye birth of yat renomet poet, Alexander Montgomery." The poet was born in Germany, although he was of the family to which Hessilheid belonged. The old castle consisted principally of one capacious tower-shaped building, which formed the original manor place of the poet's family. The Hazlehead estate was a portion of the barony of Giffen, and passed into the hands of Francis Montgomery of Giffen, in the year 1680. The latter, on getting possession, built certain additions to the old castle, which, with the original structure, are now in ruins. It is curious that although Montgomery's poetry must have greatly contributed to the improvement of the generation in which he lived, no sketch of his personal history or career was written during his life, or even at the time of his death. Being uncle to the first viscount Montgomery, the poet must have been son to Hugh Montgomery,—probably fifth laird of Hazlehead,—who is mentioned among the lesser barons of Ayrshire as one of those who signed the famous Band, in 1562, for the maintenance of the reformed religion. This laird of Hazlehead, or Hesilhead, had one daughter married to the fifth laird of Braidstane, father of our first viscount; and another daughter married to sir William Mure of Rowallen. These ladies were sisters of the poet, and their children partook largely of the poetical vein of their brother Alexander. Sir William Mure's son and successor, also named sir William, was a poetical writer of no mean pretensions. In a poem addressed by him to the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I., sir William Mure thus refers to his uncle's celebrity:—

> "Matchless Montgomery, in his native tongue,
> In former times to that great sire hath sung;
> And often ravished his harmonious ear,
> With strains fit only for a prince to hear.
> My Muse, which nought doth challenge worthy fame,
> Save from Montgomery she her birth doth claim—
> Although his Phœnix ashes hath set forth
> Pan for Apollo, if compared in worth—
> Pretendeth little to supply his place,
> By *right hereditar* to serve thy grace."

The poet Montgomery is generally supposed to have been born about the year 1546, but whilst the year is not positively known, the poet himself has fixed the day on which he was born, in the following lines:—

> "Quhy wes my mother blyth when I wes borne?
> Quhy heght the weirds my weilfair to advance?
> *Quhy wes my birth on Ester day at morne?*
> Quhy did Apollo then appeir to dance?
> Quhy gave he me good morrow with a glance?
> Quhy leugh he in his golden chair and lap,
> Since that the hevins are hinderers of my hap?"

—*Scottish Journal of Topography, &c.*, vol. i., p. 178.

[64] *Cherry and ye Slae.*—This poem, which is better known than any of Montgomery's poetical efforts, was first published in Edinburgh, by Robert Waldegrave, in the year 1595, but MS. copies of it had been in circulation several years prior to that date. James VI. published, in 1584, his *Revlis and Cautelis of Scottis Poesie*, which contained large extracts from the *Cherrie and the Slae*. Several editions were printed in the interval between the close of the sixteenth and the middle of the eighteenth century. It is interesting to know that the *Cherrie and the Slae* must have been one of the agencies which assisted in moulding the wondrous poetical genius of Robert Burns. The latter has some happy imitations of Montgomery's style, and even certain equally happy adoptions of his very expressions.

zine of pithy witt) and his Sett matches of flyteing in verse (ag[t] the Laird of Polwart) before King James the 6[t] & his Scotish Court) out of w[ch] two Poems of few Sheets The Advocates in Edinbrugh take many Oratorious and Satyricall Apothegems.[65] Also his Dumb Solsequium: and his confession of a Sinner; (entituled his Lamentation) haveing for a Chorus (as it were at y[e] end of every Stanza those words viz Peccavi Pater! misere mei. then you may read his Non ardes ad Deum converti, it being his morning Muse: and also See his Declina a malo & fac bonum. w[ch] smal remainders of his elegant writeings have had (as I verily beleive) above a thousand impressions in London, Edinbrugh, Glasgow and Aberdeen (if alltogether be reconed) & will never faile to be reprinted again & again in Scotland,[66] I do not think they have as yet been out done, tho paralelled: The first named of them is lyrical, & is Sung to an harmonious musical tune, & were turned into

[65] *Satyricall Apothegems.*—The celebrated *Flyting* in verse between Alexander Montgomery and sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, must have been written prior to 1584, as it is quoted by King James in his Treatise on Scottish Poetry (see preceding note) published in that year. This *Flyting*, which does not possesses much poetical merit, was undertaken by Montgomery and Hume in imitation of the earlier and more celebrated *Flyting* between the poets Dunbar and Kennedy. Both *Flytings*, however, are now only curious as illustrating the peculiar adaptations of the Scottish tongue to the expression of broad humour or satirical abuse. *All* "the advocates of Edinburgh" were not admirers of Montgomery's *Flyting*, as might be inferred from our text, for lord Hailes has said that the poem only "tends to evince how poor, how very poor, genius appears, when its compositions are debased by the meanest prejudices of the meanest vulgar." This announcement, however, savours much of a hyper-critical spirit. See Irvine's *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, vol. ii., pp. 200, 201. The poetical talent of sir Patrick Hume did not die out of his family with himself. Grizzle Hume, a daughter of the eighth baron Polwart, and known as lady Baillie of Jerviswood, inherited this talent in an eminent degree, but, unfortunately, the troubles of the times in which she lived prevented its exercise, except in the production of a few lyrics of great beauty, which are thoroughly Scottish in thought and expression. She is the writer of *Were na my heart licht I wad dee*, in which the following lines occur:—

"He had a wee titty that loo'ed na me,
Because I was twice as bonnie as she;
She raised such a pother 'twixt him and his mother,
That were na my heart licht I wad dee.

His bonnet stood aye fu' round on his brow:
His auld ane look'd aye as well as some's new;
But now he lets 't weare ony gate it will hing,
And casts himself dowie upon the corn bing."

The following verses discovered, in her handwriting, among a parcel of old family letters, were printed in the *Scots Magazine*, new series, for 1818:—

"O the Ewe-bughting's bonnie, baith e'ening and morn,
When our blythe shepherds play on their bog reed and horn;
While we're milking they're lilting baith pleasant and clear—
But my heart's like to break when I think of my dear!

"O the shepherds take pleasure to blow on the horn,
To raise up their flocks o' sheep soon i' the morn;
On the bonnie green banks they feed pleasant and free—
But, alas! my dear Heart, all my sighing's for thee!"

—See *The Ladies of the Covenant*, pp. 206–221.

[66] *Again and again in Scotland.*—See note 63, *supra*. Besides the editions of the *Cherrie and the Slae* which appeared in 1595 and 1597, there were editions of Montgomery's whole poetical works printed in the years 1605, 1615, 1629, 1636, 1645, 1668, 1675, 1711, 1722, 1754, 1779, and 1821. Besides the *Cherrie and the Slae* and the *Flyting*, he has written a lengthened and beautiful poem, entitled the *Minds Melodie*, together with a great number of sonnets, odes, psalms, and epitaphs. He is almost the only Scottish poet who has ventured to write *sonnets* in his native Scottish language. Of the *seventy* sonnets, there are many truly beautiful, both in thought and expression. Some of Montgomery's minor poems give us glimpses of his life, which, like the lives of most poets, was seriously beset with evil in various shapes. Here is an illustration:—

"If lose of guids, if gritest grudge or grief,
If poverty, imprisonment, or pane,
If for guid-will ingratitude agane,
If languishing in languor, but relief,
If det, if dolour, and to become deif,
If travell tint, and labour lost in vane,
Do properlie to poets appertane,—
Of all that craft my chance is to be chief:
With August, Virgill waunted his reward,
And Ovid's lote als lukles as the lave;
Quhill Homer lived, his hap wes very hard,
Yit, when he died, sevin cities for him strave.
Thoght I am not lyk one of thame in arte,
I pingle them perfythe in that parte."

In another sonnet, we meet the following reference to his difficulties:—

"This is no lyfe that I leid up-a-land,
On raw red herring, reisted in the reik;
Syn I am subject som tyme to be seik,
And daily deing of my auld diseis;
Ait bread, ill aill, and all things are ane eik;
This barme and blaidry buists up all my bess."

In the verses intended to celebrate the charms of lady Margaret Montgomery, countess of Wintoun, and mother of Alexander, sixth earl of Eglinton, we meet these lines:—

"Quhose nobill birth, and royal bluid
Hir better nature does exceid.
Hir native giftes, and graces guid
Sua bonteouslie declair indeid,
As waill and wit of womanheid
That sa with vertew dois ourfleit.
Happie is he that sall posseid
In marriage this Margareit."

Latin Verses, with the Same number of foot and unisons as in the Original; A stupendious work indeed! fitt for the acute witts, of that Scottish friary (beyond our Seas) wch undertook it:[67]
Item the 3d 6t Laird made most apposit application of poesy (Latin and English) in discours as afores: So that it may be believed, he at least understood poesy well. and it is probable he composed Verses of his own. As for his Eldest Son our 2d Visct I never Saw him, nor have any of his papers, but he being an Exactly bred courtier, & of ready witt, we may presume he was not altogether out of that mode wch was in vogue in his days.[68]

Then for our sd Lairds 2d Son, Sr J. Montg: I have not only his philosophical & mathematicall writeings, but his Poeticall also, on whcb làst . . . . . & I will leave them . . . . . son who is a competent Judge of verses.[69]

Sr Wm Alexr, Earl of Striveling was & is (tho' dead) a famous speaking Poet,[70] as witnesseth his Volume folio in Heroicks, lyricks, & pindaricks, (& was also an acquireing able statesman, purchaseing honor and lands) whch writeings he stiles Recreations wth ye Muses, for so they should be & not works, as Ben Johnston called his Plays.

He also paraphrased the Psalter (whereof K: Ja: ye first had turned Some psalms,) and the book was Sett forth in Print, under the title of the Psalms of King David, translated by King James: who intended to have had them Sung in churches:[71] but ye English Bps diverted the designe, telling

These lines contrast favourably even with Tennyson's immortal chant:—

> "Howe'er it be, it seems to me,
> 'Tis only noble to be good;
> Kind hearts are more than coronets,
> And simple faith than royal blood."

[67] *Which undertook it.*—The author here refers to the Latin paraphrase of the *Cherrie and the Slae*, written by the well-known Thomas Dempster, author of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*. The fact of this Latin version being signed by the initial letters T.D. S.P. M.B. P.P., probably led William Montgomery and others to suppose that several "acute witts of that Scottish friary" were employed in the task. Thomas Dempster, however, now gets credit for being the sole paraphrast, and the initial letters are understood to be those of the words *Thomas Dempsterus, Scotiæ Patricius, Muresk Baro, Professor Parisiensis, or Professor Pisanus, or Pandectarum Professor*. See Irvine's *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, vol. ii., p. 194.

[68] *Vogue in his days.*—The fact that James VI. was in some degree a poet, and wrote verses, rendered the poetical art quite popular among the nobles for many years after the king had passed away.

[69] *Judge of verses.*—The author speaks in this passage of leaving sir James Montgomery's poetical works in charge of his (the author's) son, James Montgomery; but the latter, although he may have been a competent judge of verses, was not favourably circumstanced for attending to such matters. These poems are either lost, or have been carried by James Montgomery's descendant and representative to Australia.

[70] *Famous speaking poet.*—See p. 73, note 14, *supra*. The earl of Stirling's poems are all collected and published in Alexander Chalmers' edition of *The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper*, 1810.

[71] *Sung in churches.*—In 1631, several years after the death of James I., a complete version was printed at Oxford, under the title of *The Psalms* of King David translated by King James. But although Charles I. was anxious to have it believed that his father was the author, the truth is, king James's labours did not extend beyond the thirty-first psalm. Dr. Williams, who preached his funeral sermon, has the following reference to this point:—"Hee was in hand (when God called him to sing psalmes with the angels) with the translation of our church psalmes, which hee intended to have finished and dedicated withall to the only saint of his devotion, the church of Great Britaine, and that of Ireland. *This worke was staied in the one and thirtie psalme.*" "In the genuine verses of king James, and particularly in those of his later volume, the phraseology is not very decidedly Scottish; but the phraseology of the Psalms is so materially English, that they must all have passed through other hands. It is therefore highly probable that his portion (thirty-one Psalms) was revised, and the translation completed, by some court poet; and this poet appears to have been William Alexander, afterwards earl of Stirling. In a letter addressed to Drummond, and dated in the year 1620, he apparently speaks of the king and himself being both employed in versifying the psalms. 'I received your last letter, with the Psalm you sent, which I think very well done: I have done the same long before it came, but he prefers his own to all else, tho' perchance, when you see it, you will think it the worst of the three. No man must meddle with that subject, and therefore I advise you to take no more pains therein.' In 1627, two years after the king's death, sir William Alexander obtained a patent securing to him the sole right, for thirty-one years, of printing, or causing to be printed, the Psalms of King David, translated by King James."—Irving's *History of Scottish Poetry*, edited by J. A. Carlyle, pp. 511, 512.

his Maty that ye People had most of ye present psalms by heart, & would be loath to buy, or learn this his new book; besides ye Papists wold accuse ye old as faulty, because laid aside, & tax his Majty as an Innovator.[72]

This sd Earles Elldest daughter (our 2d Viscontess) composed good Godly Verses, & her Elldest Son our 3d Visct was an Acurate Poet, I have Seen only a few coppys of his makeing & I have one of them, wch was an elegy made on ye death of his first Lady aforenamed. & his brother James did make witty drolling Rimes; as hath been afores^{d}: and this Earle is excelent at Poesy, & is a great Judge of Such like pieces; but his Lop hath laid it aside, and his modesty conceals what he hath done.

Spotswood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 466, referring to this joint-labour in the production of the translation, says, "The revising of the psalms he (King James) made his own labor, and at such hours as he might spare from the publick cares went through a number of them, commending the rest to a faithful and learned servant, who hath therein answered his Majesties expectations."

[72] *As an Innovator.*—Charles I. was anxious to have his father's translation (or rather that which bore his name) adopted by the churches, and used in public worship throughout his dominions. The edition of 1631 was accompanied with the following royal announcement: —"Charles R. Haueing caused this translation of the Psalmes (whereof our late deare father was author) to be perused, and it being found to be exactly and truly done, wee doe hereby authorize the same to be imprinted according to the patent granted thereupone, and doe allow them to be song in all the churches of our dominions, recommending them to all oure goode subjects for that effect." This recommendation, however, produced almost no effect, the bishops in England declining to use the translation for the reasons stated by our author in the text. The Scottish clergy violently opposed its introduction for two reasons,—first, because it had been undertaken without the approbation of the church, and secondly, because it contained many poetical phrases unintelligible to the common people. These phrases occurred principally in the psalms translated by the king, but although sir William Alexander substituted other and better expressions, there seems to have been an almost universal opposition to this version. Among the *Woodrow MSS.* lately printed in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, there are several papers originally written to dissuade the people from using it. In one of these papers entitled *Reasons against the Publick Use of this new Metaphrase of the Psalmes*, the writer says—"The people call them Mentries (Alexander's) Psalmes; bot wee heir that another, if not others, also hath had ane hand in them, and that these have revised King James his part." When this revision was set aside, others came forward for public approval, among which were those of Zachary Boyd, sir William Mure, and Francis Rouse. The last mentioned, being recommended by the English parliament, was approved by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and reprinted in 1646. Principal Baillie, who was present in the Westminster Assembly, as commissioner from the Church of Scotland, in a letter dated January 1, 1644, says:—"An old, most honest member of the House of Commons, Mr. Rous, has helped the old psalter in the most places faulty. His friends are very pressing in the assembly that his book may be examined, and helped by the author in what places it should be found meet, and then be commended to the parliament, that they may enjoin the public use of it. One of their considerations is the great private advantage which would by this book come to their friend. . . . I wish I had Rowallan's psalter here, for I like it much better than any yet I have seen." In the year 1647, the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, having come to the conclusion that a revision of Rouse revised would be necessary, "appointed John Adamson to examine the first forty psalms, Thomas Crawford the second forty, John Row the third forty, and John Nevey the remaining thirty. The act enjoins that 'in their examination, they shall not only observe what they thinks needs to be amended, but also to set down their own essay for correcting thereof, and for this purpose recommends them to make use of the travels (works) of Rowallen, Master Zachary Boyd, or any other on that subject, but especially of our own paraphrase, that what they finde better in any of these works may be chosen.' . . . . . In the assembly of 1649 the subject of Rouse's paraphrase was again resumed: six individuals were appointed to complete the revision, and to make a final report to the commission at its meeting in the month of November; the commission was authorized to sanction the corrected paraphrase, and published it for general use. The version of Rouse was thus subjected to innumerable changes and modifications; nor would it have been suffered to retain many poetical ornaments if it had originally possessed them."—Irving's *History of Scottish Poetry*, edited by J. A. Carlyle, pp. 517, 518. See also Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 192.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SOME MEMOIRES OF WILLIAM MONTGOMERY OF ROSEMOUNT,

IN THE COUNTY OF DOWNE, ESQ.,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

Wherein are also his sentiments on divers subjects interjected, finished A° D^ni^ 1702.[1]

NOW, that I may not disappoint the reader (who hath perused the foregoing pages) of his curiosity, w^ch^, perhaps, wold be gratify^d^, by telling him a story of myself, & to recompence his complacency and pains in y^e^ Lecture of y^e^ premisses; & to be as bigg as my promise;[2] I have again taken up my tired pen, and will vex my old decaying eys to give him my own Account

[1] *A° Dni* 1702.—The following memoir, although only a fragment of the author's account of himself, is a curious and valuable addition to the *Manuscripts* already printed. Unfortunately, it is but a part, probably about one-third, of his autobiographical memoir, and brings down the narrative of his life only as far as the year 1670. This fragment occupies thirty-two quarto pages, written pretty closely, and in the author's neatest hand, but the whole memoir as prepared by him must have extended to at least one hundred pages. In the MS. copy of his *Memoir of the Savadges*, the author has a marginal reference to "*p:* 92 *of my Own Life*;" and, as this page would have brought his autobiography to about the year 1700, it may be reasonably presumed that we have, in this fragment, not more than the third part thereof, if, indeed, so much. The editor is indebted for this additional portion of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* to the kindness of Mrs. Sinclair, late of the Falls of Belfast, and now residing in England, whose great grandfather, colonel William Montgomery of Killough, was grandson of the author. This colonel William Montgomery married Isabella Campbell, seventh daughter of the hon. John Campbell of Mamore, in Lochaber, who was second son of Archibald, ninth earl of Argyle, and brother to Archibald, the first duke of Argyle. By Isabella Campbell, colonel Wm. Montgomery left three children viz.: one son, also named William, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Anna Helena. The son was accidently killed, when a youth, at Killough, in the year 1736. Elizabeth died unmarried. Anna Helena married William Heatley, esq., of Riversdale, county of Wicklow, leaving by him three sons and a daughter, namely—1. *Conway*, a barrister-at-law; 2. *Wm. Campbell*, an officer in the army; 3. *John Montgomery*, a student in the Middle Temple; and 4. *Isabella*, who died unmarried. The eldest son, *Conway*, in right of his mother, was permitted to assume the name and arms of Montgomery, in the year 1820. The following is a copy of the patent granted on that occasion:—

"Whereas, His Majesty has been graciously pleased, by letter under his Royal Signet and Sign Manual, bearing Date at Carlton House, the twenty-ninth day of July, 1820, to Signify unto Earl Talbot, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that he had been pleased to grant unto Conway Heatley, Esq., Barrister-at-law, eldest Son of William Heatley, Esq., by his wife, Anna Helena, daughter of William Montgomery, Esq., of Rosemount, in the County of Down, Esquire, by his wife Isabella, daughter of the Honourable John Campbell of Mammore of the Kingdom of Scotland (second Son of Archibald, ninth earl, and only Brother of Archibald, the first Duke of Argyle) by his wife the Honourable Elizabeth Elphinstone, daughter of John, Lord Elphinstone, which William Montgomery was only Son and Heir of James Montgomery, Esq., of Rosemount aforesaid, a younger branch of the noble family of Montgomery, Viscounts Montgomery, and Earls of Mount-Alexander, His Royal License and Authority that he and his Issue may take the surnames and bear the Armorial Ensigns of Montgomery, with a view to perpetuate his descent from the aforesaid noble families.

"By virtue of the Authority in me vested under the great Seal of Ireland, I do confirm unto the said Conway Montgomery, Esq., and to his Issue, the Arms following—

Quarterly, First and Fourth, Azure three Fleurs de Lys, or. Second and third—Gules, three Gem Rings, or, Stoned, Azure, on an Inescutcheon Gules—a Sword and Sceptre—in Saltire Proper; the whole within a Bordure of Scotland, viz., or, a double Tressure Flory Counter-Flory Gules.

"Crest, on a Chapeau—a Dexter Gauntlet erect, and holding a dagger proper. Motto—Honneur Sans Repos. The whole to be borne by the said Conway Montgomery, Esq., and his Issue for ever here after according to the Law of Arms.

"(Signed)

"WILLIAM BETHAM.
"Ulster King of Arms."

Conway Heatley Montgomery left three children, viz.: 1. *Frederick Campbell*, a major in the 50th regiment. In 1835, he accompanied his regiment to New South Wales, where he received a grant of lands, and retired from the service; 2. *Caroline*, married to Hugh Cathcart, esq., heir to his uncle, sir Andrew Cathcart of Killoughan castle, Ayrshire; and 3. *Augusta*, married to the late Thomas Sinclair, esq., of Belfast. Mrs. Sinclair's great grandmother, Isabella Campbell, had four sisters, the eldest of whom, *Mary*, married the second earl of Rosberry; the second, *Ann*, married Archibald Edmonstone, of Redhall, esq.; the third, *Jane*, married John Campbell of Carrick; and the fourth, *Primrose*, became the wife of the ill-fated Simon Fraser, lord Lovat. Mrs.

of myself—Even as I have made my Repository; to be peculiar for my proper earthly remains, and those of my 2nd self, namely, my deservedly Deare, Deare, and onely wife, whom I have within these few months (by translation put in possession thereof), and in these two performances I am not guilty of affectation or singularity, or designe to gaine applause thereby, but can shew presidents of ye like done by well approved writers, & thereby I have made use of my due freedom in so doeing, and writing :[3] So I leave all Persons to theirs, in judgeing as they please : bee it by

Sinclair remembers her father and mother (who lived generally in England) coming to visit their kinsfolk, the Edmonstons of Redhall. Their families had been still earlier united by the intermarriage of James Montgomery of Rosemount, Mrs. Sinclair's great-great-grandfather, with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Archibald Edmonston, owner of Redhall and laird of Duntreath.

[2] *As bigg as my promise.*—The portion of his Manuscripts in which this promise was made has not been printed, and is probably lost.

[3] *So doeing and writing.*—The "two performances" here referred to by the author consisted in writing an account of his own life, and building his own tomb, the "Repository" of which he speaks in the text. When Harris visited Greyabbey, nothing appears to have been known of this vault, or the curious inscriptions recently found therein. On the 6th of September, 1843, the wall that closed the arch to form the east end of the old church in the Abbey was taken down, and when the rubbish was cleared away, the "Repository" appeared. On the removal of the flag that closed the front of it, a skull was discovered lying on the left side of the entrance, and on the right side a coffin, apparently perfect. The cloth that had covered it was gone, and on being touched, the coffin fell to pieces. Inside, there was a greasy substance, but not a bone had remained in shape. Under the coffin lay a coarse quarry flag, two feet broad, and five feet long, having on it the following inscription cut into it, in round hand, most probably by William Montgomery himself :—

Memento Mori

A Periphrasis of this
Buriall Vault or Tombe or grave viz.
It is no comon charnel hous but our
Worms banqueting hall & the Porch of
Æternitys Mansion Pallaces.
Mortuis informis crypta hæc habitatio sicque
Incolis ceu Domus est, quoque perennis erit
The Premises Paraphrased
An humble noiseless dark retireing Roome
(as Mankinds Dues lasting not last Home
a strifeless bed tis & a Resting place
which alwayes Levells all of mortal Race
Goodmen from Griefs into our Lords joy goe
Freed from all Sinn, wants, toill, paine, sickness, woe,
Who this our consecrated Vault or Roome
Breaks up or takes from us ere day of Doome
a Portion may for Swine or foxes bee
Loaded with just Reproachfull Infamy
a grateful issue saves our liberty
This is for Wm. & Elizabeth Montgomerys alone
a ploce to ly in. Made Ao. Dni. 1702.

"On a common house slate, found leaning against the left side of the Vault inside, was the following inscriptions written in white paint, except the two first lines, which are cut into the slate :—

This is directed to all Mankind
& mostly to our offspring
This Vault april Ao. Dni. 1699 is built
at ye cost of Wm. Montgomery*
of Rosemount Esqr. reserving it for ye
Buriall place onely of himself & his be-
loved wife ye honble. Elizabeth sole
daughter of Hugh 2nd Lord Visct. Mont-
gomery of ye great Ards.
The said William contributed largely & was
constantly assisting to the roofing of this
Church let none therefore invade their
Property nor Slight their earthly remains
by ejecting them or intrudeing others
into their wedded Mansion hous and
deserved quiet grave roome wherein they
are layd to rest that they may rise together
at ye great openeing day of generall judgment
For all irreverence and wrong done to the dead
as well as ye liveing. all glory bee to God
Amen

The coffin on the left side of the entrance was quite gone, but the Skeleton perfect and in its place—a mass of auburn hair lying round the base of the skull. It is remarkable, that on the Slab which lies outside, over this Vault, it is stated that the Honble Elizabeth Montgomery died on the 15th Nov. 1677, aged 42 years, and, on the small slate inside, the Vault is stated to have been built, April, A° Dni. 1699. William Montgomery died on the 7th January, 1706-7, or twenty-nine years after his lady's decease, yet her bones were perfect, but of his no vestiges remained. His wife died when she was only 42, whereas he was 74, and his bones would, therefore, much sooner crumble to dust. This Vault is evidently built on the spot where Sir James Montgomery's '2 other virtuous ladies' and their children rest—as stated in the Inscription on his monument."—*MS. Notes of colonel F. O. Montgomery.* See p. 345, *supra.* The following inscriptions were found by Harris on a monument "adorned with Cherubs' Heads, the Rose, Thistle, and flower de lys." :—

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ.

In Honoratum Gulielmum Mountgomery de Rosemount Armigerum, qui in Domino obdormivit 7mo. die of January, Anno ΧΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΙΑΣ 1706-7. *Æt.* 74.

Armiger, ecce, manu, vita, literisque profundis,
Qui largus, lampas, Corybæus, fata peregit,
Laude, fide, genere, et clementia tum probitate
Luxit laudatus, præcellens, vicit amatus.

At the bottom,

Idyllium hoc elaboravit et Sculpsit
Al. Duncan

* It is not clear whether this should be written *at ye cost* or *by ye care.*

Censure or Approbation: Onely this Protestation I doe enter viz. That I need not write to procure memory of my Name, Surname and dwelling; because they will be spoken of whilst y^e^ Act of Explanation of the Act of Settling Ireland is read,[4] or the Records of y^e^ green chamber of Trustees of y^e^ Officers who served their Maj^ty^ before y^e^ 5^th^ of June, 1649;[5] or the two patents past to me for y^e^ s^d^ service, and for having reprisalls given mee, doe remain:[6] or whilst y^e^ inrollment of his Maj^ty^ K. Ch: y^e^ 2^d^ patent to mee for being Custos Rotulorum Pacis in this County of Downe is legible.[7]

And I premise also that this Narrative of myself must not be expected, as calculated for an Ephemeris, or Analls of my Life, nor full account of my Ignorances, inadvertancys, or negligences, & Faults, nor of the Qualifications which are called commendable: but a part, of both the good

The above inscription is headed IAH with *Memoriæ Sacrum* under it, which escaped the attention of *Harris*, and was kindly supplied to the editor by colonel F. O. Montgomery. The following inscription appears on a slab lying flat on the floor of the chancel:

Sit Hypogæum hoc nobis (et Memoriæ) Sacrum.
The Hon. Elizabeth Mountgomery died the 15th of November Anno Domini Christi 1677, aged 42 years. William Mountgomery of Rosemount, Esq; her only Husband, continued a Widower, and so died on the 7th day of January Anno Dicti Domini 1706, being 74 years old.

Hugh, first Lord Viscount Mountgomery of the great Ardes (by his two eldest sons) was grandfather of them whose earthly Remains are laid in the Vaulted Tomb before this Manx Marble; both which were made for their peculiar Repository by the Care, Pains, and Cost, of the said William, in a due Deference to the said Elizabeth, his good and only Wife. Their only Issue James in August 1687, married Elizabeth, eldest Daughter of Archibald Edmonstone, Laird of Duntreth, whose children now living are Elizabeth, William, Martha, and James. The dead were Anna, Helena, Hugh, Jane, and Archibald; being all God's lovely Loans.

Let then their Bones and Dust rest here untost;
Others, room having elsewhere, nothing's lost;
Intruders (still) graceless Usurpers are,
Ones Tomb belongs not even to his Heir.
Them twice by God joined, none but he may sever,
Th'are laid up here, till he raise them for ever.
May all their Race be pious, and safe keep
This House and Bed, where in our Lord they sleep.
Corpora dant tumulo, signant quoq; Carmine Saxum,
Quod impositum donavit Franciscus Allen Armiger.
Readers, Remember Job, Ch. 19. v. 25. 26. 27.
Deut. Ch. 5. v. 16. and Ch. 27. v. 16. Endeavour to obtain, Rom. Ch. 16. v. 24. Amen.
Ric. Osborne Sculpsit.

—Harris, *State of the County of Down*, pp. 53, 54.

"The Slab over the Vault of Wm. Montgomery and Elizabeth his wife, in Greyabbey, was broken by the fall of a stone from the Tower, in January, 1839. The Inscription on it commencing with *sit Hypogæum hoc nobis &c.*, was accurately re-cut on a new slab, in all respects similar, with the following added at the bottom:—"The Slab which contained the original of the above Inscription having been broken by a stone, which fell upon it in the storm of the 7th January, 1839, Hugh Montgomery, Esq., of Greyabbey, caused the Inscription to be exactly copied on the stone which is placed in the same spot where the broken Slab lay, A.D. 1843." The author, William Montgomery, was succeeded by his only child, James, who, in 1687, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Archibald Edmonston of Ballycarry. This lady died in the year 1717, and her husband followed in 1728. "On the 8th of October, 1834, the vault in which they were interred was laid open whilst the rubbish of the fallen roof in front of the steps of the communion platform in the abbey church was being cleared away. This vault is placed on the south side of that containing the remains of the author. In the centre of James Montgomery's vault lay two coffins; the one on the left had 1728 and the letter 'I' on it. Probably the 'I' had been followed by an 'M,' but as the lid was then much gone, no other letters were to be seen. This date and letter were attached to the cloth that covered the lid. On the coffin to the right, in brass nails on the lid, was—

E. M.
Aged 50
1717.

In neither coffin were there any remains of bones, only a part of a skull in that of 1728. There were remains of other coffins of older date. I suppose these two above-mentioned to have been those of James Montgomery, only son of William Montgomery, author of the *Manuscripts*, and Elizabeth, daughter of Archibald Edmondstone, his wife. They were married in 1687."—*MS. Notes of colonel F. O. Montgomery.*

[4] *Is read.*—A clause, LXXXVII., was introduced into this act, providing, that for the debentures the author had purchased, the commissioners were to set out for him so much forfeited lands as would be sufficient to satisfy the same, according to such rules and proportions as regulated any other debentures. See p. 211, *supra*.

[5] *5th of June*, 1649.—The grant of lands and houses made to the author on behalf of the 1649 officers, is dated 5th October 20th Charles II. (1668). The officers mentioned in this grant were lieutenant-colonel Hugh Montgomery, lieutenant Robert Montgomery, lieutenant Abraham Smith, William Buckanon, major Alexander Adair, and William Johnston.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., pp. 176, 306.

[6] *Doe remaine.*—His patent for having reprisals is dated 25th August, 1668, and was enrolled on the 15th of the following September This grant included 95a. 2r. 26p. profitable, and 30 acres unprofitable land in Dromaghlish; in Dunbegg, 65a. 1r. 13p. profitable, and 5 acres unprofitable, in the barony of Kinalarty, county of Downe, rent £2 3s. 1d.; in Dunevilly, alias Rosemount park, 143 acres profitable, and 48 unprofitable, in the barony of Ards, at the rent of £1 18s. 7d.; of Lisderry, alias Montgomerystown, in the barony of Magherastephana, county of Fermanagh, 741a. 3r. 34p., plantation measure, at the rent of £10 0s. 1½d.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p. 170.

[7] *Is legible.*—See p. 242, *supra*.

and bad, because I cannot otherwise choose, for *Ipse Bernardus non vidit omnia*, And I think, *nec memenisse potuit, nec mundo obligatus fuit, cunctorum de sua vita recordari;* nor no more are we bound to expose ourselves totally than he was:

But Truth is Great and shall prevaile,
Tho Dev'lish calumnys assaile.

I begin then with my undertaking; wherein I will trace the steps of Time (as near as I can) from my birth hitherto, and Leave what follows to be done by my son.[8] October, 1633.

Imprimis as to the time and place of my birth & descent from both my Parents, I referr you to Page third in S^r James Montg: Life,[9] for I designe to avoyd Repetitions.

Item I was cheated of my milk (the nurses husband having spoiled it) which put me in a Decay, that with great care of my grandmother Stewart[10] (who kept mee till I was in y^e 11^th yeare of mine Age), I escaped a consumption of y^e Lungs, & I doe keep to this day, that Cough w^ch I contracted in y^e Cradle.

but I arrived not to the stature of my father, uncles, or cosens germans: and yet am in equal height, to y^e present Earle and his brother;[11] and thousands of men are lower many inches than mee. Mount alexander.

Item I was kept at School in Newtoun Stewart house, and thrived at my book; for God bestowed on mee an aptitude and a desire for it w^ch minds me of one Line I then learned, viz: *Ingenio pollet, cui vim natura negavit.*

I aspired to be a man as soon as I could; and therefore had a picke, and a muskett made to my size: and on y^e 23^d of October, 1641[12], was in y^e Garden performing y^e postures of my Arms with my grand father S^r W^m Stewarts foot company; himself viewing his soldiers & their Arms, & exercising them; when about fower houres afternoon (to our amazement) a man half stript, came with a Letter, signifying y^e Insurrections, Murthers, and burnings, on all sides, committed by y^e Irish. The messengers one after another came (sweating and out of breath) from divers quarters; with Like consternation and haste, (as Jobs escaped servants did, to tell him of his Losses), and they related the crewell Massacres of divers persons,[13] also ere night many men and women fled into towns, and S^r W^m ordered his company & y^e refugees in best manner for defence.[14] Irish Rebellion breaks out.

[8] *By my son.*—It is not probable that James Montgomery of Rosemount, the author's son, left any family memoirs.

[9] *Sr James Montg: Life.*—This passage in the author's memoir of sir James has not been printed, and is probably lost. From the marginal note here occurring we find that William Montgomery was born in October, 1633, but there is no mention, throughout the *Manuscripts*, of the place of his birth. In the preface to the volume printed in 1830, it is stated that he was born at Aughaintain in Tyrone, on the 27th of October, from which it may be supposed that the passage referred to in the text must have been in the *MS.* from which the memoir of sir James was printed, in 1830.

[10] *My grandmother Stewart.*—This lady, the wife of sir William Stewart, was Frances, second daughter of sir Robert Newcomen, of Mosstown, in the county of Longford. Her mother was Catherine, daughter of sir Thomas Molyneux, chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., p. 274.

[11] *And his brother.*—Hugh, who succeeded as second earl of Mount-Alexander, in 1663, and his brother Henry, who became third earl in 1716, are the persons here referred to.

[12] *23rd of October*, 1641.—The date of the breaking out of the great Irish rebellion. See pp. 251, 252, *supra*.

[13] *Of divers persons.*—It has been sometimes contended that the massacres in Tyrone were not perpetrated until 1642, and then only in retaliation, or from a terror of the Protestant forces. No doubt, massacres of prisoners were committed in 1642 by sir Phelim O'Neill's adherents throughout several towns in Tyrone, after they had heard of the slaughters done by English troops in the Pale, and by Scottish troops at Newry,—but this curious and important passage of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* proves that Protestants had been massacred in Tyrone on the very first day of the lamentable outbreak.

[14] *For defence.*—Sir William Stewart, very soon after the commencement of the rebellion, received a commission dated 16th November, under the king's signet at Edinburgh,

And that very night y^e^ whole country (round about us) was in flames: & M^r^ James Montgomery of Ashra (a worthy gentl^n^) was murdered after he had fought and gott quarters.

We are taken to Derry.

S^r^ W^m^ Leaving a guard in his sd house, went next morning with his Lady and family to Strabane (where was a town full of Brittish Inhabitants, as also at Lifford, on y^e^ other side of y^e^ river) & thence to Londonderry, ten miles further.

which town haveing been burned by Odogharty 39 years before that time,[15] y^e^ Londoners did enclose and fortify it with a stone wall, whereby it hath been (A° 1689) a 2^d^ time a refuge ag^t^ y^e^ crewell Irish: from thence S^r^ W^m^ transported, into Glasgow, his Lady, his son Thomas (who was about 2 years my senior,[16] with his grand daughter Francelina Semple, heiress and only childe of Sir W^m^ Semple of Letterkenny,[17], & myself, we two were there sorely taken by y^e^ small pox.

In y^t^ town I was put to y^e^ great school w^ch^ taught Lattine and despauters grammar;[18] because I had gone through the Accidence in Ireland.

return to Derry.

We continued above a year in Scotland, & returning to Derry, aboade therin, & I was at School all y^e^ while, for Newtoun and Aghentean Mannor houses were burnt, and y^e^ contray far and near was wasted.[19]

for raising a regiment of 1000 foot, with a troop of horse, and to take whatever measures might be in his power for the safety of the country. He and his brother, sir Robert Stewart, co-operated during that eventful crisis, and the troops they hastily collected soon rendered most efficient service against the insurgents. Their first movement was to relieve the castle of Augher, in which captain Mervyn was besieged by sir Phelim Roe O'Neill. On the expulsion of the Irish, the Stewarts left a garrison at that place, and following O'Neill, who was on his way to burn the town of Raphoe, they encountered him again at Castlederg, and inflicted upon him a second crushing defeat. Before the end of that year, they met and routed the Irish near the gap of Barnesmore, and, on the 16th of June, in the following year, they defeated a large force under the same leader, which he had collected from almost every county in Ulster.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi. pp. 246, 247.

[15] *That time.*—Derry had been burned by sir Cahir O'Dogherty in 1608, or thirty-three years prior to the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641. For a notice of sir Cahir O'Doherty's revolt, see pp. 20, 21, *supra*.

[16] *Two yeurs my senior.*—Sir Wm. Stewart had five sons, viz. sir Alexander (killed at the battle of Dunbar), William, John, and Robert, who died unmarried; and Thomas, mentioned in the text, who appears to have been youngest of the five. When the male representatives of Alexander, the eldest son, became extinct by the death of sir William Stewart, the third viscount Mountjoy, in 1769, the title of baronet devolved on the heirs male of Thomas, the youngest son. The latter resided at Fort-Stewart, in the county of Donegal, and was father of colonel Wm. Buda Stewart, whose son Ezekiel, of Fort-Stewart, married Anne, sister of the Rev. Bernard Ward. Their youngest son, Annesley, became, in 1769, seventh baronet in succession from the sir William Stewart mentioned in the text.--Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., pp. 247, 257.

[17] *Of Letterkenny.*—Sir William Stewart had two daughters, the elder of whom, Catherine, was mother to our author; and the younger, *Anne*, was married to sir William Semple of Letterkenny. Lodge (ed. by Archdall, vol. vi., p. 247), speaks of lady Semple as leaving an only daughter named *Anne*, who became the wife of sir Charles Hamilton of Killishandra, in the county of Cavan. Lodge must have erred in the christian name of her daughter, which the author records as being *Francelina*, and William Montgomery could not mistake in this point. Probably the lady bore both names.

[18] *Despauters grammar.*—The celebrated grammarian, Despautère, was born about the year 1460, at Ninove, a little town of Brabant. Of him a writer in the *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xi., pp. 222, 223, says:—"On a de lui des *Rudiments*, une *Grammaire*, une *Syntaxe*, une *Prosodie*, un *Traité des figures et des tropes*, imprimés en un vol. in fol., chez Robert Estienne, sous le titre de *Commentarii Grammatici;* la date en est de 1537; il en parut une autre edition a Lyon, de 1563, in 4°. La grammaire de Despautere fut autrefois d' un grand usage, surtout en France. Trop long-temps elle fit désespoir de la jeunesse, à qui elle coûta bien des larmes; il fallut bien se contenter alors du seul livre qu'on possèdât en ce genre. . . . On a encore de Despautère (que Valère Andrè ne craint pas d' appeler le prince des grammariens de son siècle), les ouvrages suivants. 1. *Orthographia*, imprimé a Paris, en 1530, par les soins de Laevinus Crucius; 2. *Ars Epistolica*, qui parut en 1535; 3. Un Traitè *De Accentibus et Punctis*; 4. un traité *De Carminum Generibus*. Despautère fut justement regretté des Savants humanistes de son temps. On trouve, dans les lettres de Gui Patin, cette épitaphe d'assez mauvais goût: *Grammaticam scivit, multos docuitque annos: Declinare tamen non potuit tumulum.*

[19] *Far and near was wasted.*—Sir William Stewart deposed on oath in October, 1643, that *three* of his chief houses, one new built church, two market towns, and certain villages—all of which cost upwards of £2,200—were burned down by the Irish at the outbreak of the rebellion. He was also despoiled of the possession, rents, and profits of his lands, worth near £2,000 a year, and

In this town I was Inclined to paint Coats of Arms, w^ch one Hart practised: and in May, 1644, my father sent for me, by y^e way of Colrain: I haveing never been in y^e county of Down before then.[20] I was attended (for a servant) by W^m Coningham aforesaid, who was bred at school with me in Derry; and he could write well; Him (after 2 or 3 years) my father took to be his clerk, and you have heard how he was with him at his death.[21] Sent for home

At Rosemount I found my Cosen Hugh Savadge of Porteferry, May, 1644, and his two sisters;[22] y^e women were taught vocal and Instrumentall Music by Thomas Naale adduced to that end; and they had a school mistris to other purposes, & we had for our teacher M^r Alex^r Boyd a Mr. of Arts, who had traveld into France as Tutor to M^r Echlin of Ardwhinns sons,[23] this gentleman wrote very well, and instilled y^e French tongue insensibly in me, not as a task but recreation: wherein I took delight, because I would be like my father, who spoke it, & encouraged me to learn. I had divers other cosens of y^e Savadges, and Neighbours sonns, at School with me, whose company made my study the Less a burden to me, & when I was removed to y^e great school in Newtoun, those Savadges, & M^r Boid my Tutor were with me, who by discourse made my task easy, by being well understood.[24] Mr boid our Tutor.

At this time Benburb fight in June 1646 occasioned my cosen Hugh Savadge and his sisters with myself to be remooved to Carrickfergus, as to a place of safety,[25] & to be under our 2^d viscountess (married to Major Gen^l Monro[26]) her La^ps care, & it was then that I took first liking to her Daughter, whom I marryed A° 1660: So early did Love steal into my heart, yet I perceived Benburb fight

of 800 sheep, 60 cows, 40 horses and mares, with corn, goods, and chattels of great value.—*Lodge*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., p. 274, *note*. Lodge quotes from the *Depositions* in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The private residences burned were the two mentioned in the text, and Ramelton castle, in the county of Donegal, which was built in 1618. The church destroyed at that time was Ashra, now Ashroe, in the parish of Kilbarron, near Ballyshannon, which church contained the tomb of lady Montgomery, the author's mother. See p. 345, *supra*.

[20] *Before then.*—See p. 2, *supra*.

[21] *At his death.*—See p. 344, *supra*.

[22] *His two sisters.*—See p. 91, *supra*.

[23] *Ardwhinns sons.*—The Mr. Alexander Boyd of the text was no doubt one of the numerous descendants, then scattered throughout the Ards, of colonel David Boyd, the original settler in that district. See pp. 41, 52, *supra*. It is probable that Mr. Alexander Boyd was a son of Thomas Boyd of Portavogie, who died in 1660, and that he was named after Alexander Stewart of Bellamorrane, one of the overseers mentioned in his father's will. The following is Thomas Boyd's will, for a copy of which the editor is indebted to the kindness of R. S. Nicholson, esq., A.M., Ballow, county of Down:—

"To all Christian people whom this may concerne Sendeth greeting, I, Thomas Boyd, of Portawogey, in the countie of Downe, and province of Ulster, gent., being weeke in body yitt perfycte in memorie, doe committ my soule to God and my body to the Earth: Item, I leive my weill beloued wyffe, Jaen Boyd, and Cap John Shaw of Ballygellie, Executors to all my goodes, chettiles, detes, and credeites, to call for them and shewe for them give neid so be,—and to pay all my detes and creadites, I leive Ouèresiers to the executors and my children, Cap. Alexander Steawart of Bellamorrane, David Boyd of Gleashrey, John Boyd of Drumnawadie, and Thomas Portiowse, Belliehemlie: Secondly, I ordeane my executors to give unto my children lawfully begottin betwixt me and the aforesaid Jaen, my wyffe, portionnes to the one (un) portiouned childrine, as the executors is able and as they deserve. In testimony that this is my act and deid, I have heirunto sett my hand the first of July, one thousand six hundred and sixtie.

"Witness heirunto, "THOMAS BOYD.
"WILLIAM SHAW.
"THOMAS BOYD."

In the probate of the above will, which is dated 14th December, 1660, the testator's wife is styled Jane Boide, otherwise *Shawe*. Mr. Alexander Boyd's pupils, whom he accompanied to France, were Robert and Francis Echlin, sons of John Echlin, esq., of Ardquin, and grandsons of the bishop. Robert, the elder, succeeded his father, and about 1655 married Mary, daughter of Dr. Henry Leslie, bishop of Down and Connor, and afterwards bishop of Meath. Francis, the younger, assumed the name of Stafford on succeeding to the estates of his uncle, sir Edmond Stafford. He resided at Clanowen, now Portglenone, county of Antrim, and married Sarah Macdonnell, who was a daughter of that colonel Alexander Macdonnell sent to Scotland in 1644 in command of the forces furnished by the second earl to co-operate with Montrose. See Archdall's *Lodge*, vol. i., p. 202. The editor of the *Echlin Memoirs* is mistaken in supposing (p. 23) that this Sarah Macdonnell was a daughter of the earl of Antrim. Her father was cousin to the second earl. The first earl had a daughter named Sarah, married to sir Neal O'Neill of Killelagh, county of Antrim.

[24] *Well understood.*—"Those Savadges" were the author's cousin Hugh, and the cousins of the latter, one of whom succeeded to the estate of Portaferry on the death of Hugh now mentioned.

[25] *Place of safety.*—The alarm created in Ulster by

it not, I entertained it as a natural affection onely; but upon her brothers release from Cloghwooter[27] I found it more.

I had Mr Geo: Lessly (the Bp of Downs brother) for our common schoolmr.[28] & also the said Mr Boid for our particular Tutor. This Mr Lessly had been ejected (by ye Scotch Army Chaplains) out of his Livings, & my father in friendship for his brother ye Bp (named at his father's funeral) entertained him as chaplain at Rosemount, and to teach my cosen Savadge & mee, and also kept his son Ambrose to bear us company: & afterwards as I believe he got ye sd Geo: to be schoolmr in ye great school in Carrickfergus;[29] this friendship was done to him by my father, before he had provided Mr Boyd for us; and so at that time I thought not much on ye young Lady as a Mistriss, but as a Cousen: *prout Adagium refert. Otia si tollas periere cupidinis Arcus*, wch I thus English

If Idleness away you throw
Then perish Cupids shafts, & bow

Thus I passed over these yeares in great felicity; but did not then understand or value my happy state, as it was *Solutus a curis*, all provisions layd in to my hand without my toile.

After some months residence in Carrickfergus we were remanded to Newtoun;[30] & there intervened nothing memorable (as to myself) till harvest time Ao 1649,[31] that I was sent into Scotland & Glasgow Colledge, where the laird of Greenock (my fathers cosen) had placed me to diet at ye Primiors table in ye Low hall, and hired Mr Jo. Mooet for my bedfellow; & proper Tutor.[32] That winter I Learned Greek with content of mind: hopeing I might gaine an Estate by my Book, seeing the usurpers were possessed of my fathers house and Lands, wch was often told me, & that therefore I must doe or begg.

I am sent to Glasgow Ao 1649.

the victory of the Irish at Benburb was increased by the conduct of Monro, the Scottish general, who fled from the field without cloak or wig, and never paused until he reached Lisburn. He forthwith issued orders to his soldiers to burn Dundrum, to abandon Portadown, Downpatrick, Glenavy, and other points, retiring with all haste to Carrickfergus. Sir Phelim O'Neill gave orders during the two days spent in pursuing the Scots, to give no quarter, and take no prisoners. He subsequently sent out foraging parties, whose movements struck terror to the hearts of all English and Scottish settlers in Ulster, very many of whom fled to Scotland. It was understood that the Irish general, Owen O'Neill, had determined to follow up his great victory, by carrying the war into the Scots quarters, and, indeed, with this view he had advanced as far as the town of Tanderagee. Under these circumstances the alarm at Newtown may be easily imagined, especially when it was known that viscount Montgomery was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy.

[26] *Genl Monro.*—See p. 168, *supra.*

[27] *Cloghwooter.*—See pp. 115, 165, *supra.*

[28] *Common schoolmr.*—This 'Mr. George Lessly' had been rector of Ahoghil, alias Machryhoghill, to which living he was presented by the Crown in 1635, and from which he was expelled by the presbyterians in 1642. After the Restoration, he appears to have been appointed rector of Clownish (Clones). He married Margaret Montgomery, a grand-daughter of Mr. Alexander Montgomery, prebendary of Doe. By her his family inherited the Ballyconnell estate, in the county of Cavan. His son, George Leslie, afterwards Montgomery, represented the county of Cavan in parliament.—*Liber Hiberniæ*, vol. ii., p. 111; *MS. Notes of brig.-gen. George Montgomery.*

[29] *School in Carrickfergus.*—The editor can find no contemporary reference to this school. It was probably the diocesan school of Connor, removed in this century to Ballymena. See M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 168, 169, *note.*

[30] *Remanded to Newtoun.*—The alarm occasioned by Owen Roe O'Neill's dreaded invasion of northern Ulster soon subsided, that general being overtaken on his march northward, by an express from the Nuncio Rinuccini, requiring him to turn and march southward, for the purpose of assisting the latter in breaking up the peace that had been agreed upon between the supreme council of the confederates and the marquis of Ormond, on the 29th of July. On receiving the nuncio's message, Owen Roe forthwith called a council of war, at which it was resolved to march his whole army, now increased to 10,000 men and 18 troops of horse, directly on Kilkenny, and thus the counties of Down and Antrim were spared a terrible visitation.

[31] *Ao.* 1649.—This movement of the family was occasioned by the utter defeat of the royalist forces at Lisnastrain, near Lisburn. See p. 191, *supra.*

[32] *And proper Tutor.*—The laird of Greenock was one of sir James Montgomery's most useful friends in this emergency, see p. 333, *supra.* "Jo. Mooet" was probably a member of the family of Busbie.

those admonitions being also formerly urged by my father, took deeper root in my consideration; when after Dunbar fight I was sent by him into Holland, & philosophy studys enjoyn'd me. Now I began to see evidently from how happy an estate I had fallen; for I wanted both a Tutor & a servant, & was gone among strangers of another speech, not any way related to me, or my friends, but as my father had purchased their kindness; & made provision (left in their hands) for me, These were M^r^ Alex^r^ Petry at Delft & D^r^ Adam Stewart at Leydan.[33]

When I Left Scotland I took shipping at Inverness, with an Issue and a pea in the nap of my neck; (w^ch^ from a year old till then) had been kept there.

You have heard that my father sent me from Dundee,[34] with John Wilson merch^t^, who Laded y^e^ Dutch ship wherein wee weighed Anchor for Holland or Zealand. but after ten days being at sea a great storm arose, & drove us past our course to Amelandt.[35] Wee were (when the storm ceased) sailed among gullets and sandbeds, & part of our keele was beaten off, & wee came to Anchor two hours before day; it was but 5 faddom, and y^e^ first of y^e^ ebb, when wee first struck: I therefore persuaded y^e^ master to fire his two Gunns, to signify our distress; & great fishing boats came before break of day & disloaded our vessel, from which was stolen the silver-hilted sword w^th^ which our 3^d^ visct. had begirt me,[36] it being the first I had of that value, and also I lost the cloth w^ch^ my father sent with me to be made in Clothes for mee. Shipwrack. my losses.

This Amlandt is an Island of a German Lord (to whom I made a Latin speech in behalf of our mercht) he is independant on any Prince or State: for he sends his Ambassadors (Tradesmen or merchants) to all Sovraigns nighbors, when they are engaged in Warrs, & still obtains a new. trality, and Freedom of Traffick among them all. His seniory (w^ch^ is like a chipp in Porridge) not being worth their feare or Covetousness; so as to be concerned which way he Leane. He lives wisely, & solitary, & plentifully.

We were now transported from his (nine mile long & narrow sandy) Island in a Gabart to Daventer in West frisland; thence I fared to Amsteldam & so to Leydan, in whose University my station was sett, to acquire Philosophy, fencing, dancing &c with the Dutch & French Linguas: and I had for companion A young French Gentl^n^; we learned together, & had D^r^ Stewart for Teacher, & his sons for helpers:[37] our conversation was most in Latin; I taught him Dutch, and he bettered my French.

[33] *At Leydan.*—See pp. 334, 335, *supra.*

[34] *From Dundee.*—The passage in the memoir of sir James Montgomery recording this circumstance does not appear in the volume printed in 1830, and is most probably lost.

[35] *To Amelandt.*—Ameland is one of a series of islands which extends along the coast from the extreme point of North Holland, once forming a part of the main land from which they have been detached by the violence of the Zuyder-Zee. The passage between Ameland and the Frisian coast is dangerous, from its numerous shoals. The channel is called a *watte* or ford. The island, which belongs now to the Dutch province of Friesland, is about twelve miles in length. It contains some good pasture land. The inhabitants, about 3,000 in number, live principally by fishing and making lime of the sea-shell found on the coast.

[36] *Had begirt me.*—See p. 177, *supra.*

[37] *For helpers.*—The christian names of Dr. Stewart's sons were David and Charles. The author, during his residence at Leyden dedicated one of his *Disputations*, or exercises, to Dr. Stewart and his sons, as follows:—

Celeberrimo, Doctissimo, Spectatissimoque viro,
D. Adamo Steuarto, in inclyta
Lugd. Bat. Acad. Prof. ordinario
et primario, Præsidi & præceptori
meo dignissimo, multus mihi
nominibus colendo & reverendo,
Nec Non
Eruditissimis, & clarissimis Juvenibus,
D. Davidi Steuarto, L. A. M. Philosopho
& Theol. acutissimo,
D. Carolo Steuarto, Philosophiæ
& Theologiæ, nec non linguarum
diversarum peritissimo, amicis
meis integerrimis
Ut Et
Doctrinâ morumque candore præ
stantissimis adolescentibus,

King Williams Christening.

In March (according to forreign supputation[38]) 1651 I fell into a Canal in Delft at twylight in y^e^ morning, going to a treck schute[39] for y^e^ Hague, to see y^e^ baptism of our present King, & hardly escaped Drowning; which made mee the summer following, Learn to swim.

My printed Theses.

I applyed myself to study, & did print two severall Disputations (yet extant & bound up with my *Opera Juvenilia)* w^ch^ I sustained publickly in y^e^ schools at Leydan,[40] and stayed there till June 1652, that I heard of my fathers death.[41]

My return to England 1652

Then my Tutors in Holland remitted me through Flanders by Ghent to Ostend, from whence in y^e^ packquet boate (with my trunck) I landed at Dover, and so came to London. *Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus:* for all this while of my Travel I had no acquaintance, nor servant but my thoughts, tongue, and hands, yet I was supplyed and supported by Gods friendship.

When his good Lor^p^ the (late earle of Mount Alex^r^) heard of his uncle my fathers death; he imploy^d^ Cap Hugh M'Gill (whose brother therein (the s^d^ Lords Hugh) had debt owing to him in the north of Scotland, and my fathers Papers & some goods were there also) to goe to S^r^ Alex^r^ Sutherlands house beyond Aberdeen, to get the Papers &c w^ch^ my father left there[42] and also to get from the Lady Tweedale an hundred pieces of gold, which my father (in Like manner) had put in her keeping for my use.[43]

D. Johanni Laevico } Sodalibus
D. Antonio Scarpio } Commilitonibus charissimis
Hasce Quaestiones
D. D. D. *Guil. Montgomerius*
Auth. & Respond.

This dedication was kindly copied for the editor, from a printed copy in the British Museum, by William Pinkerton, esq., F.S.A.

[38] *Foreign supputation.*—On the continent the year was commenced on the 1st of January, as in Scotland—not on the 25th of March, as in England. See p. 40, *supra.*

[39] *A treck schute.*—A drag-boat.

[40] *Schools at Leydan.*—The following is the title of one of these Disputations as copied by William Pinkerton, esq., F.S.A.:—

Quæstiones Philosophicæ
Aliquot Illustres,
Quas
Divino Annuente Numine,
Sub Præsidio
Clarissimi Doctissimique Viri,
D. Adami Steuarti, In Inclyta Acad.
Ludg. Bat. Philosophiæ Professoris
ordinarii & primarii,
Publico Examini subjecit
Gulielmus Montgomerius, Scoto-Hyb.
Auth. & Respondens.
Ad diem 8 Maii, loco solito, post Merid.
(Arms of the College of Leyden)
Lugd. Batavor.
Ex officina Bonaventuræ & Abrahami
Elsevir, Academ. Typograph.
CIↃIↃCLII.

[41] *My father's death.*—See p. 344, *supra.*

[42] *My father left there.*—See p. 337, *supra.*

[43] *For my use.*—Lady Tweeddale, to whom sir James, the author's father, had entrusted this money, was *Margaret Montgomerie,* eldest daughter of the sixth earl of Eglinton by his first wife, the lady Anna Livingstone. Lady Margaret was born in 1617, and became the second wife of John Hay, first earl of Tweeddale, in the year 1642. By this marriage, she had one son, William Hay of Drummelzier. She married, as her second husband, William Cunningham, ninth earl of Glencairne, high chancellor of Scotland, but left no children by the latter. She died at Edinburgh in January, 1655, where she, no doubt, resided when sir James Montgomery of Rosemount, in 1649, had committed to her, for his son's use, the money—probably his all—abovementioned. The well-known Mr. Robert Baillie, minister of Kilwinning at the time of lady Margaret's marriage with the earl of Tweeddale, has the following record of his own doings on that occasion:—"I had been often grieved with the excessive drinking of sundry of my parochiners; When my Lord Eglintoun's daughter, Yester, was going to be married, I went over and admonished my lord, and his children, and servants, that they would beware of excesse; and in regard my Lord Setoun, Lord Semple, and other papists, would be present, I entreated the ordinar exercises in religion in the family might not be omitted for their pleasure; notwithstanding all were omitted. My Lord Eglintoun himself stayed out of the kirk on Sunday afternoon to bear my Lord Seatoun company. My Lord Montgomerie (Eglintoun's eldest son) having invited all the company to his house, there was among the lords more drink than needed: among some of the gentlemen and servints evident drunkenness. One of the latter a few days afterwards, had a quarrel with a person, at a place called Newcastle, and was unfortunately killed by his antagonist. The fatal encounter had arisen from a drunken broil, but the slayer was executed the following day. The day there after, being Sonday, I was in high passion, Satan having so much prevailed at my elbow, and in the zeale of God, in presence of all, did sharplie rebuke all sins came in my way, especiallie drunkenness and coldryfness in religion: somewhat also of the breach of covenant was spoken. This was evill taken by many of the Lords, bot Callender was most displeased: Eglintoun thought himself publickly taxed, and complained to every one he mett. . . . When my Lord Eglintoun, some twenty

Accordingly y^e s^d Cap^t Hu M'Gill went & transacted for his bro: Montgomerys affaires (of which to write is not incumbent on me, but it seems by what himself lately told me, there was a minority evil fate on it, the Debtors standing upon all advantages to come at easy compositions.[44]

As to my own Concern, y^e Cap^t left the papers &c at a friends house, & came with the gold or bills to London, & lived many months with me as Tutor, or Friend: at my expence: and he was otherwise well rewarded then, & also when I recovered Ballyhornan hereafter mentioned.[45]

At my first coming to London, I met with my cosen Savadge of Porteferry affores^d, and was steadable to him (his servant Plunket being sent to Ireland for a supply of money,)[46] and to some of the Worcester prisoners[47] (wandering William[48] afores^d for one) by means of Bills of Exchange, w^ch I brought with mee out of Holland, and of money I got from some Scottish Merchants, who had not payed (nor would pay to W^m Cunningham) all that was drawn on them, by y^e Bills w^ch my father had brought from Edinbrough, but on my application to them, & by advice from their correspondents they Accounted, and Answered the remainder to myself. cosen Savadge

This W^m Coningham was then at Harwich, to w^ch place I went (without a servant or company) and he gave me the affors^d relation of my father's death, I gave him supply & he came up and stayed with me at Westminster above a month, and having bought for him a cork Legg & foot, I furnished him to go home to his wife in Edinbourgh, and when he went, then came Capt Hu: M'Gill with the recruit of gold afores^d. A° 1653 his s^d good L^op was in London, and I returned with him to Dublin afores^d.[49]

days thereafter, drew me bye, and admonished me sharplie of that days extravagance and fame (as he spake), I told him I had done nought bot my dutie, whereof I did not repent, nor would not be directed by him in my sermons; and if he was displeased with my ministrie, he should not be long troubled with it. These things going far and broad, bot not by me directlie nor indirectlie, Glasgow thought it then high time to stir."—Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii., pp. 6, 7, as quoted in Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 82.

[44] *Easy compositions.*—See pp. 366, 367, *supra.*

[45] *Hereafter mentioned.*—Unfortunately the portions of the memoir in which this affair was mentioned is lost. For a notice of Ballyhornan and captain McGill's residence there, see p. 368, note 33, *supra.*

[46] *Supply of money.*—This circumstance is afterwards mentioned in the author's notice of the two *Ancient Families of Savage.*

[47] *Worcester prisoners.*—The fate of these prisoners was, in many instances, hard enough, and excited much sympathy even among those who condemned the cause for which they had fought. Nine of them were selected for trials by court-martial, namely, the duke of Hamilton; the earls of Derby, Lauderdale, and Cleveland; sir Timothy Featherstonhaugh, colonel Massey, captain Benbow, and the mayor and sheriff of Worcester. The duke of Hamilton died of his wounds four days after the battle. The earl of Derby was beheaded at Bolton, in Lancashire, on the 15th of October. Sir Timothy Featherstonhaugh was beheaded at Chester, on the 22nd of October; and captain Benbow was shot at Shrewsbury, on the 15th of the same month. Lauderdale, Cleveland, and colonel Massey, were imprisoned in the Tower, as were also lieutenant-general David Leslie, the earl of Carnwath, the lord Crawford-Lindsey, sir David Leslie, the earl of Kelbie, lord Bargany (Kennedy), and lord Oglebie. Twenty members of the council of state, "or any three or more of them had power to *dispose to plantations all the prisoners under the degree of field-officer* taken at Worcester, or in any other place, since the invasion by the Scots army, as well those abroad in several garrisons as those that are brought to London." It is to be hoped that few were sent to the plantations, but it is certain that so long as the great body of the prisoners were held in English dungeons they were subjected to severe privations, and required very much the charitable contributions of sympathisers to make their lives endurable. Many of the English prisoners were sent to Ireland to be kept at any sort of hard labour which might be deemed most useful to the commonwealth. All, or nearly all, the Scotch prisoners, were eventually returned to their native country under certain stipulations. Among the latter were major-general Dalzell and the earl of Lauderdale, whose return afterwards proved a serious calamity to their native land. See Bisset's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii., pp. 200—14. Lauderdale commenced his career as an eminently staunch and zealous son of the covenant. He seems to have continued in that mood until the restoration. Whilst a prisoner in England, he wrote to Baxter, on the 14th of December, 1658, as follows:—"I wish I knew anywhere fit to translate your books; I am sure they would take hugely abroad; and I think it were not amiss to begin with the 'Call to the Unconverted.'" See Calamy's *Life*, vol. i., p. 102, *note*, Baxter's books were probably not much consulted by Lauderdale during his subsequent career, although he continued no doubt under the impression that he had heard and accepted the *Call to the Unconverted.*

[48] *Wandering William.*—See p. 343, *supra.*

[49] *To Dublin afores^d.*—See p. 199, *supra.*

Upon my comeing to y^e^ County of Down, & staying some months there: my busines called me to sollicite at Whitehall and Westminster; & not haveing had a servant from my Leaveing Scotland till this time, I was advised by y^e^ capt to entertaine his s^d^ brother Montgomery; but no bargaine was made for Wages, nor was any demanded or given, He designing onely to spare his own stock, and to have oppertunity to see y^e^ World, & to gett knowledge in Bussiness, wherein he had not been as yet trained: this being counted no disparagem^t^ in France, where the Nobilitys younger sonns will goe to their betters, and serve as gentl^n^, to y^e^ ends aforsd: so I was glad to oblige a kinsman, and to have him as an helper in what I had to doe.[50]

I entertain Hugh Montgomery.

And then my cosen y^e^ s^d^ Hugh Montgomery and I went to Westminster, & were there more than a winter, and returning to Dublin I comenced suite for Ballyhornan aforesd.[51]

I return to Westminster.

This was a Lease sold to my father A^o^ 1647 by S^r^ Bryan Oneile & by him entered into, and repossessed, when my father left Ireland. The remainder of this Lease (after my recovering it at Law) was about 14 years unexpired, what my bounty then was to y^e^ s^d^ Capt Hu: M^c^Gill, his Widow, & others now alive (as well as y^e^ s^d^ Hu: Mont: his brother) can tell, and I will not boast of it.[52]

But I must not omit to mention my s^d^ cosen Hu: Mont: his zeale in y^e^ bussiness; who having heard that y^e^ s^d^ S^r^ Bryan (in one of the offices) had spoken abuseively of mee, & with his fist had given me a sudden blow on y^e^ face that made mee bleed; w^ch^ in that place (by reason of standers that kept us assunder) I could not then requite, His unadvised concern for mee was such, that unknown to mee next day he gave the Barronett (S^r^ Bryan) the *Coups de Batoon:* for which rashness he was put in restraint, & word being brought to me, I soon had him enlarged, reprimanding him for takeing my Quarrell out of my own hand.[53] I sent by y^e^ s^d^ Hu: Montgomery to Major Bingley High Sherif of y^e^ County of Downe, an Order of the then L^d^ Deputy Henry Cromwell & his Council for sequestering into his hands, y^e^ quarters rent due at y^e^ last of that month by y^e^ tenents on my lands in Castlereagh Barrony, and therein Hu: Montgomery shewed great diligence and circumspection; not onely in a speedy delivery of y^e^ order (w^ch^ was dated y^e^ 16^th^) unto y^e^ Sherif, but also giveing to all y^e^ Tenants, with order from y^e^ Sherif, that they should come and pay to him their Rents; by w^ch^ care & management (according to instructions) and his own Arguments, he put them all from complying with Col Barrows Agent *Augustine* who had used to receive the rents quarterly.[54]

Hugh Montgomery's zeale for mee.

Order about Florida.

This was preparatory to my possession of these Lands, on w^ch^ I had placed y^e^ Debentures w^ch^ I had bought;[55] and for paymt of y^e^ money thereof, y^e^ s^d^ Late Lord was bound, as in y^e^ narrative of his L^op^ is recited;[56] as for other things of y^e^ s^d^ Hu: you will find them scatered

[50] *I had to doe.*—See p. 367, *supra.*

[51] *Ballyhornan aforesd.*—See p. 367, *supra.* Although the author here terms Hugh Montgomery his cousin, he could only have been a distant relative, being the son of James Montgomery, a member of the Hessilheid branch. See p. 366, *supra.*

[52] *Boast of it.*—Captain Hugh M^c^Gill resided at Ballyhornan until the time of his death in 1690. See p. 368, *supra.*

[53] *My own hand.*—See p. 367, *supra.*

[54] *The rents quarterly.*—See p. 368, *supra.* Augustine, who acted as agent to colonel Barrow, was probably one of the two bearing this surname mentioned at p. 171, *supra.*

[55] *Which I had bought.*—See pp. 208, 210, *supra.*

[56] *Is recited.*—The circumstance here mentioned is not recorded in the printed memoir of the first earl. The passage in which it occurred is probably lost.

elsewhere in ye foregoing pages, & chiefly contained in my Relation concerning his family:[57] He is now a Jolly Jovial householder and widower, and stirs seldom abroad: and when he is from home he is jocose, and desirable company allways, and a good fellow (I doe not mean an Ale bibber, or a wine sipper, and yet with frends he will take liberally of both) all weathers; provided Time, Place, Liquor & company be good, and no bussines be neglected. Hugh Montgomery's character.

The 7ber next after ye sd order O: C: dyed on ye 3d day wch had been twice auspicious to him (viz at Dunbar and Worcester) for ye victories he then and there gott over ye Scotts.[58] not long after his death: his eldest son Richard was proclaimed Protector of ye commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.[59]

And I followed my bussiness of Possession, & at last (before notice of olivers death) gott thro all the bryars of opposition, wch Col. Barrow now gave mee, but was forced to seale three bonds, each conditioned for paymt of fifty pounds ster wch is touched at in a foregoing narrative;[60] I have likewise spoken often of my entring into Possession of Rosemount house & Cottins bay Castle, & their lands.[61] I gott possession.

I now come to ye yeare of God 1660. King Ch: ye 2d restored, and myself also to our rights. I marryd (in June that year) the Honoble Elizabeth Montgomery afores^{d}. with ye Viscount her brothers allowance,[62] this wedding was solemnized at Mount Alexr before her mother, Major Genll Monro,[63] her brother James,[64] and many other friends, there being six Montgomery gentln haveing freeholds to waite on mee as the Bridegrooms men (so called vulgarly.[65])

Upon ye King's Restauration, ye sd Hu: Montgomery (a while after it) went & served ye Earle of Mount Alexander.[66]

After this I was imployed sufficiently in my Domestic Pleasures, & reparations, & entertainments of visitants, and attending at Assizes and Sessions, as being Deputy Custos Rotulorum Pacis in this County, under ye sd Earle, the office of wch was much imposed on by ye Clerk of ye Peace, to ye prejudice of ye King, Contry, & of ye Custos his Deputy: but I regulated and advanced it (to its rights) in a great Degree; till by being absent above one year in England in Ao 1664 and 1665 attending ye young Earles affaires (as afores^{d}) myself and my Deputy were outed by my Lord Dunganon (als dictus Collonel Trevor,)[67] his interest with Sr Maurice Eustace[68] Lord Chancelor,

[57] *Concerning his family.*—The family of Ballymagoun. See pp. 363-384, *supra*.

[58] *Over ye Scotts.*—See p. 214, note 1, *supra*.

[59] *Scotland and Ireland.*—See p. 214, *supra*.

[60] *Foregoing narrative.*—See p. 211, *supra*.

[61] *And their lands.*—See p. 221, *supra*.

[62] *Her brothers allowance.*—Or consent. The author's wife was only daughter of the second viscount, who died in 1642. Her mother remarried with major-gen. Monro.

[63] *Genll. Monro.*—In some fragment of his lost *Manuscripts*, the author had probably recorded the time and place of Monro's death. The latter, no doubt, continued to reside at Mount-Alexander until his lady's decease in 1670. See p. 267, *supra*. He may have subsequently resided at Cherryvalley, near Comber, the seat of Andrew Monro, one of the commissioners for the arrangement of the second earl's affairs. See p. 265, note 24, *supra*. General Robert Monro was alive in 1680, and is mentioned, at that date, in the will of major William Buchanan of the Botown, near Movilla, as owing the testator the sum of eight pounds five shillings sterling.—*MS.*

[64] *Her brother James.*—This was the second son of the second viscount, born at Dunskey in 1639.

[65] *So called vulgarly.*—These were probably Hugh Montgomery of Ballylessan, Hugh Montgomery of Ballymaclady, Hugh Montgomery of Cunningburn (afterwards of Ballymagoun), Hugh Montgomery of Ballyskeagh, John Montgomery of Tullynegry, and Hugh Montgomery of Ballyhenry Another freeholder and gentleman of the name was Patrick Montgomery of Creboy.

[66] *Earle of Mount Alexander.*—See p. 369, *supra*.

[67] *Collonel Trevor.*—See p. 224, *supra*.

[68] *Sr Maurice Eustace.*—Sir Maurice Eustace was son of William Fitz-John Eustace of Castlemartin, in the county of Kildare. He "was appointed Sergeant-at-Law in 1634, and elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1639, at which period he was characterized as a wise and learned and discreet man, of great integrity. In

in whose disposall y^e^ office is, being granted onely *Durante Beneplacito regis*: who excused his intrusion in regard my Long absence allowed him to request y^e^ office; & that I made no profit of it; & that (before me) none but noblemen were employed in it; that all y^e^ rest of y^e^ nobility were under age; that there were better gentl^n^ in the com^n^ than Capt Hu: Shaw[69] my deputy, and of greater account and Estates in y^e^ county, who grudged to yeeld y^e^ Cushion, ruling y^e^ books and Precedency to him; & that indeed he was unfitt for y^e^ place, unless he had stayed below (at y^e^ board) with y^e^ bagg and y^e^ record, to answer the bench: thus had he done, he had saved my office to me, w^ch^ I intended to resign to the present Earle when he came to Age: Capt Shaw might have done this without disparagem^t^, or quitted y^e^ precedency, & ruling y^e^ books to other justices, w^ch^ would have freed him of that odium; for he was called there in Court both as Seneschall to y^e^ s^d^ Earle, & Deputy to mee, but *Nemo omnibus horis sapit*, however, Dunganon dyed, and I was watchful that this Earle should againe have it, as he did A° 1683, & he made me his Deputy, as his father did. Nevertheless in Dunganon's time; the trust was abused, and y^e^ office run into a slight, & y^e^ keeping of y^e^ records with y^e^ vails, fees, profitts & rewards thereof drawn into y^e^ hands of y^e^ Clerk of y^e^ Peace who (as 'twas said farmd the office from the then Deputy at Eight £ib per annum &c.: but this perhaps was a misreport.

I am made Deputy.

When I was reinstalld Deputy I reduced the Office (Almost) to its full height: & so it continued, advancing to perfection, till y^e^ troubles A° 1688, after which this Earle was still Custos, & by reason of my absence & indisposition to attend it, his Lo^p^ made the late Mr Hamilton of Tollymore[70] his Deputy; & I have not further enquired in it.

However I wrote a Treatise of that office, & dedicated, & gave it in manuscript to this present Earle of Mount Alex^r^, whose duty it is to re-establish y^e^ same to its pristine splendor and order; for y^e^ K^s^, y^e^ Contrys, and his future Deputys behoof, & his own honour. This Treatise is entered in my Volume of *Opera Senilia*, & in y^e^ Appendix to his Lo^p^ life, how well or ill done, let knowing Justices be Judges: It may (if perused by my posterity) profit them with less cost & pains than I was at gaine, & sett down my knowledge thereof.[71]

This much I have mentioned of that office, because it was all y^e^ preferment I had from y^e^ two brothers reigne:[72] for all y^e^ Civil & Military employments were disposed of at Court (at y^e^ first coming over of y^e^ King) by those on whom the giving of them was granted by his Maj^ty^ viz Chancelor Hide, Albemarle, Ormond and others.[73]

1642, Charles I. appointed him one of the Commissioners to confer with the Catholic Confederates; and in 1647, the House of Commons voted him their thanks 'for his singular affection to the English nation, his public services, and his earnest advancement of the Protestant religion.' On the Restoration, Eustace was appointed Lord Chancellor; and 'in regard that his estate had become weak by reason of the late rebellion, and that the salary heretofore allowed for the chancellor was not sufficient to support the dignity of that place,' Charles II. granted him an annuity of £1,500 out of the customs docquet, poundage, and subsidies of the city of Dublin, and town of Drogheda. Eustace was confirmed in his possessions by the Act of Settlement; and continued to hold the chancellorship till his death in 1665. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Colville, who survived him twenty years. His son, also named Maurice, became a Catholic, levied an infantry regiment for James II., and was wounded at Aughrim."—Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, vol. ii., pp. 310–11.

[69] *Capt. Hu: Shaw.*—See p. 252, *supra*.

[70] *Of Tollymore.*—See p. 319, *supra*.

[71] *My knowledge thereof.*—These works are not now known to exist.

[72] *Two brothers reigne.*—Charles II. and James II.

[73] *Ormond & others.*—The cavaliers generally had reason to complain on this account. See p. 222, note 27, *supra*.

Thus onely ye Nobility, who eminently suffered and served, came in Gratis, the Rest behooved to buy places or want them: So that I was without them: and my nine yeares want of my estate, and paying above 500 £ib for ye Debentures afores[d], & ye 150 £ib to Coll Barrow, & ye debt I incurred during ye s[d] yeares, & my fathers debts, Suits of Law against mee &c hereinafter mentioned[74] particularly disabled me to buy, & discouraged me to borrow, therewith to purchase an imployment; w[ch] is a Road to Preferment that never was travelled by any of our family, & I did disdaine it, seeing there was due from ye Publick Faith, above ten thousand pounds, payable to me on my fathers account; who had (pursuant to a reference from ye Lords Justices) a certificate of raising & expending that sum, for ye King & Contrys service the payment of such debts being expected; for general mention was made of such in ye Act of Setlem[t] aforesd.[75]

After these bussinesses in our own County were performed, I was chosen Burgess by ye Corporation of Newtoun, to serve in Parliam[t][76] but it cost the same nothing; by way of treate or otherwise; whereas I could have taken from them, two shillings per diem:[77] but on ye contrary I bestowed on ye town the K[s] Arms for ye Town Court Hall, & ye Seale of Arms of ye Corporation (now used by it) which cost me above three guineas.[78] & bestowed a guinea as contribution to build ye Mercathouse now slated.[79] chosen Burgess.

In the Election for Knts of ye Shire I stood for one; Coll Hill[80] & Coll Trevor[81] also stood and I had carryed it from Coll Hill (with whom I debated) but for fals Musters of freeholders, which were made temporary ones, voting in his behalfe: & I must doe him the justice to say, that The Election for Knts of ye Shire.

[74] *Hereinafter mentioned.*—The portion of his autobiography in which these law-suits were mentioned is lost.

[75] *Setlem[t] aforesd.*—See p. 231, *supra*. William Montgomery, the author, obtained a grant from the 'Savings' in trust for several 1649 officers, and also for himself, for the sum of £9942 0s 7d.—*Reports of Irish Record Commissioners*, vol. iii., p. 307. From the tone in which he refers to his affairs, it is doubtful whether he was ever able to recover this large sum.

[76] *In Parliam[t].*—On the 18th of April, 1661, the author and Charles Campbell, esq., of Donaghadee, were elected members of parliament for the borough of Newtown. See p. 67, *supra*.

[77] *Per Diem.*—The author may here be said to have made a virtue of necessity, for although the law would then have awarded him two shillings per diem as a member of parliament, yet the practice of receiving wages from constituencies had virtually ceased. Indeed it had been but very seldom acted upon for many years preceding his election for Newtown in 1660. It was customary, on the contrary, for persons offering themselves, as candidates for election, to promise that they would not demand wages, and even formally to release constituencies from their liability in this matter. County members could have otherwise exacted four shilling per diem and borough members only two shillings. In the reign of Edward IV. a member of parliament agreed to receive a certain quantity of *red herrings* at Christmas instead of the usual wages. The abolition of the practice is thus referred to—and not approvingly—by Samuel Pepys, in his *Diary*, on the 30th of March, 1668:—"We had a great deal of good discourse about Parliament; their number being uncertain, and *always at the will of the King to increase*, as he saw reason to erect a new burrough. But all concluded (among the rest Pemberton and North) that the bane of the Parliament hath been the leaving off the old custom of the places allowing *wages* to those that served them in Parliament, by which they chose men that understood their business, and would attend it, and they could expect an account from them, which now they cannot; and so Parliament is become a company of men unable to give an account for the interest of the place they serve for." Marvell, who died in 1678, was in the habit of receiving barrels of ale from his constituents in Hull, which, in acknowledging, he sometimes humourously intimated had a tendency to render him *forgetful* of their interests. See Amos, *English Constitution in the Reign of Charles II.*, pp. 66–7.

[78] *Above three guineas.*—For an account of the octagon building known as the market-cross at Newtownards, see p. 68, *supra*. The town or corporation arms were "Azure, a crescent with both horns upwards proper, from the nombrill wherof ariseth a dexter arm and hand, armed, holding a flower de luce, reaching to y[e] cheif of y[e] feild, or: with this motto, viz.—*Tous-jours croisant.*" The author states, that the above armorial bearing "was Sir James Montgomery's contrivance."—*Description of the Ardes, infra*.

[79] *Now slated.*—Harris, in 1744, notices the market as "a handsome structure, on the west end of which is erected a cupola, with a publick clock." This building had probably been repaired, and improved soon after sir Robert Colville's purchase of the property in 1674.

[80] *Coll Hill.*—Colonel Arthur Hill, youngest son of sir Moses Hill.

[81] *Coll Trevor.*—Colonel Marcus Trevor, soon afterwards created viscount Dungannon. See p. 224, *supra*.

two months before this he put in for being elected one for y^e^ County of Antrim, if I was resolved to stand for Down: for he would not contend with the family of Ardes: and this he told me publicly at his own table. I had not then setled on the matter, & so could not answer directly; because application had not been made to y^e^ Countess of Clanbrazill,[82] but only to M^r^ Swadlin[83] her Agent who was written to: so the tenents of that Family were left to use their own discretion; and Coll Trevors friends & People (tho I would not oppose him as being an old Cavalier for y^e^ late King)[84] had combined with Coll Hills men for themselves, and they had all, or most of Ardglasses tenents[85] to assist them, and M^r^ Bagnals tenents,[86] w^th^ y^e^ M^c^Gennises[87] & M^c^Cartens[88] on their side: But all y^e^ Montgomerys, and y^e^ Savadges tenents, and friends, & many of y^e^ Lord Ardglasses came (uncounted) to vote for me: besides all M^r^ Fitzgeralds tenents[89] whom M^r^ Andrew Graham[90] (Agent to that estate) had made for mee: So that notwithstanding the great neglect in not courting y^e^ Hamiltons, and other friendshipps; I had carried the election, but for those shamm freeholders made by one Ohoole:[91] & for all them (many whereof were discovered in Court) yet y^e^ Poll surmounted my choosers, but by a very few: and this happened by the neglect of application afforesaid, & that I was not skillfull enough in concerting that affaire, nor had I y^e^ keys of y^e^ County to open, poise, and recon the Interests of Freeholders therein.—Those two

[82] *Of Clanbrazill.*—This was Alice Moore, widow of Henry second earl of Clanbrassil.

[83] *Mr. Swadlin.*—This was probably John Swadlin, or Swadlyn, who was elected one of the members of parliament for the borough of Killyleagh, in 1661. The following extract from the *Hamilton Manuscripts*, p. 91, exhibits this agent in an unfavourable point of view:—"This affair being thus transacted, my Lord (Henry second earl) demanded the Will and keeping of it from his mother, as being now only of his concern. My Lady Clanbrassill (countess dowager, wife of the first earl) unwarily yielded to it, which being done, my Lord gave it to his servant Swadlin, then chief favourite, and bid him put it up amongst his other papers, which being done, his lady Alice suddenly withdrew to her chamber, and sent one to direct Mr. Swadlin to come to her. He came instantly, with all the papers they had then use for in his hands; then bid him shut fast the door; then said she, 'Swadlin, give me that troublesome will.' He, looking only at the endorsement, gave her the copy of the will; she, likewise satisfied and in a hurry, tore it all to pieces, and threw it into the fire, where it was quickly consumed. 'Now,' say'd she, 'it shall trouble us no more;' then went suddenly and very cheerfully to my Lord and the rest of the company, leaving Mr. Swadlin to put up his papers, without discerning the mistake. . . . After some time, my Lord and Lady . . got information that Swadlin had ruined their affairs by taking bribes from the tenants, and so lessening my Lady's rents, and thereupon quarrell with him, and find him without defence, and very guilty of betraying them for his own profit, which was a sad truth, but their faults who trusted to him alone. Mr. Swadlin is in a great perplexity and contempt and sets about making off to sort his papers and his Lords for his own ends. . . The contention heightens, and my Lord is persuaded to put a padlock on Mr. Swadlin's closet door, where all the papers were, and so dismisses Swadlin from his service," &c., &c.

[84] *For ye late King.*—Trevor and Daniel O'Neill had been sent from Ormond to the assistance of the royalists under the third viscount Montgomery in 1649, but cameonly to witness the total defeat of that party at Lisnastrain.

[85] *Ardglasses tenants.*—See p. 307, *supra.*

[86] *Bagnall's tenants.*—See p. 307, *supra.*

[87] *McGennisses.*—See p. 306, *supra.*

[88] *McCartens.*—For an account of Kinelarty, the territory of the Macartanes, see p. 312, *supra.*

[89] *Mr Fitzgerald's tenants.*—See p. 308, *supra.* This was Robert Fitzgerald who succeeded his cousin, the eighteenth earl of Kildare, in 1707, but who appears, from the text, to have had possession of the family estate in the county of Down at the time of the restoration. In 1663, he married Mary, daughter of sir James Clotworthy of Monnimore, in the county of Londonderry (now Moneymore), and had by her a family of four sons and six daughters. He died in 1697-8, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Robert, who became nineteenth earl of Kildare. See Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., pp. 116, 118.

[90] *Mr. Andrew Graham.*—This gentleman resided in Tyrella. Alderman Hutchinson, who had obtained large grants of forfeited lands in Down under the act of settlement, leased several townlands to captain William Hamilton and Andrew Graham. In the partition of these lands, Glovet, containing 436 acres, and the Islandmucks, containing 419 acres, fell to Graham. His widow and administratrix, Mrs. Dorothy Graham, sold her interest in the lands of Glovet to Jocelyn Hamilton, subject, to an annual rent of £20; and his grandson Richard Graham, soon after 1722, sold the lands of upper Islandmuck (all in the parish of Tyrella) to Mr. Waring of Waringsford, near Dromara.—J. W. Hanna's *Account of Tyrella* in the *Downpatrick Recorder.*

[91] *One Ohoole.*—O'Hoole may be a mistake for O'Toole, some one of the O'Neills of Castlereagh.

were materialls wch my father and John Hamilton Esqr had ready on ye Like occasion; besides y4 two Viscts (their brethren) present, to countenance them: & to see that ye Poll was duly taken & allowed. And also they had ye Sherif to befriend them: all wch I wanted: & also ye experience they had to manage that affair,[92] nor had I any to help me therein: And to tell ye Truth of my then thoughts, I believed that Sr James Montg: Sonn and ye Earle of Mount Alexander, onely brother-in-law, & next cousin, could not have failed to carry away that Prize: and so I made that Leape (as I have done others) before I well Looked; and without seeking deliberate advice: which was not to be had at that time.

However divers understanding old gentln wished me to bear ye disappointment without fretting (& so I did) for they said that I had fought the batle fairly, and lost it onely by ye stratagems of my rival, or his servants: & I know, (as I said openly at dinner) that knights and burgesses were but equalls in the house, as to sitting & speaking therein, and knights of ye shire might be coveted by reason of its Sallary (wch was ye greater) & I disdained to think of it: and for ye honour of it, I had enough, haveing contended without paction (or courting) for votes; and I hoped to be nothing ye less in ye Contray & Governmt esteem, that I was over voted; because some friends were absent, and other men were newters, of which I should take no notice, nor of any other matter concerning ye management of that election; so that I would not scruple to sign ye Indentures thereof, (chiefly because I would not be troublesome either to ye house of Commons, or to my nighbour in that which was of smal concern, or value to myself.)

I have been large in this relation, for ye Information of my sonn, & his sonns, to be considered when ever they shall have like occasion to appear for their Contray:[93] I have in this paragraph told you some instances of ye vainty & properancy of my mind in ye matter therein recited: and certainly I had then, some Phaetontal conceipts in my brain, wch were Augmented by flattery

[92] *To manage that affair.*—See p. 382, *supra.*

[93] *For their Contray.*—The author's *male* representatives ended with the death of his great grandson, who was accidently killed at Killough, in 1736, when a mere youth. After the sale of their estate in 1718–19, the influence of the Rosemount family rapidly declined, and no member thereof after the author's time, ventured to seek for parliamentary honours. The arrangement, made by the author for the advantage of his son, James, (see p. 382, *supra*), does not appear to have produced any permanently favourable results, for the constant and severe pressure of family debts soon compelled the latter to part with his estate. On the 12th of November, 1703, articles of agreement were concluded between James Montgomery, Elizabeth his wife, and William Montgomery his father, on the one part, and John Blackwood of Ballyleidy on the other part, by which the latter, for the sum of £1880 purchased from James Montgomery "all that and those the townes and lands of Ballyblack (with the islands thereunto belonging) Ballyholey, Ballygrange, the quarter land of Le Cardy alias Cardy part of Ballymurchy containing by estimation fifty-three acres, possessed by David McLee and widow Robinson, all lying and being in the parish of Greyabbey." John Blackwood and his tenants were bound "to do suite and service to the Courts of ye Manor of Rosemount, and to grind all ye graine at ye Mills of ye said James Montgomery that shall-grow and bee expended on ye said lands, paying ye sixteenth graine as molter and toll for grinding ye same to the said James Montgomery, with ye sixty-fourth part more of all graine that shall be brought to ye said milles by all or any of ye tenants of the said townlands, to ye miller or millars, for their service & loadinge ye same. And ye undertenants of John Blackwood living on ye premisses shall pay their ordinary and accustomed dues to ye minister of Greyabbey parish, viz. Christenings marriages burials and Easter offerings." James Montgomery continued bound to pay "to ye curate of Greyabbey yearly ye usual sallary for his services of care of ye said parish." James Montgomery and John Blackwood signed in presence of Jo. Saunders, Jo: Hamilton, William Catherwood and Jo. Macormick. William Montgomery of Rosemount, esqr., and Elizabeth Montgomery, signed in presence of Jo: Hamilton, William Catherwood, and Jas. Macormick. —*MS. preserved at Greyabbey.* On the 28th and 29th of April, 1710, James Montgomery conveyed in mortgage to James Ross of Newtown, for the sum of £800 and the interest thereof, the towns and lands of Greyabbey, Ballymurphy islands, Boglebo, and Ballybrien. Isaac Macartney of Belfast, merchant, having paid this sum together with £64 of interest, and advancing a further sum of £213, amounting in all to the sum of £1077, got a conveyance of the above named land from James Montgomery, which

of those, who designed more or less (as occasion would serve turn) to make their profitt of mee. for I was (too often) told of my fathers meritts, and of my own improvements (by being a traveller, sollicitor, & a reader) and that my expectations of honour, & estates might be greater, & with such like discourses was I entertained, as y^e^ fox comended y^e^ crow for singing, till y^e^ cheese might drop

conveyance he in turn relinquished, on being paid by James Bailie of Inishargie, in 1719, the sum of £2600, the then amount of Montgomery's debt to him.—*MS. preserved at Greyabbey.* On the 23rd of November, 1717, articles were agreed on between James Montgomery and his trustees for the sale of the Rosemount estate. These trustees were Hugh Savage of Ardkeen, Hugh Maxwell of Rowbane, Robert Hamill of Ballyatwood, and John Montgomery of Cregboy, in the county of Downe, Esqrs., and Henry Dalway of Marshalls' Towne, in the County of the towne of Carrickfergus, Esqr. James Montgomery was induced to sell Rosemount because he was "indebted severall persons in severall sums of money amounting to Three Thousand one hundred pounds and upwards, which debt in a short time with the interest accruing thereon, would sink the estate; for preventing whereof, and making provision for himself, and raising Portions for his children," the owner agreed to surrender it into the hands of his trustees. James Montgomery had received £1000 with his wife, who in this document is spoken of as deceased. He had four children then alive, viz. William and Edmondston, the oldest and youngest of the family, and their, sisters Elizabeth and Martha. These articles were signed in presence of William M'Gill, James M'Donell, and Hugh Glass.—*MS. preserved at Greyabbey.* The following document connected with the sale of the Rosemount property is now printed for the first time:—

"A Memorial of Deeds of Lease and Release, indented Tripartite, bearing date respectively the third and fourth days of July, 1717, made beween James Montgomery, of Rosemount, in the County of Down, Esqr., and Alice (Elizabeth) Montgomery, his wife, William Montgomery of Rosemount aforesaid, gent^lm^, eldest son and heir apparent of the said James Montgomery, and Hugh Savage of Ardkin, Hugh Maxwell of Rowbane, Robert Hamill of Ballyatwood, John Montgomery of Cragbuy, all in the said county of Down, Esqrs., and Henry Dallway of Marshallstown in the County of the town of Carrickfergus, Esqr., Trustees of the said James Montgomery, of the first part; William Montgomery of Grangee, in the County of Down, aforesaid, Esqr., of the Second part; and Elizabeth Montgomery and Martha Montgomery both of Rosemount aforesaid, Spinsters, of the third part; whereby the sd. James Montgomery, Elizabeth Montgomery, his wife, and William Montgomery of Rosemount, Hugh Savage Hugh Maxwell, Robert Hamill, John Montgomery, and Henry Dallway, with the consent of the sd. Elizabeth Montgomery and Martha Montgomery, and for the consideration of the sum of Six thousand two hundred pounds, Sterling, to them in hand, paid by the said William Montgomery, of Grangee, have granted, bargained, sold, aliened, released, and confirmed unto the said William Montgomery of Grangee, & his heirs, all that the manor of Rosemount, together with the Scite, circuit, and precinct of the Abbey of Leigh, alias Jugo Dei, alias Grayabbie, alias Hoare Abbey, and also the demesne lands of Rosemount, and the Town and Lands of Grayabbie, Bogleboe, Buetown, Ballymistore, Ballymurphy, alias Ballymurcock, and the Islands & Peninsulas commonly called or known by the names of Killhill, Island Buys, Island Middle, Island South, Island Chapel, Island Bourtree, Island Gobback, Island Longshelas and Channell, with all Rocks and Scars, and all Kelp, wreck, and Sea-Weed growing or being, or that shall hereafter grow or be on the said Manor, Towns, Lands, Rocks and Premises, or on the coasts or shores thereof, or of any part thereof, or that belong, or are reputed to belong to the same, and also one Messuage, house and garden, in the Green Well Street, in the town and lands of Newton, and one yearly fee farm, rent of seven pounds fifteen shillings, issuing and payable out of the town and lands of Ballybune, alias Ballybrian, and one yearly chief rent or fee-farm rent of one pound, issuing and payable out of the town & lands of Tullykeavan, alias Carrow Tullykeavan, together with the Rectory of Grayabbie, and all and every the great and small Tythes, oblations, and obventions, and portions of Tythes, growing arising, or renewing, yearly, in or out of the said Town and Lands of Grayabbie, Bogleboe, Butown, Ballymestore, Ballymurphy alias Ballymurcock, Ballybrene alias Ballybrian, Carrow Tullykeavan, demesne Lands and Islands aforesaid, and likewise all and every the Tythes great and small, oblations, obventions, and ecclesiastical dues, issuing, growing, renewing, or payable, in or out of the towns & lands of Ballybunden and the quarter of Killmuidd, alias Killmond, and Ballymonestragh, which lately belonged to, or were granted to Sir James Montgomery, Knight, by Letters Patent, of King Charles the First, bearing date the 9th day of March, in the 13th year of his reign, together with the Church of Grayabbie, and the right of nominating or presenting a Curate or incumbent to the same, and also the Corn-mill of Grayabbie, and the suite service Grist, Succon, Toll or Multure thereof, or to the same belonging, or usually held, occupied, or enjoyed therewith, all which are situate, lying, and being in the Barony of Ards and Castlereagh, and County of Down aforesaid; and also Courts Leet, Courts Baron, and Pie Powder Courts, Markets, Fairs, Tolls, Clerk of the Market, Fishings, Castle Fish, Wrecks, Waifs, Estrays, Deodands, Fines, Forfeitures, Common Ways, Watercourses, Milldams, Mill draughts, Moors, Bogs, Loughs, and all other Royalties, Rights, Members, Easements and Appurtenances to the said Manor, Towns, Lands, and Premises, or any or either of them, belonging or appertaining in as full, ample, and beneficial manner as the said James Montgomery did, could, or might hold, occupy, possess, or enjoy the same, or any part, or parcel thereof, together with the reversion, and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues, and profits, of the said Manor, Towns, Lands, Tythes, and Premises, and every part thereof, and all the Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Trust, Property, claim, and demand of the said James Montgomery, Elizabeth Montgomery, William Montgomery of Rosemount, Hugh Savage, Hugh Maxwell, Robert Hamill, John Montgomery, and Henry Dallway, of in and to the same, and all Patents, Deeds, Writings, and Evidences therein, or to any part thereof belonging, or appertaining, To have and to hold, to the said William Montgomery, of Grangee, his heirs and assigns forever; and the said deed of Re-lease doth likewise set forth that the said William Montgomery of Grangee, his heirs and assigns, shall have the full benefit and advantage of all agreements between the said James Montgomery and John Blackwood, of Ballyhidy Gent^n^, for payment of the Crown rent and School-master's Salary, due or payable out of the said Manor, by the said John Blackwood, his heirs or assigns, and more especially all agreements and exceptions in a Deed bearing date the 25th of November, 1700, and another by which the said James Montgomery granted the Towns and Lands of Ballyblack, Ballyboley, Ballygrange, Ballybenny, and part of Ballymurphy, part of said Manor of Rosemount to the said John Blackwood, his heirs and assigns, the true intent whereof was and is that the said John Blackwood, his heirs and assigns, shall pay the crown rent of eight pounds per annum, issuing out of the said manor, and the school-master's salary of Six Shillings and Eight pence per annum in ease and discharge of the rent and residue of the said Manor and Lands, granted to the said William Montgomery of Grangee as aforesaid, which said deeds of lease and release are witnessed by Rowley Hill and Robert Traill, both of the city of Dublin, Gentn., and John Vaughan of Stewart Town, in the County of Tyrone, Clerk, and James Baillie of Inischargie, in the County of Down, Gentn.

Signed and Sealed in presence of us Robert Johnston, Rowley Hill, James Boyd.—*MS. Paper bound up with the Copy of Inquisition of 1623, in the possession of R. B. Houston, Esq., Orangefield.*

The present owner of the Rosemount estate is *fourth* in descent from William Montgomery, who purchased it in 1717, and the *eighth* in descent from John Montgomery, cousin of the first viscount, and original settler at Grayabbey. See Mrs. E. G. S. Reilly's *Genealogical History*, pp. 60–66.

out of her mouth, for him to catch, but I looked not at, nor suspected any snake under our own contray grass, tho I know there were many in England, Scotland, and beyond our seas; of which I was warned, and carefull: but now at home I was secure and negligent, thinking that (being almost always in company of freinds, nighbours & obliged kindred, and meaning no evil to any man) tho I were blind, they would be both eyes and hands for mee.

I had perused books but not read men, or bussines half enough, And I had y^e^ same opinion of other mens Professions, as of my own, that they were sincere and honest. This credulity was my great error, (which I could not get rooted out of my mind,) to receive imposed impressions; and that it was occasioned thro inconsideration of y^e^ Medium between giving ready credit, and its contrary vice of suspecting all things, and of being over diffident. I therefore imagined (which was a timorous jealousy for my Credit) That if I should distrust of mens Protestations, I should be Ingenerous, and Reflect upon myself, and perhaps wrong honest deserving men: & (to be plain spoken) yett again I could not take it upon my conscience and Honor (to both which I had an high regard) to use Subterfuges, & undue excuses, for shaking off some importunitys: By all w^ch^ Imperfections, perhaps by an heedlessness, or Lazyness to inquire into mens designes (w^ch^ is a fault incident to those young men who think they enjoy enough, or will attain to more worldly affluence) I was induced by persuasions drawn from charity and friendship, & by promises of services, to Supply other men, out of my own recovered estate, before I had paid my own and my fathers debts: whereof Divers were now taken on, and belonged to y^e^ Publick: as contracted by y^e^ Lords Justices order,[94] not knowing, at Least not remembering, y^e^ Proverbs That *Charity begins at home*, & *Eaten bread is forgotten;* but y^e^ Truth of them I had not as yet Learned by any smarting experience.

Error in setling my estate.

And therefore as further instance of my mistakes of mens tempers, I add another of my ERRORS in my *Politiques*, for I imployed three of my tenents, one who had a beneficiall Lease from my father now expiring, at y^e^ tenth part value in rent which it was at this time worth: and his wife was a relation of his Lo^p^; the other was one that marryed a Montgomery, for whom my father had a kindness, and her husband had received a troopers pay, & collected my fathers rents: the other man was Shaw, and had maryed y^e^ daughter of one Shaw, who was receaver to my grandmother and father, in y^e^ Manor of Rosemount: & this Shaw was tenent under Coll Barrow,[95] for his own father in Laws farm. but a ready complyer at my takeing possession of y^e^ lands, but not in my entering to y^e^ house; y^e^ secret whereof was only imparted to y^e^ other two, who dealt therein faithfully (as hopeing my being a kind landlord) and cautiously as fearing revolutions in those variable times (for it was in february 1659) and dreading Barrows merciless severity, and therefore they two contrived waryly on that account: for they adduced Math. Glass, who was casheered from y^e^ Lease of his house (w^ch^ himself built) and from y^e^ orchard he had planted, and was to leave them in three months: Him they easily persuaded to gett in at y^e^ Parlour window of my house aforesd (wherein no body lived) & to stay concealed till next morning; and then (private notice being given me) I came without comitting any force, and entred *in vacuo* at y^e^

[94] *Justices Order.*—See pp. 158—160, *supra.*

[95] *Coll. Barrow.*—See p. 203, *supra.*

kitchen greate door, w^ch y^e s^d Mathew had unbolted, and left it hanging loose which was a good possession, my title being Legal, & so I kept it ever since then: till I made it over *(cum appurtenitiis)* to my sonn.[96]

The s^d Triumviri first described in y^e last paragraph were y^e men I imployed to sett & lett my lands (whilst I attended y^e Parliament); how it came to pass I did not strictly enquire (nor did I find out) but y^e event was that my lands were under sett, & it was many years before I could raise y^e rents of them: how ever they were gratifyd as if they had done y^e best for my advantage.

And thus I passed y^e following yeares, sometimes in Dublin, & sometimes at home, where I lived as at his Maj^ties Restauration, and as after my marriage: till after y^e Com^rs to his Maj^ty had returned from England[97] & the Parliam^t had sate again, and had made a recess for awhile, and our first Earle had come to his last doleful jorney to Newtoun as aforsd.[98]

I am made Trustee to y^e 49 officers.

You have an Account of my Actions in Reference to his sonn, before, At, and after his good Lo^ps funeral: of w^ch some are related in y^e Memoirs of y^e present Earle, and therefore shall not be repeated.[99] Yet I may mention that by recomendation from y^e green chamber (spoken of in y^e beginning of this narrative of myself) I had y^e Duke of Albemarls and Ormonds joynt order to be admitted a Trustee to Act for y^e officers who servd K. Ch: y^e i^st & 2^d in y^e Warrs of Ireland before y^e 5^th of June 1649[100] and pursuant thereunto, I sat in y^e s^d Green chamber (in y^e Custom house Dublin) when I pleased: and went upon addresses with others of our number to y^e Government: and attended at y^e Court of Chaimes when I pleased, either to further y^e genll or my particular concern.[101]

[96] *To my sonn.*—See pp. 382, 383, *supra*. In this passage, we have a curious account of the author's resuming possession of Rosemount, although it is to be regretted that he has not given us the names of *all* his assistants on that occasion. See p. 228, *supra*.

[97] *From England.*—See p. 232, note 66, *supra*.

[98] *Aforesd as aforsd.*—See pp. 237, 238, *supra*.

[99] *Abt is referred.*—See pp. 242, 261, 262, *et seq. supra*.

[100] *5^th of June, 1649.*—See p. 232, note 62, *supra*. The trustees originally appointed for the (1649) officers, in March, 1660, were Henry viscount Moore; Arthur viscount Valentia; John viscount Masereene; Francis lord Aungier; John lord Kingston; Richard lord Colooney; sir James Ware; sir Theophilus Jones; colonel Arthur Hill; colonel Marcus Trevor; captain Robert Fitzgerald; sir Robert Newcomen; sir Arthur Forbes; sir Richard Kane; sir Patrick Wemyss; sir George Lane; sir John Stevens; sir Audley Mervyn; sir William Flower; col. C. Coote; colonel Francis Fowkes; serjeant major Thomas Thornton; serjeant major George Rawdon; captain Hans Hamilton; captain Robert Ward; captain Richard Vesbery; Brian Jones, esq.; Dr. William Petty; Richard Kingsmill, esq.; James Cuffe, esq.; Samuel Rathurst, esq.; and alderman Daniel Bellingham. These trustees were re-appointed on the 22nd of May, 1662, and others added, by appointment of the 22nd of May, 1662, and others added, by appointment of the same date, viz. Robert Ward (under the name William Montgomery. Robert Ward was appointed, January, 1662, register general for keeping all the records of declarations, records, certificates, and other [illegible] touching soldiers' debentures, for the satisfaction [illegible] of the officers and soldiers employed in Ireland [illegible] planters.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, [illegible] pp. 361, 362, 363.

[101] *My particular concern.*—The vacant ground lying between the northern side of Dame Street and the river Liffey was selected by the government of James I. as a site for new custom-house buildings in Dublin. A lease for ninety years was taken in the king's name, on the 10th of November, 1620, from Jacob Newman, of ground extending from the river north side, in length south-ward 160 feet, and at the south end in breadth 106 feet, at a rent of £50, payable out of the fee-farm rent due by the mayor, sheriffs, and citizens of Dublin to the crown. On this site a new custom-house was erected some time prior to the restoration, "which contained the additional convenience of a Council-Chamber, or place of meeting for the Privy-Council of Ireland. Committees of the House of Commons of Ireland are recorded to have met, in 1661, in the 'Green Chamber of the new Custom House'; and in the 'Garden Chamber' of this edifice Committees of the Peers occasionally assembled in 1662. . . By letters from Whitehall, dated 20th September, 1671, Charles II. directed that the 'custody, charge, and keeping of all records, offices, inquisitions, books of entries, journals, claims, schedules, contracts, deeds, transcripts, certificates, reports, abstracts, accompts, rules, valuations, returns, warrants, orders, instructions, and extracts,' copies or duplicates of them, and all other books, papers, writings, rescripts, and muniments whatsoever, now or late in the custody, or formerly belonging to the late Commissioners for executing the Declaration of the 30th of November, 1660, for the settlement of Ireland, for executing the act of settlement, or any former Commissioners or Courts of Claims, Qualifications, or others heretofore appointed for settling or distributing of lands should be delivered to Sir

I was also ye sd yeare 1649 on ye 25 of June sworne Gentln of ye Privy Chamber by Sr Wm ffleming, whose certificate thereof is yet extant, & also on Record in Whitehall, by vertue whereof I had uninterrupted passage into all publique roomes there, and a key which Lett me into ye gallerys & cockpitt from ye Garden, and St. James park.[102] Sworn Gentln of ye Privy Chamber.

In this place I may also incert a passage or event of my Life, wch brought me an esteem and deference in ye county of Antrim, town of Carrickfergus, & castle of Dublin, and it came to pass as followeth viz.

When ye surprizall of Carrickfergus Castle[103] by a Schoolmaster and some Olivarian Soldiers had occasioned ye duke of Ormond to send by sea, half ye Royall foot Regiment and other companys & himself to come for ye reduction thereof, I heard of his graces journey with ye troop of Guards and met him at Lisnegarvah. Of ye surprise of Carrickfergus Castle.

James Shaw, surveyor-general of Ireland, to be kept and preserved by him, . . . and that the three rooms in the new Custom House Dublin, commonly called the Green Chamber, formerly in the possession of the Trustees for the 1649 officers, with the presses, books, and writings therein, be by inventory delivered into the custody of the said Surveyor General, for the better preservation and using of the said books, papers, writings, and premises.'" —Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, vol. ii., pp. 136, 137.

[102] *St. James Park.*—The 'gallerys' here mentioned run along the two sides of the grand banqueting house and across the end over the door of entrance. There was another smaller gallery for the use of the guards, which was pulled down about the year 1839–40, when the interior of the banqueting house underwent a thorough repair and restoration. The great attraction of this apartment is the ceiling, with its series of paintings by Rubens, but their vast height removes them beyond close inspection, and the spectator must be content to admire their brilliant and harmonious colouring. The '*Cockpit*' has long since disappeared, and the space once occupied by it and the tennis court is now appropriated by the treasury, and the offices of the secretaries of state. The 'garden' adjoined St. James's Park, the latter stretching between Whitehall and St. James's palace. Charles I. had fitted up a chapel in the latter building, from which he walked across this park to Whitehall, the place of his execution. —Knight's *Cyclopædia of London*, pp. 51, 52.

[103] *Surprizall at Carrickfergus Castle.* — This affair at Carrickfergus, which occurred in the spring of 1666, was more serious in its nature and results than the author's notice would lead us to infer. He has thrown some new light, however, on the subject, by ascribing the surprisal of Carrickfergus castle on that occasion to a "schoolmaster and some Olivarian soldiers." Unfortunately, he does not mention the schoolmaster's name. McSkimin's account, collected from Carte, Cox, and the *Journals of the Irish House of Commons*, is as follows :—"1666. In April, the garrison, consisting of four companies of foot, mutinied for want of their pay, but were soon quelled. It is likely, however, that their grievances were not redressed, for the mutiny again broke out with greater violence, on the 22nd of the following month. Choosing one Corporal Dillon for their commander, they prepared for defending themselves. They drew out a list of their grievances, inviting other garrisons to join them, and sent a copy to the Earl of Donegall, then in the town ; upon which he waited on them, and did his utmost to bring them to order, but without effect. On the 25th same month, the Earl of Arran, son to the Duke of Ormond, arrived at Carrickfergus, in the Dartmoor frigate, with four companies of foot guards; and on the 27th his grace of Ormond arrived with ten troops of horse. In the evening a general assault was made on the town, the Earl of Arran attacking it by sea, and Sir Wm. Flowers by land : on which the mutineers retreated into the castle, with the loss of Dillon their commander, and two others. The assailants had two killed and six wounded. Same evening the Earl of Donegall and the mayor effected their escape from the town ; and so many of the mutineers deserted, that their number was reduced to 120 men. On the next day, they hung out a white flag, and desired to capitulate ; and on the earl's assurance of safety, one Proctor and another mutineer were let down the castle wall, to treat of terms ; but the earl refusing to listen to any proposal short of unconditional submission, they returned into the castle. The mutineers, however, although they had still a month's provisions, surrendered at discretion the same day, about two o'clock. On the 30th, 110 persons were tried, nine of whom were executed, and the others sent to Dublin, whence they were transported. Two companies of the guards being left in the garrison, his grace returned to Dublin, on which the House of Commons appointed a deputation of their body to wait on him with their thanks for suppressing the mutiny. The corporation received thanks of government for their loyalty on this occasion, and gave a splendid entertainment to the Earl of Arran ; and in the following July, a company of militia being raised for the defence of Carrickfergus, the mayor for the time being was appointed to command."—*History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 62, 63. In a letter from William Pinkerton, esq., F.S.A., to the editor, there is the following interesting passage :—"I have a full account of Ormond's journey to the North to quell the mutiny. The chief mutineers were named Proctor Dillon and Williams. Proctor Dillon (one name) was killed, and Williams was hanged. These names are in a letter written by the earl of Donegall. Sir Geo. Rawdon, in a letter to Lord Conway gives an interesting account of the whole affair. He met Ormond at Dromore, and was with him all the time assisting at the Court-Martial, which was held in Joymount. He says that 10 men were

Y^e^ duke of Ormond at Joymount.

We had heard two days before this, that y^e^ castle was surrendered to y^e^ party w^ch^ came in shipps (w^ch^ had brought battering gunns) and to y^e^ town Guarison. Yet y^e^ Duke (to put an orderly end to that Little Rebellion and to prevent y^e^ Like) came to Carrickfergus and was lodged in Joymount house, so called by y^e^ Lord Deputy Chichester who built it, and enclosd with an adjoining Garden, on y^e^ ground given him by y^e^ Corporation to that purpose.[104]

His Grace dined publiqly at y^e^ old Earle of Dunnegalls table where I made one of y^e^ sitters, and was placed to my right, and had rather more than my due, because y^e^ Earle had ordered it to be so.[105]

Dinner & some Gen^l^ discourses being ended, & ye Countess importuning the D: for pardon to y^e^ schoolmaster[106] (w^ch^ y^e^ Duke had a mind to avoid for that time) his Grace said he desired to see y^e^ Gardens, & then went to them:[107] I kept myself as neare as possibly I could to him. He

tried, condemned, and executed. But Ormond, writing to the Secretary of State, after he returned to Dublin, says that there were only 9 executed. One writer says 'the townsmen added fuel to the fire.' But I hear nothing of a school-master being implicated in the affair. The prisoners were tried by Court-Martial for breach of the Articles of War. There is a contemporary printed account of the affair. The men had *nine* months' pay due them."

[104] *To that purpose.*—'Joymount House' was so named by sir Arthur Chichester, who completed the building of that noble residence in the year 1618. In 1635, sir William Brereton described it as a " very statelye house, or rather like a prince's pallace," containing "a verye faire hall and a stately staircase, and a faire dineing roome, carrying the proportion of the hall." But, says the same authority, "the windowes and roomes and whole frame of the house is over large and vast; and in this house may you observe the inconvenience of great buildings, which require an unreasonable charge to keep them in repaire, soe they are a burthen to the owners of them." Sir Arthur erected Joymount on the side of an old building known as the *Pallace*, which, in its turn, had occupied the place where anciently stood the Franciscan Friary of Carrickfergus, founded in the thirteenth century, either by sir Hugh de Lacy or a chieftain of the Clan Aodha-Buidhe branch of the O'Neills. Joymount house was removed about a century ago to make way for the county gaol and court-house in Carrickfergus. See a highly interesting paper on 'The Pallace' of Carrickfergus, contributed by William Pinkerton, esq., F.S.A., to the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii., pp. 1–10.

[105] *Ordered it to be so.*—'Ye old Earle of Dunnegall' was then in the sixtieth year of his age, having been born on the 16th of June, 1606. He was nephew to sir Arthur, the builder of Joymount, and for his faithful services to the cause of royalty, was created earl of Donegall on the 30th March, 1647. He died in Belfast, on the 18th March, 1674, and was buried at Carrickfergus on the 10th of May following.—*Lodge*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., pp. 334, 335.

[106] *To ye schoolmaster.*—The first earl of Donegall was thrice married. The countess referred to in the text (his last wife) was Letitia, only surviving daughter of sir William Hickes of Rooksholt, Essex. This lady's [illegible] husband was sir William Franklyn of Mavorne, in [illegible]re.—*Lodge*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 335. It is to be supposed that her pleading for the schoolmaster was in vain, as Ormond seems to have dreaded the spirit manifested by the mutineers, and thought that the crisis required him to act with severity. Carrickfergus was near Scotland, and its keepers' loyalty must be above suspicion. Neither could the 'Oliverian' spirit be permitted to show itself with impunity under any circumstances. It would appear, however, that Oliverianism apart, the soldiers in Carrickfergus had too much cause for complaint. "In the *MSS.* of Henry Gill, esq.," says M'Skimin, "we find some additional and interesting particulars of this mutiny, from which it appears that the soldiers had been treated with the most cruel neglect; having been kept without pay upwards of three months, and the inhabitants having long refused to credit them. For some time prior to the mutiny, they had existed wholly on such fish as they could find on the shore, and even sea plants, which they boiled. Just before proceeding to extremes, they waited on Hugh Smyth, treasurer of this corporation, and humbly requested 2s. 6d. for each man; but he refusing any aid, they proceeded as just related. On the nine men being ordered for execution, the common hangman refused to do his office, and left the town, declaring that he "would rather be hanged himself than hang men who had been so badly treated." However, James Spring, an inhabitant of the town, performed the hateful office, on being promised by sir William Flowers £5 for each man; not one farthing of which he ever received. Mr. Gill adds that had this mean wretch possessed the humanity of the common hangman, the men would have been saved; as a reprieve came for all a few hours after they were executed."—*History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 63, 64.

[107] *Then went to them.*—The gardens at Joymount are noticed by sir William Brereton, who visited Carrickfergus in 1635, as follows:—"Fine Gardens and mighty spatious Orchards, & they say they bear goode store of Fruite. I observed on either side of this garden, there is a Dovehouse placed, one opposite to the other in the corner of the garden, & twixt the garden and the Orchards, a most convenient place for apricockes, or some such tender Fruite, to be planted against the Dovehouse wall, that by the advantage of the heat thereof, they may be rendered more fruit-full & come sooner to maturitie, but this use is not made thereof."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i., p. 247.

took out his perspective and turning round perceived mee attending neare him: and thinking either I had matter of bussines to him, or that I could answer (as well as any other) the things wherein he desired information; & (as I thought) to place respect on me, as the then chiefest (and almost the onely) Figure in our Family (to which his Grace always professed a friendship): his Grace (on some of those scores) called me, saying Mr Montgomery wee must talk together a Little: at which I advanced, and ye rest of ye attending company held themselves at a distance.

The Duke had a mind to view the Lough, & chief places on ye other side thereof: and that part of ye Castle wch stood next ye town and sea: concerning all which I satisfyed his curiosity: & of ye proprietors, their conditions as to estates, Inclinations as to presbiteriall governmt, with their predominant affections for ye King: and this was done as I was particularly Interrogated; after every sight he had taken with his perspective.

He had looked also to the frigotts in the Road that brought his men: and to some merchts shipps that anchored at Galmoy:[108] and he enquired of ye comodiousness of the Lough for shipping and fishing: of all which I informed his Grace to his content; I bringing in a discourse of ye encouragement the onely trading merchts (who lived in Belfast) had, and also of ye advantage it was to ye King that ye custom house were settled in that towne,[109] and a bridge built to join the two countys:[110] Telling the D: also he would see the smal key and harbour of Carrickfergus when he went into ye Castle, & that I would there show him the place from whence ye Marquis of Antrim[111] made his escape from Major Genll Robert Monro: and ye very

[108] *Galmoy.*—Galmoy was probably written by the author in mistake for *Garmoyle.* "From the shallowness of the stream at the Bridge of Belfast, Garmoyl or Carmoyl-Pool is made use of as the harbour for ships trading to that town; where is a depth that twenty vessels may ride afloat at low water, though within cable's length barks lie round them dry, and from thence sail up at high water to the Kay of Belfast."—Harris, *County of Down*, p. 127.

[109] *In that towne.*—The custom-house was built before 1689. In that year, one Gideon Bonnivert, probably a French refugee, came with king William's army, and landed at Donaghadee. Among the *Sloane MSS.* in the British museum, one is labelled "*Bonnivert's Journey*," and in it is the following notice of Belfast:—"The town is a sea-port, there is in it the King's Custom House, and you see, hard by it, a very long stone bridge, which is not yett finisht. The town is compassed round about with hills. The people very civill, and there is also a great house belonging to my Lord Donegall, Lord Chichester, with very fine gardens and groves of ash trees."—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iv., p. 79.

[110] *The two countys.*—"The old map of Belfast, preserved in the MS. collection of Lambeth Library, as well as the plan of the town, constructed about the year 1660, represents an extensive ford reaching in the direction of the present Corn Market, and communicating with the enclosure of the Castle. The remains of another ford, composed of large stones, regularly laid, which crossed the river exactly opposite the Ballast Office, were lately removed by the Ballast Corporation."—Reeves, *Eccl. Antiquities*, p. 183. The construction of a regular bridge to "join the two countys" was not commenced until the year 1682, and was not completed in less than six years. The old *Long Bridge*, however, was a great work. "The Bridge of Belfast," says Harris, "under which the river Lagan empties itself into Carrickfergus Bay is one of the most stately Bridges in the Kingdom, consisting of twenty one Arches, all turned with hewn freestone raised in the Hill of *Scraba*, of which eighteen are on the county of *Down* side, and three in the county of *Antrim*, the channel dividing the two counties running through the third Arch. The whole Bridge, including the dead work at each end extended over the marshy grounds, is 2,562 feet long, of which the twenty one Arches take up 840 feet) and the dead works 1,722 feet. The breadth of the arched part is 22 feet, and of the rest nineteen. It was built at the joint expense of the two counties, and cost about £8000 (some say £12000). In the spring of 1692, seven of the Arches fell in, the Bridge having been weakened by Duke Scomberg's drawing his heavy cannon over it some time before, as well as by a ship driving against it. But it was soon after repaired by a new charge on the two counties, and has continued ever since in tollerable good order till of late, having received considerable damage from winter storms and floods; and if proper care be not taken (1740) it may probably suffer more. Before it was built, the nearest Bridge travellers had to pass from one county to the other was *Shaw's Bridge*, upwards of three miles South of Belfast, which was formerly small, but now consists of six arches. Yet a communication was maintained here over the Lagan by a Ferry, where this Bridge now stands; which Ferry probably gave name to the Town."—*County of Down*, p. 129.

[111] *Ye Marquis of Antrim.*—This was Randal Macdonnell, the second earl of Antrim, born in 1609, and created

Rocks on which (as Irish tradition affirms) Fergus, the first King of Scots, was Shipp wrakt & lost his Life.[112] After his Grace had gone round y^e^ Orchard and other words were used, and seen y banqueting house (which is seated within a fresh water pond)[113] He walked thro the Town, the s^d^ old Earle and many of the best sort attending him, and y^e^ s^d^ half Regiment and Guarison officers and soldiers standing at their Arms and making a Lane: And y^e^ Mayor[114] with his brethren (in

a marquis in 1643. He was twice taken prisoner and confined in Carrickfergus castle, and as often made his escape. His first capture by Monro was made in June, 1642, at Dunluce castle, where he is described as having entertained his captor hospitably. Macdonnell knew when to be mild, or the reverse; but in Monro he met an antagonist as cunning and unscrupulous as himself. His first imprisonment only lasted a few months, he having escaped in the December following, by the ingenuity of his esquire, Archibald Stewart, who had the marquis conveyed out of the castle as an invalid, and so artfully disguised that no suspicion was aroused. For this act Stewart was tried and executed at Carrickfergus in the month of July, 1643. Macdonnell was captured secondly in May, 1643, in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, county of Down, on his return from making arrangements with the royalist party in England to send troops from Ulster to co-operate with Montrose in Scotland. His second escape was effected in the October of the same year, by the assistance of colonel Gordon, a member of the Sutherland family, who commanded a regiment in Monro's army, and who supplied the marquis with a ladder of ropes, by which the latter descended from a window in the castle. Colonel Gordon was afterwards married to the lady Rose Macdonnell, youngest sister of the earl of Antrim. At the time of this escape the earl of Antrim's family was reduced to great difficulties. His mother, the countess dowager of Antrim, had resided at Ballycastle, in the county of Antrim, until the close of the year 1642. There is the following notice of this lady by the well-known Dr. Thomas Arthur, at p. 137 of his *MSS.*, and quoted by Lenihan in his *History of Limerick*, p. 155, *note*:—"1643. Dame Elis Ny Neyl, countess dowager of Antrim, by reasons of the warrs, was reduced to extremitie, and driven to pavne her 2 rings, a cross, and a ievvell of gould, inlayed with rubbies and dyamonds, to John Barnevill, for £20 sterling, with a bill of sale past of them, unless shee had redeemed the same by the 20th of September, 1643, which not being able to doe of her own moneyes, was driven to mortgadge the premisses to Thomas Roch Fitz Pyers of Byrr, merchant, for the said sume of £20, which she delivered to the said Barnevill in redemption of the said jewells, and promised him, the said Roch £20 10s. for lending her the said £20, from the 2nd of August to Michaelmas ending 1643. And the said countess being at Lymrick the 9th of September, 1643, desired me to pay the said Thomas Roch the said sume of £21, and to keepe her said jewell in my owne custodie untill shee were able to paye mee, to prevent future consumption and inconveniences which may ensue unto the said ladye through the accrueing interest sought by the said Roch. I to pleasure the said countess payd the said Roch the £20 aforesaid, and kept the said jewells salfe for the said ladye, demanding noe interest of moneyes of her. 30th Aprilis, 1649, by vertue of the said lady dowager, her letter, dated at Grangebegg, 29o Martii, 1649, I delivered the said jewells to Sr Connor O'Cuillenane, a Franciscan fryer, from whome I received twentie pounds, and five shillings, sterling, and who upon his oate, promised to see me payed of 15s. more, by May day then next ensuing, instead of the 3 picatouns which were counterfaiet, and that I would not then receave for my Payment. John Arthure Fitzrobert, James Ryce Fitz-John, Nichd. Wale, and Thomas Power Fits-James were present." The above-named Dr. Thomas Arthur, who always wrote *Fitzwilliam* after his name, was well-known in Dublin as Dr. Fitzwilliam—(*Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæol. Society*, vol. v., new series, p. 20)—and under the latter name was summoned to visit the first earl of Mount-Alexander in the year 1663. See p. 242, *supra*. In this celebrated physician's fee-book, under the year 1620, are the following entries:—"I then went to the Lady of Arthur Chichester, the Quaestor or Treasurer of this Kingdom, then living at Carrickfergus in Ulster, whom, when labouring under dropsy, and forewarning her of her death within a few days after my prognosis, I attended upon; he gave me on the 25th of May £5 0 0. Being sent for on the third of May, I went to Margaret Walsh, the daughter of Cormack O'Hara, who was pregnant, and became convalesant without injury to herself or her child, £1 0 0. Sir Randal M'Saurley, then Viscount of Dunluce, sent for me to Dunluce, and gave me £1 0 0." This doctor's "fees were of sufficient magnitude to enable him to realize a large fortune, to purchase broad acres, and to lend considerable sums of money to noblemen and gentlemen, particularly to the Thomond family, and to some of the then old Irish gentry, who appear to have stood in need of his advances."—*Journal of the Kilkenny and East of Ireland Archæol. Society*, vol. v., new series, pp. 20, 22.

[112] *And lost his Life.*—The tradition here mentioned has long since ceased, and no person in the place would now undertake to point out 'y^e^ very rocks' where king Fergus suffered shipwreck. It was no doubt, however, against the utmost point of the rock on which the castle was afterwards built, and which projects into the sea, so that, at common tides, three sides of the building are enclosed by water. The greatest height of the rock is at its southern extremity, where it is about thirty feet, shelving considerably towards the land, the walls of the castle following exactly its different windings. See M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 156, 157.

[113] *Fresh water pond.*—This pond is not mentioned, as far as we know, by any other writer. In a "*Note as well of the great Losses as also of the good Service that the poor inhabitants of Knockfergus have had and done*," *circa*, 1578, it is mentioned that the town had been paved and environed with '*stagnes*' of water.—*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, 1575–1588, p. 148.

[114] *And y^e^ Mayor.*—Anthony Hall was the mayor of Carrickfergus in that year. He was appointed captain of a company of foot raised (immediately after the sup-

their formalitys) ushering his Grace all y^e^ way from Joymount Gatehouse to y^e^ Castle, wherein y^e^ Governor Coll John Mayert (my mothers cousen German) with his soldiers recd. him, & as many of y^e^ Attendants as would go in.[115]

His Grace went up the Stone Stairs (w^ch^ are on y^e^ outside of y^e^ Castle) and is y^e^ onely passage to y^e^ door of it whereat one enters to a roome the extent of the whole pile, and about y^e^ middle thereof is y^e^ well (now famous for its medicinal water especially to cure the Gout) whose vertue, I have severall times found prevalent to that effect: it is enclosed with stone and lime w^ch^ mounts about a yard above y^e^ floor of that first story, but the spring rises not near so high.[116] From thence we descended and came to the wall next the sea: and I guided his Grace to the very spot where Randall M^c^Donnell (als M^c^Connell) M^c^Sorleybuy (the s^d^ Marquis) made his escape afores^d^: and had left his comb and its case with his handkercheff:[117] and I showed the key and harbour from the next walls, & the shipwracking Rocks afores^d^ [118]

His Grace stood a good while talking publicly of severall matters, & enquired if Fergus his body was found, and where buried:[119] And there being none that answered, I told his Grace that

pression of the mutiny of 1666), within the town and county of Carrickfergus "for his majestys service and the defence of his Kingdom." His commission is dated the 11th of July in that year.—*History of Carrickfergus*, p. 301.

[115] *As would go in.*—The name of colonel John Mayert is not mentioned in any of M'Skimin's lists of governors, at pp. 164 and 370 of his *History of Carrickfergus*. The governors' names between 1661 and 1675 are unrecorded by him.

[116] *Not near so high.*—The stone stairs by which Ormond and his party entered the castle are not now available. "On the left of the entrance," says M'Skimin, p. 158, "is a small door, now built up, by which was formerly a passage in the SE. corner, by helical stone stairs, to the ground floor and top of the tower. In this passage were loopholes for the admission of air and light; and opposite each storey a small door that opened into the different apartments. At present the ascent to the top is partly by wooden stairs inside." The author's account of the "famous" well in the castle is curious as being, perhaps, the earliest existing notice of it. Henry Gill, an inhabitant of Carrickfergus, who died in 1761, refers in his *MSS.*, quoted by M'Skimin, to the medicinal properties of its water "in all scurbutuck disorders, the fame and success of this well drawing numbers to it, to the no small advantage of the town." The water which was light, and of "a sweetish taste," issued from "a crevice in the face of the rock, not any kind of earth being nigh it." In the records of the corporation, there is the following entry:—"March 16, 1695, Ordered, that new buckets be provided for the Castle Well, and that the same be cleared, and the holes stopped, at the charge of the corporation; and that Morgan Grogan and Moses Garvan be appointed to deliver the water out of said Well, upon whom a yearly salary is to be settled." Gill states that whilst the men were engaged in the cleansing here ordered, "a great quantity of old iron was taken out of it of an uncommon make," and that afterwards, "it was observed the water failed in performing those cures it had been famous for."—*History of Carrickfergus*, p. 159. William Montgomery tells us, p. 150, *supra.*, that he was a martyr to gout during the last ten years of his life, or in the interval between the years 1696 and 1706. Is this a proof that the well, whose waters "severall times" benefitted him, had lost its virtue with the loss of its "old iron" in 1695?

[117] *His handkercheff.*—The articles here mentioned were most probably left by the marquis at the time of his *second* escape, which appears to have been less ceremonious than the former. The author gives us the Gaelic and English forms of this nobleman's surname—M'Donnell and M'Connell. The former was pronounced in Gaelic as if it commenced with C, and Englishmen, in writing the name, spelled it *M'Connell*. The second earl of Antrim was *grandson* of Somhairle Buidhe Macdonnell, more familiarly known as *Sorley Boy*, or Sorleybuy.

[118] *Shipwracking Rocks afores^d^.*—The quay is situated a little to the south-west of the castle, which overlooks it, and from which the point formerly associated with the shipwreck of Fergus is clearly seen. An old plan of part of the town of Carrickfergus,—date about 1540—represents the pier as then in progress of being built, and from it "we see that it was constructed by first placing a wooden framework which was afterwards filled with stones." An engraving of this plan (which is preserved in the Cottonian collection), is published, in vol. vii. of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, accompanied by a truly valuable paper from William Pinkerton, esq., F.S.A The little harbour has undergone many changes even since that comparatively modern date.

[119] *And where buried.*—This Fergus, the son of Erc, was the first of the Dalriadic kings of Scotland. He was descended through Cairbre Riada, from Conaire II., monarch of Ireland, who died in the year 220. At the commencement of the sixth century, Fergus Mac Erc accompanied by his two brothers, Loarn and Angus, led an expedition into Alba (Scotland), and took possession of all the north-western coast and the adjoining islands. Fergus became the first king of the territory thus occupied by colonists from the Irish shores, and was succeeded in this sovereignty by a long line of sixty Dalriadic rulers, the last of whom being Alexander III., who died in the year 1286.

Scotts history spoke of its being found, and that a place called Monks town (about three mlies from thence) claimed the honor of preserving his Remains,[120] but I believe that those Fryars, who built the very smal chappel in that town land (& were not in being till long after St. Patricks days) could not show any of Fergus his bones, but some bodys els instead of them: and so cheated their credulous Irish converts, & the Highland Scottish votarys, who came over to see Ireland, & those suppositious relicts of so greate and revered a man: for Real they could not be; because the Graves hungry stomack, would not have taken time from 330 years before y^e^ birth of Christ till the later centurys after it, to digest that morcell; and I was of opinion that Fergus his body was not embalmed, after the Egyptian manner, used when y^e^ Pyramides were made, or practised in Alex^r^ the Greats time, contemporary to Fergus.[121]

The D: replyed I think so too, & said it was as uncertain who built the Pile of y^e^ Castle: The Rocks or Craggs (in Irish Carrig) onely haveing right to beare Fergus name:[122] but I believe said y^e^ Duke that as for the circuling walls (w^ch^ he noted were very irregular) it was King John caused build them, or the greatest & oldest parts thereof,[123] for it seemed to him that the outer

[120] *Preserving his remains*—This tradition is preserved by M'Skimin, at least in part, *History of Carrickfergus*, p. 8, *note*, but it has now almost, if not altogether, died out in the locality of Monkstown. The chapel at this place is "now incorporated with Coole, and, conjointly with it, forms the benefice of Carnmoney. The west wall of the church is the only part which is standing: but the area of the whole building is defined by the foundations, measuring 63 feet by 17. The graveyard has been by degrees converted into meadow, and the few interments which take place here are confined within the bounds of the church."—Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 69, *note*.

[121] *Contemporary to Fergus.*—The old Scottish chroniclers, in representing the reign of Fergus as occurring 330 years before Christ, are now admitted to have been entirely at fault in their chronological conclusions. By far the best authority on this point is the Irish Annalist *Tighernach*, who states that in the year 502 of our era, "Fergus the great, son of Erc, accompanied by the race of Dalriada, occupied a part of Britain, and died there."—Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 319; See also Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Reeves, p. 433; *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, vol. v., p. 177. Fergus was the youngest of the three brothers, and had Cantire assigned to him as his portion of the conquered territory. His reign as dynast, or king, did not commence until by the death of his two brothers—(Loarn, who held the district now known as Argyleshire, and Angus, to whom the islands had been given)—the various portions in the possession of the colonists could be consolidated. These events did not probably occur before the year 512; and if,—as the Scottish annalists affirm—the reign of Fergus lasted 29 years, his death may have taken place about 540, a date at which there must have existed several christian churches in addition to those founded by St. Patrick in person. The fact of the burial of Fergus at Ballymanach, or Monkstown, would lead to the conclusion that some such establishment was found there to receive his remains. Before Fergus had set forth on his expedition to Scotland in 502, he granted land to the saint at Armoy, on which to build a church; and, in return, Patrick blessed him, and predicted his future greatness.—*Trias Thaum.* as quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 244. These circumstances, taken in connection with the character of Fergus as a brave leader and wise king, would naturally render his grave an object of deep interest to the inhabitants of the Irish and Scottish coasts. The fact, however, that his bones were, in after times, exhibited by the monks to credulous "Irish converts" and "Scottish votarys" is quite new to us; and, so far as we are aware, no tradition relating to such exhibitions now survives in the district. See Appendix P.

[122] *Beare Fergus name.*—There can be no doubt, from the position of this place on the coast, that the rock has been occupied by a fortress from the earliest times,—probably long anterior to the days of Fergus. Tradition, however, connects his name directly with the castle, affirming that the largest room, formerly in the third storey, was his; and that his object in coming was to get cured of a leprosy by the waters of the wonderful well already mentioned! These traditions would imply—what was no doubt the fact—that a fortress stood there when he visited the place.—M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus* records these traditions at p. 8, *note*, and p. 159.

[123] *Oldest parts thereof.*—The present building on the rock at Carrickfergus exhibits the leading characteristics of a Norman castle, and was no doubt built by De Courcy, or some of his associates, soon after 1177, being probably walled, in part, by order of King John, who came there in the year 1210. The castle comprised within its four thick stone walls, the residence of a lord or chief, together with a fortress and a prison, thus proving that the builders were undoubtedly Normans, who had determined therein to consume the fruits of the soil, to make war upon their enemies, and to administer feudal justice among the people. Before its erection, the natives probably had a fortress there composed of mounds or ramparts, within which the people of the place inhabited open dwellings of wood, turf, or wattles.

court, next ye town street, was of later erection,[124] but by whom ye Worshipfull Mr Mayor (who left his brethren and place without ye Castle) being asked, could give his Grace no knowledge in either of points; because (said he) the Letters Pattents (granted by Queen Elizabeth to erect ye town into A Corporation) spoke nothing thereof. So he beheaved himself at that time Like the honest priest, onely as his Breviary taught him.[125] These and such like discourses passed in

[124] *Of later erection.*—For information respecting the walls and other public erections in Carrickfergus, see M'Skimin's *History*, third edition, pp. 106–11; and also an interesting contribution to the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., pp. 272–291. It is rather surprising that any walls remained to protect Carrickfergus, at the date referred to in the text, considering the many startling vicissitudes which had befallen the place during the preceding centuries. The nature of these vicissitudes may be to some extent understood, from the following contents of a Carew manuscript, 1578, entitled *A Note as well of the great losses as also of the good service that the poor inhabitants of Knockfergus have had and done:*—"They killed Brian Balloughe, lord of Clandeboye, who continually annoyed the townsmen, with divers of his men. In revenge, his son burned the town. They were glad to compound with him for £40 yearly, which has been paid ever since. The lord of Killholtoughe, a traitor, took away all the cattle belonging to the town. The mayor and twenty-four aldermen and freemen were slain, and thirty-two taken, who were glad to pay all their goods for their ransom. When the king's majesty (Henry VIII.) was at wars with France and Scotland there went a great navy of ships out of Scotland, with the number of 10,000 men, to aid the French king, and their governors were the Earl of Arran, whose name was the the Lord of Hamilton, and the Lord Flemmynge with him, who landed at Knockfergus, and attempted to win the town, but without success. The Lord Flemmynge's brother was slain, with 40 of his men. Not passing twelve days after, the mayor with 200 men landed at Loughrean, (now Loughryan) in Scotland, burned and spoiled much corn and mani houses, and killed 60 men, besides a number of cattle. At the same time the Lord of the Out Isles, Donell M'Donell, was agreed to serve the king for £600, and came to Knockfergus with 4,000 men and 60 galleys. The money being not ready, the mayor and others gave him 300 beefs, and went in pledge for the payment of the £600, after the payment whereof, they were forced to pay £40 ere they were released. The lord of the country, Con O'Neale, took away 400 kine, and slew the mayor and constable of the king's castle, with 24 of the townsmen. There came also Rory M'Quylen, who brought with him M'Lane's brother, with 600 Scots, meaning to sack the town, and they set fire in four parts of it. The townsmen killed one of the chiefest captains and 20 men. By crafty means William Wallis, the mayor, and Mr. Corbett were carried away by Con O'Neill, and were forced to pay £50 for their ransom. An alderman was also taken and most cruelly handled by him. Hugh M'Boye O'Neill, being after him lord of that country, compelled one of the aldermen to pay a ransom of £200. Hugh M'Neale Oge, being a traitor, and lord of the country after him, came to Knockfergus with 1,000 Scots, and set fire in four parts of the town. Not long after, when Mr. Powell was discharged with his band from Knockfergus, and the abbey was given to the said Hugh, the latter challenged a wrong custom, and said if he had it not, he would suffer neither man nor child to come out of their houses, but he would kill them; so they agreed to give him five tuns of wine and £10 yearly. Con M'Neale Oge took away 100 neat and other cattle. Not passing twenty days after he had placed 200 men by night in the middle of the town, to kill Sir Brian M'Fellomy, and then to win the town. Perceiving they were hardly beset by him, they give to Sorolaboye M'Donell £20 sterling in wine, silk and saffron to assist them. Brian Balloughe, laid a strain in the corn, and took all their cattle to the number of 600. They wrote to Sorolaboy for restitution, but he made excuse. Not long after, the said Brian Balloughe took all their cattle, and they gave him certain silk, saffron, and wine to have their cattle again; and the said traitor drunk the same wine, and received the said silk and saffron, and restored not one of the neat back again, but cruelly handled the poor men that went with the same unto him, and stripped them, and took all their clothes from them. Captain William Piers was then Constable of the King's Castle. Con M'Neale Oge, in O'Neill's first wars, took all their cattle divers times. Hugh Mc Fellomy, lord of that country, demanded £40 beforetime paid to his ancestors. It was paid until Sir Henry Sidney, by force of the Queen's garrison, did cause the same to be stayed and withholden. The town has been paved and environed with 'stagnes' of water. Sydney gave them £20 towards the repair of the church. The inhabitants have increased from 20 to 200. About 40 fishermen daily frequent the seas, and there are about 60 ploughs belonging to the town. But if order be not taken for the thorough victualling of the Queen's soldiers there, the townsmen came not so fast thither, but will faster depart."—*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, (1575—1588), pp. 146—148.

[125] *Breviary taught him.*—Probably the earliest notice of the existence of a corporation in Carrickfergus is to be found in the record of a commission dated the 21st of February, 1374, granting to the mayor and commons permission to bring eight *weys* (six quarters, or 48 bushels) of wheat to that town. In a record of the 2nd July, 1402, Henry IV. is stated to have exempted the mayor and burgesses of Carrickfergus from the annual rent of 100s, as the corporation had determined to rebuild the town, which had been then recently burned by the king's enemies. A charter of the 21st March, the 11th of Elizabeth, is recorded in a memoranda roll of the exchequer; and another charter in the 44th year of the same reign. Carrickfergus obtained four charters in the reign of James I., the principal of which is that of the 14th December, 1613, enrolled in chancery. In that of 1st May, 1623, the king erects a corporation by the name of "Mayor, Constables, and Society of Merchants of the Staple of the Town." The charter of 1610 grants that the town and certain adjoining lands "should be for ever one entire

y^e^ Castle as occasion was given by y^e^ Duke, who at his going out of y^e^ Castle Limits was receaved again in formality as afores^d^ by M^r^ Mayor who conducted him to his own house and gave his Grace an evening Treate of good Wine[126] (whereof all wee waiters drank freely) & then y^e^ Duke marched (ushered and attended as afores^d^) to his Lodging, but others and I left him at y^e^ s^d^ gate-house; and came to my own quarters, where 3 or four kinsmen supped with mee, and wee were as merry & well pleased, as an Earl, a Countess, or Duke.

I was daily once or twice in y^e^ Dukes Presence during his Residence in Carrickfergus. & I waited on him to Belfast, where he stayed that night; & next morning I asked, and had leave to return home with thanks from his Grace for my company and y^e^ informations I had given him.

I shall add to this one rancounter more, w^ch^ I had with Primate Bromhall[127] (as I have had many with his successor Margetson,[128] who was ever civil and friendly to me) chief of the spirituall most reverend Lords, (called also their Graces as Dukes are) to whom comeing to his first visitation.

I went, and (on purpose) mett him beyond Hillsborough, I had conversed with his Grace in Holland after he had answered Le Melitiere his Letter persuading K Ch: y^e^ 2d to turn Roman Catholick,[129] and I had spoken to him severall times in Dublin: So he did welcome me by name, at my first salutation on ye Roade.

county, incorporate, by itself, *in re et nomine*, and from the counties of Down and Antrim, and all other counties in Ireland, should be distinct and separate." The limits of the county of the town of Carrickfergus are thus defined:—"the east of the small river called Copland water is the mear of the land near Braden island, from the bay of Carrickfergus as far as the river runs to another river, called Orland water; thence, the mear of the land extends through the middle of the Orland water to Loughmourne, and so to the north-west bank of the lough; and from the extreme north-west point of said lough, the mear of the aforesaid land holds directly nigh the Reid mountain, to the ford of Aghnehawe, by the bounds of the territory of Ballinoure; thence to the head of the Read river; and so, through the middle of the Bog of Carkenamady; and so, to the long stone called Carcam; thence to the three stones called Slewnetrier, by the bounds of Ballinlyny and Ballinoure aforesaid; and so, to the bog upon the glen of Altenabredagh, by the bounds of Ballinlyny; and so, to Carnesholgagh, by the bounds of the territory of Carnetall; thence to Altballimanogh; and so, to Fassermeigh, alias Deers' lane; thence to the head of a certain small river falling into the bay of Carrickfergus; near Cloghandoghertie, between another small river, called Silverstreame, and the land of the town of Carrickfergus, which river, beginning near Fassermeigh, is the western mear of the land, and runs between the same and the territory of Carnetall, to the bay of Carrickfergus; as also the whole scope and precinct of land and water within those limits and bounds." —Morrin's *Calendar of Patent Rolls, reign of Elizabeth*, pp. 607–612.

[126] *Good wine.*—M'Skimin states, *History of Carrickfergus* p. 63, that "the corporation received the thanks of the government for their loyalty on this occasion, and gave a splendid entertainment to the Earl of Arran," son of the duke of Ormond.

[127] *Primate Bromhall.*—This visit of Bramhall to Lisburn was to hold his *Triennial* Visitation. Lisburn Church had been constituted by patent of Charles II., on his restoration, the Cathedral of the United Diocese of Down and Connor. John Bramhall was born at Pontefract, Yorkshire, in the year 1593. In 1633, he came to Ireland on the invitation of deputy Wentworth, and on the 26th of March, 1634, was consecrated bishop of Derry, in the castle chapel, Dublin. In 1640, Bramhall, with sir Richard Bolton lord chancellor, and sir Gerard Lowther, one of the chief judges, was impeached by sir Bryan O'Neill and others, who charged them with attempting to subvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom. As the king, however, at the instance of Strafford, who was then in the tower, wrote warmly in the bishop's behalf, and as no very serious charges could be proved against him, the prosecution was stopped. On the breaking out of the rebellion, in 1641, he retired to England; and on the ruin of the royal cause in the latter country, he removed to the Continent, residing in France, and afterwards in Holland, until the restoration in 1660. On the 18th of January in that year, old style, Bramhall was advanced from the see of Derry to the archbishopric of Armagh, and died in Dublin, on the 25th of June, 1663, in the 70th year of his age.—Ware's *Works*, edited by Harris, vol. i., pp. 116–24. See also his life prefixed to his works (Oxford, 1842).

[128] *Margetson.*—James Margetson was also a Yorkshire man, being born at Drighlington, in that county, in the year 1600. In 1635, he was promoted to the deanery of Waterford, and in 1669, was installed dean of Christ Church, Dublin. On the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, he retired to England, where he lived until the restoration. In 1660, he returned to Ireland, and on the 25th of January, in that year, was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. On the death of Bramhall, in 1663, Margetson was advanced to the primacy of Armagh. He died on the 28th of August, 1678, and was buried in Christ's church, Dublin.—*Ibid.* pp, 126–29.

[129] *Roman Catholick.*—During Bramhall's exile in

Wee did ride & talk a great while together, & he had solutions to all his questions. His Ghostly Fatherhood (as such) admonished mee to beware of Presbyterian Leven (now that I had marryed the Daughter of a Lady who was a great Favourer of them[130] because) Sir (said he) you well know that A° 1638 & 1639 in Scotland (& ever since) they have been both destructive to our church and Kings:[131] and had occasioned most of y^e^ mischiefs w^ch^ came on them and us. I re-

France, Mons. de la Millitiere, councillor to the king of France, wrote a treatise entitled *Victory of Truth, or an Epistle to the King of Great Brtiain, to invite him to Embrace the Catholic Faith.* The bishop of Derry replied, and with such effect, that his praise was in all the reformed churches on the Continent. His reply, which was published at the Hague, in 1653, is entitled *An Answer to De la Millitiere's Victory of Truth.*—See Bramhall's *Works*, vol. i., p. 26 (Oxford, 1842); Allibone's *Critical Dictionary*, vol. i., p. 238.

[130] *Favourer of them.*—This lady, so favourable to Presbyterians, was Jean Alexander, lady of the second viscount Montgomery, and mother-in-law of the author. See pp. 87, 140, note 7, and p. 267, *supra.*

[131] *Church and Kings.*—In these years came the great reaction against prelatic power in Scotland, when covenanting zeal, or wrath, swept the bishops utterly aside. In the month of November, 1638, the first general assembly seen in Scotland since 1618, met at Glasgow, and although commanded by the royal commissioner to separate, the members refused to do so, and proceeded without delay to abolish episcopacy in Scotland, and depose the Scottish bishops. On that occasion, sentence of deposition was passed against John Spottiswood, archbishop of St. Andrews; Patrick Lindsay, archbishop of Glasgow; David Lindsay, bishop of Edinburgh; Thomas Sidserfe, bishop of Galloway; John Maxwell, bishop of Ross; Walter Whytefourd, bishop of Brechin; Adam Ballantyne, bishop of Aberdeen; James Wedderburn, bishop of Dumblane; James Guthry, bishop of Murray; John Graham, bishop of Orkney; James Fairlie, bishop of Lismore; Neil Campbell, bishop of the Isles; Alexander Lindsay, bishop of Dunkeld; and John Abernethie, bishop of Caithness. Before the passing of sentence against the prelates, Mr. Alex. Henderson preached a sermon, which, with the act of deposition, was printed in 1762, in a pamphlet entitled *The Bishops' Doom.* No sooner had the Scottish people expelled their bishops than they made war on the king, and, in 1639, took up arms against Charles I. The well-known presbyterian minister, Baillie, who carefully watched and deeply sympathised with the movements of the covenanters, speaks of the temper of the latter, in 1637, as follows:—"No man may speak anything in publick for the king's part, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devile, farr above anything that ever I could have imagined, though the masse in Latine had been presented. . . . My fears in my former went no farther than to ane ecclesiastik separation, but now I am more affrayit for a bloudie civill war."—Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, 1841, vol. i., pp. 23—25. Connected with the deposition of the Scottish bishops, and the excommunication of eight of their number, viz., the bishops of Galloway, St. Andrews, Brechin, Edinburgh, Ross, Murray, Argyle, and Dumblane, there are some curious incidents recorded, Henderson, the moderator of the general assembly at Glasgow in 1638, speaks of these prelates in his official capacity as follows:—"It is pittifull to see some hath such a great conceat of their owne words, learning, and engyne that they will not be ranked among uthers; but as they thinke themselves above uthers in gifts, so they thinke they should be advanced above them in place—and, therefore ane ordinary stipend cannot content them; and then they begin to tyre of praching and catechising; and thus are tane away with the caires and pleasures of the world and idlenes. Therefore, ye have to consider what shall be their censure. . . And ye shall understand, whatsoever sentence the Assembly shall thinke fitt to pronounce against these, (the eight abovenamed) it is all for their good—for the destruction of their fleshe that their saule may be saved in the day of the Lord." David Dick, a clerical leader in the assembly, concluded a speech on this question as follows:—"Therefore, my opinion is, that we declair our zeale for the Lord, and that the last censure, which is the meanes to humble proud men should be given out against them, though they should laugh at us for so doing; for since neither the troubling of this poor Kirk, nor our prayers and teares could humble them, it is good the last meane be assayed, and solicite God to votting" (voting). Alexander Kerse, another reverend guide, delivered his opinion thus:—"Solomon says 'he that breakes doune ane hedge, a serpent shall byte him;' and they have brocken doune a hedge, and therefore the serpent of sharpe excommunication shall byte them." Before pronouncing sentence of excommunication, the moderator preached, selecting as his text, Psalms cx. 1, "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." He then uttered the dread curse in these words:—"Since the eight persons before mentioned have declared themselves strangers to the communion of saints, to be without hope of life eternal, and to be slaves of sin, therefore we, the people of God, assembled together for this cause,—and I, as their mouth, in the name of the *Eternal God*, and of his *Son the Lord Jesus Christ*, according to the direction of this assembly, do excommunicate the said eight persons from the participations of the Sacraments, from the Communion of the Visible Church, and from the prayers of the Church; and, so long as they continue obstinate, discharges you all, as you would not be partakers of their vengeance, from keeping any religious fellowship with them; and thus give them over into the hands of the devil, assuring you, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that except their repentance be evident, the fearful wrath and vengeance of the God of Heaven shall overtake them even in this life, and, after this world, everlasting vengeance." Towards the close of the assembly's meeting, lord Lindsay asked—"If any of these who are excommunicat be content to make their repentance, shall they not thereupon be presentlie receaved?" To the Henderson, the moderator, replied:—"They may well wait upon the next Generall Assembly; or if any of this

plyed to his Grace I had lamented those Calamitys, and was yet sorry that y^e^ prevailing party in y^e^ Long Parliament London and thro out all England, had contributed to bring those mischiefs by calling in the Scotts, & joyning with them ag^t^ y^e^ Late Glorious Royall Martyr,[132] otherwise Presbiterians had not gott y^e^ footing they have in this unfortunate North part of Ireland:[133] however y^e^

be neir the poynt of death, and apprehending the terrors of God, let the Presbitrie lowse them from the sentence, if they be readie to cry out with bishop Adamsone—'Lowse them, lowse them.'" Bishop Adamsone had, it would appear, conducted himself in a very exemplary style, calling out for the removal of some bann that had been laid upon him, and handing in at the same time a written testimony of his repentance. Whilst the case of the bishop of Galloway was under consideration, the moderator made the following announcement:—"We must not esteeme of mans faults according to the worlds estimatione; for ye know if a man be not a drunkard, a theiff and robber, &c., in their estimatione he is a goode man, whatever fault he has utherwayes. But we of this Assembly ought to thinke utherwayes; not that I would extenuat the foir-named faults, but are to consider their habituall and ordinary transgressions of a publict law is a great guiltiness; or, as schoolemen speakes *Spiritualia peccata* are greater than *temporalia peccata*. So say I." The bishop of St. Andrews must have been a peculiarly dangerous prelate, if we may judge from the following statement of Andrew Melville, a well-known leader in the assembly:—"That old dragon (the devil) had so stinged him (the bishop) with avarice, and swalled so exorbitantlie that he threatened the destruction of the whole bodie, if he were not cutt off." When the case of the bishop of Edinburgh came up for adjudication, "Mr. Andrew Jeffray and Sir John McKenzie declaired that they saw him bow to the altar. Mr. Andre Kerr and George Dundas saw him dedicat a Kirke after the Popishe maner. And the whole Assembly in one voyce voited to his deposition and excommunication." Among the charges against the bishop of Aberdeen the principal one was that having been a vehemently zealous presbyterian, he had subsequently become not only prelatical but even a very prelate! "Mr. John Row declaired that he subscryved the Protestation given in to the Parliament 1606, and that there was no man more against Bishops in the toune of Stirling nor he; and he was mightilie offendit at Mr. John Grahame, who was taking a bishoprick, yet nevertheless he was the man that took that bishoprick out of Mr. John Grahames hand; and since that all the brethren here present were mynd he should be given to the Devill for betraying the liberties of the Kirk. I remember when he subscryvit the Protestation, he subscryvit verie neir the end of the paper, and it began to weare; when he began to get the bishoprick, we said he was going to loup the dyke." Auldbar and Mr. David Lindsay declaired that they, being in the Bishop's house when Auldbar said, "the only meane is to take away abuses and disorders in this church was a free Generall Assembly," he rose in a great flame and passion, and said, "the first Article he would make then will be to pull the crown off King Charles head." The bishop of Ross was accused by the provost of Dumfries in "that when he was in their toune on the Sabbath Day, they expected his comeing to the Kirk; yet he cam not, but went to a excommunicat Papists house, and stayed all day." Mr. Alexander Kerse announced also of this bishop that "he is the vive example and perfyte patterne of a proud Prelat, and enters in composition with the Pope himselfe; and, therefore, let him have his due deposition and excommunication." The bishop of Dumblane's case was quickly disposed of—"I heard, of late," said Mr. Alexander Kerse, "a notable sermon by a brother in Edinburgh, wherein he sent him to the land of Nod: and let him be sent there and arrested there with deposition and excommunication." "And the whole Assembly, in ane voyce, except Keir, voited the same." The bishop of Murray must have been an easy-going churchman, but he paid the penalty. "Mr. Andro Cant said he knew him to be a common ryder on the Sabbath day, and likewayes that he was a prettie dancer, as Mr. Thomas Abernethie can testifie. At his daughter's bridal he danced in his shirt. Likewayes, Mr. Andro said that he conveyed some gentlewoman to a chapel, to make a penance, all bair footed. Mr. Frederick Carmichall said that the bishop being, by occasion, ryding from the church on the Sunday morning, he was desyred to stay all night because it was the Sabbath day. He answered he would borrow that piece of the day from God, and be as good to him some uther gate." The moderator concluded this part of his work by the following warning to the public:—"Anent our Cariadge towards excommunicat persons, I thinke civill affaires may be done with them—a naturall duety done to them, but civill dueties verie sparinglie." See *Proceedings of the General Assembly at Glasgow*, 1638, as printed in the 1856 edition of *The Scots Worthies*, pp. 663—698.

[132] *Royall Martyr.*—This union between the English and Scots against Charles I. took place in 1643. The English, on that occasion wanted merely the forming of a civil league with the Scots, but the latter insisted on a religious covenant. The two parties at length agreed on the *Solemn League and Covenant*, a compact which could not, and did not, long continue in force, as the parties to it had very different objects in view. Baillie, writing from London, on the 22nd September, 1643, says—"In our committees we had hard enough debates. The English were for a civill League, we for a religious Covenant."—*Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 90. Laing, referring to this matter, in his *History of Scotland*, pp. 258, 259, says—"The Solemn League and Covenant is memorable as the first approach towards an intimate union between the Kingdoms, but, according to the intolerant principles of the age, a federal alliance was constructed on the frail and narrow basis of religious communion." See also Buckle's *Civilization in England*, vol. ii., p. 337, from which the above authorities are quoted.

[133] *North part of Ireland.*—Certainly without this union between the English and Scots, the covenant could not have been ruthlessly imposed in Ulster, as it was, during the following year; but the "footing" which Presbyterians held in the north was solely a result of the plantation, which brought over from Scotland so many settlers of their persuasion.

malady was not incurable, seeing wee have good and prudent Bpps[134] & ye Gentry being episcopall & Conformists to the Service and Rites of ye Church Established by Law: As to mysely I told his Grace that I had read, & bought Reliquæ Sacræ Carolinæ[135] & his Graces warning peice agt ye Scotts disciplin[136] & Lysimachus Nicanor,[137] with other books of that sort, at ye Hague, from Samuel

[134] *Prudent Bpps.*—These prudent spiritual watchmen in Ulster were,—in addition to Bramhall himself,—Robert Leslie of Dromore, George Wild of Derry, Jeremiah Taylor of Down, Henry Jones of Clogher, and John Leslie of Raphoe. The ceremony of their consecration in Dublin was conducted in the most imposing style. The concluding anthem, composed by dean Fuller, has the following lines:—

"Angels look down, and joy to see,
Like that above, a monarchie;
Angels look down, and joy to see
Like that above, an hierarchie?"—

See Mason's *History of the Cathedral of St. Patrick*, pp. 193, 194.

[135] *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ.—Or The Works of King Charles I. collected together and digested in Order according to their Several Subjects, civill and sacred.* Hague, printed by Samuel Browne, 8vo 1651. This publication contains the *Eicon Basilike*, pp. 247, with title dated 1649; *Papers* between Charles I. and Alexander Henderson, pp. 149–324; a perfect copy of *Prayers* used by the king, occupying about sixteen pages. Prefixed to the volume is a folding plate by Marshall representing Charles on one knee. Anthony à Wood mentions an edition of this book printed in large octavo, at the Hague in 1648–9. See Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual.*

[136] *Scotts dicipline.*—Bramhall's treatise is entitled *A Fair Warning against the deception of the Scotts Discipline*, 4to 1649, and was intended to expose an elaborate manifesto from the Scottish presbyterians printed in 1641, under the title of *The Doctrine and Discipline of the Kirke of Scotland, as it was formerly set forth by publicke authority, And at this present commanded there to be practised in the said Kirke, Anno* 1641. *Together with some Acts of generall Assemblies clearing and confirming the same: As Also An Act of Parliament by the King and three Estates of Scotland, for rectifying the said Discipline. The First and second Booke*, 4to 1641. The well known Robert Baylie, minister at Glasgow, replied to Bramhall's *Fair Warning*, in a production which he called *A Review of the Seditious Pamphlets lately published in Holland by Dr. Bramhell, pretended bishop of London-Derry: in which his malicious and most lying reports to the great scandall of that government, are fully and clearly refuted. As Also, The Solemne League and Covenant of the three Nations justified and maintained*, 4to, Delph, 1649. Throughout this reply, Baylie spells Bramhall's name either *Bramhel* or *Bramble*, and concludes by charging the bishop with inculcating a toleration in religious matters of which the latter was probably innocent or unconscious. Baylie terms this "black atheisme," because "it will have the most orthodoxe beleever so to think, speak, and act, as if the opinions of Independents, Anabaptists, Turkes, Jewes, Pagans, or grosse Atheists were as good, true and solide as the beleefe of Moses or Paul were of the truths revealed to them from heaven."—p. 64.

[137] *Lysimachus Nicanor.*—This is an assumed name, the real author of the book being *John Corbet*, minister of Bonhill, near Dumbarton, who had warmly espoused the side of the prelatic party, and was compelled, in consequence, to fly from his covenanting foes and seek an asylum in Ireland. Bramhall here recommended him to the notice of Wentworth, under whose protection and patronage Corbet employed himself in writing against the Covenanters, whose proceedings, in 1638 and 1639, he represented as seditious and treasonable. His first publication is entitled *The Ungirding of the Scottish Armour, or an Answer to the Informations for defensive armes against the Kings Majestie, which were drawn up at Edinburgh by the common help and industrie of the three Tables of the rigid Covenanters of the Nobility, Barons, Ministry, and Burgesses, and ordered to be read out of Pulpit by each Minister, and pressed upon the People, to draw them to take up armes to resist the Lord's anointed throughout the whole Kingdome of Scotland. 4to.* Dublin, pp. 56, 1639. Referring to this publication, Bailie says, (i. 153,) "We had thought him (Corbet) unworthy of a reply, and are content of our advantage, that my lord-deputy permits to go out, under his patronage, the desperate doctrine of absolute submission to princes,—that notwithstanding of all our laws, yet our whole estate may no more oppose the prince's deed, if he should play all the pranks of Nero, than the poorest slave at Constantinople may resist the tyranny of the great Turk." In the following year, Corbet published the celebrated treatise mentioned in the text, under the assumed character of a Jesuit, expressing his great gratification that the Scottish covenanters, judging from their intolerant movements, had begun to show symptoms of their immediate return to mother church from their former errors and heresies. This treatise is entitled *The Epistle Congratulatorie of Lysimachus Nicanor of the Societie of Jesu, to the Covenanters of Scotland. Wherein is paralleled our sweet harmony and correspondency in divers materiall points of Doctrine and Practice*, 4to, pp. 84, 1640. In the parallel drawn by the author between the Jesuits and covenanters "no less than sixteen points of resemblance and approximation are illustrated with singular ingenuity and learning, and corroborated by the most apt quotations from the writings of popish canonists and protestant reformers. The conduct of Charles and the cause of prelacy are defended with great plausibility, but little regard to truth, while the tenets and practices of presbyterians are reviled and satirised in a strain of the most bitter sarcasm. This witty and anonymous pasquil proved much more provoking to the covenanters than the elaborate attacks of their more serious and formidable antagonists." Such is Dr. Reid's account of Corbet's book, and from it we may infer how keenly the leading covenanters, especially the ministers, smarted under the author's lash. The presbyterian party at first did not suspect that Corbet was the author, and ascribed the authorship of the book in turn to Bramhall, Henry Leslie, bishop of Down and Connor, and John Maxwell, afterwards bishop of Killala. Corbet was one of the victims of the massacre in 1641, and the dire grudge entertained

Brown A° 1651 and had them yet by me, useing them often to undeceive the deluded, & to confute gainsayers to Episcopacy. So that I was confirmed as to it: and in a dislike to y^e^ Presbiterian Governors, who had affronted, and deserted y^e^ Earle of Mount Alexander, when he stood up for our K^s^ cause.[138] and that I had owned, and disputed in defence of those my dutyfull principles, in y^e^ usurpers times, w^ch^ kept me also out of my estate (as his Grace was out of his) by Coll Barrow, & other Fanaticks. So that neither my loyalty towards y^e^ King, nor sonship in my Church, could be shaken by that or any other Sect. And therefore I hoped his Grace would remember mee as a fellow sufferer with him: & not only afford his Paternal Chostly benedictions, but also his frendly word, and assistance, to cure the wounds w^ch^ my Losses had made.

His Grace promised his furtherance to my Affaire, and what favour els lay in his Station to doe when the same should be made known to him, as needful or convenient for mee.

Being sprinkled with this holy Water, and Hillsbrough house in view (where I dined) I let his Grace ride on, and so others accosted him: After dinner we all went to Lisburn (als Lisnegarvey)[139] & next day stayd till the clergy show was over: aud when I had receaved his Graces blessing I returned home.

After all this I was not one penny weight of silver (that is three pence) the better, nor the wors for this journey (only pocketts were Lighter, & I was thereby eased of a little burden). But I had

towards him by the presbyterians is too evident from the following shocking allusion to his death in principal Bailie's *Historical Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, p. 2 :—"In that most scurrilous and envenomed satyre Lysimachus Nicanor his (Maxwell's) pen was thought to be principall; for this he got a warning from heaven so distinct and loud as any uses to be given on earth, to reclaime him from his former errors; with his eyes did he see that miserable man, John Corbet, who took upon him the shame of penning that rable of contumelious lies against his mother church, hewed in pieces in the very armes of his poore wife; this prelate himself in the mean time was stricken down, and left with many wounds as dead by the hand of the Irish, with whom he had been but too familiar." See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., pp. 248, 251. The fell spirit of religious hate which actuated all classes in Scotland during the seventeenth century appears have taken possession even of the gentler sex, to an alarming extent. Some curious illustrations of this sad truth are supplied in the acts of women of high rank. Thus, a presbyterian heroine, named lady Anne Cunningham, wife of the second marquis of Hamilton, permitted her zeal for the covenant to swallow up, utterly, her maternal affection. In 1639, when her son James, afterwards duke of Hamilton, came with an English fleet to the Forth, for the purpose of overawing the rampant sons of the covenant, his mother, mounting her horse, with pistols at her belt and in her saddle-bows, dashed among the multitudes assembled on the shores of Leith, declaring that, in the cause of the covenant, she would be the first to shoot her son, should he attempt to land. On the opposite side, the conduct of lady Methven at a later period, when episcopacy was master of the position, was early, alt hough not altogether as rabid as that of lady Anne Cunningham. On the 15th of October, 1678, lady Methven wrote from Methvenwood to her husband, then in London, as follows :—

"MY PRECIOUS LOVE.—A multitude of men and women, from east, west, and south, came the 13 day of this October to hold a field conventicle, two bows draught above our church; they had their tent set up before the sun upon your ground. I seeing them flocking to it, sent through your ground, and charged them to repair to your brother David, the bailie, and me, to the Castle Hill, where we had but 60 armed men; your brother with drawn sword and bent pistol, I with the light horseman's piece bent, on my left arm, and a drawn tuck in my right hand, all your servants well armed, marched forward, and kept the one half of them fronting with the other, that were guarding their minister and their tent, which is their standard. . . . We told them if they would not go from the parish of Methven presentlie, it would be a bludie day; for I protested, and your brother, before God, we would ware our lives upon them before they should preach in our regalitie or parish. They said they would preach. We charged them either to fight or fly. . . . They seeing we were desperate marched o'er the Pow, and so we went to the church and heard a feared minister preach. They have sworn not to stand with such affront, but resolve to come the next Lord's day; and I, in the Lord's strength, intend to accost them with all that will come to assist us. I have caused your officer warn a solemn court of vassals, tenants, and all with our power, to meet on Thursday, where I intend, if God will, to be present, and there to order them, in God and our king's name, to convene well armed to the kirkyard on Sabbath morning by eight hours, where your brother and I, with all our servant men, and others we can make, shall march to them, and, if the God of heaven will, they shall either fight or go out of our parish. . . . my blessed love, comfort yourself in this, that, if the fanatics should chance to kill me, it shall not be for nought. I was wounded for our gracious king, and now in the strength of the Lord God of heaven, I'll hazard my person with the men I may command, before these rebels rest where ye have power."

In another letter to her husband, she says—"They are an ignorant wicked pack; the Lord God clear the nation of them."—Kirkton's *History*, pp. 355, 361, as quoted in *The Ladies of the Covenant*, Introduction, p. xv.

[138] *Our K's cause.*—See p. 189, *supra.*

[139] *Lisnegarvey.*—See p. 167, *supra.*

pleasure and good cheer (pious Bp Jeremy Taylor treating the Primate and Clergy, & all ye Gentry that came to his Tables, after he had preached an excellent sermon) & I had also desireable company & discourses, & gained some knowledge in Ecclesiasticall Courts practise (to Learn wch I chiefly went) for I had some Hitts to look to (and I knew I should be mentioned at that visitation: and that my Absence would be misrepresented, & might turn to my prejudice: wch I prevented & obviated, by being personally there. So the Reader may judge whether I went on a sleevless errand: And also if I had (yea or No) penyworth for my mony, and Paines expended therein. Now after these Last fower memorandas here interjected, the better to observe point of times & to recreate ye Reader with diversity of matter, I will proceed to write of other sortes of affaires viz.

Ao 1666 I took my Deare wife, and young son[140] (in his childs coats with leading Sleeves,) unto Dublin, to visit the Countess of Mount Alex[r][141] & other relations, & thence went to Trim, Navan, and elswhere, to see our Rotten Cabbins and waste tenements, & some Lands in Longford (wch were encumbered by other mens Claims) and had fallen to my Lott, for my fathers arreares of Pay due before June 1649.[142] Such was my bad happ, to my great loss, toile, charge, & vexations; meeting oppositions or fals Informations, to find out wch evils & to remedy them, I borrowed Mony for this Journey.[143] But we both being weary of Travell, & of dissapointm[ts] in our hopes to have seen excellent things, & to get ready possession, and finding also great mistakes in ye Lott, wch must be Rectified by ye Court of Claimes, & by ye Green Chamber afores[d], where ye Trustees & I sate.[144]

Wee therefore came back to Dublin, and haveing rested above a week, and renewed our visits, and after that bidding farewell to all friends (especially to our Deare said Countess[145]) wee then returned to Rosemount (which jorney cost me cinq solz in new clothes a la mode &c. & there we stayed till summer 1667 that I went up to get the reprizalls for mistakes in my said Lotts. & haveing pitched on, & picked up some parcells farr scattered, which I could not help tho I was a

[140] *Young son.*—This was James Montgomery, the author's only son, and only surviving child.

[141] *Countess of Mount Alexr.*—Catherine Jones, the second wife of the first earl. See p. 230, *supra*.

[142] *June*, 1649.—His father's arrears, including pay as a 1649 officer and his expenses in raising and equipping troops in 1641, amounted to the sum of £9,942 0s 7d, to satisfy which the author obtained under the Act of Settlement the several fragments of property here referred to. The claims of the 1649 officers had not been provided for in Cromwell's protectorate, nor by the parliament that had assembled soon after the restoration. Some ands, indeed, that had been set out to soldiers and adventurers, were allotted to these officers, but this provision was not found sufficient; and, to supplement it, the forfeited Corporations and Houses within their bounds, were added. To render these the more valuable, the Act of Explanation provided that no *Irish papist*, although innocent, should be permitted to enjoy any *House* within a corporation, except the natives of Cork and Fethard. The following is a list of the lands and tenements assigned to the author, in satisfaction of his father's claims on the government:—A tenement in St. Thomas street, Dublin, rent, 12s 4½d; Gurtinloe, 1 cartron, part, 112a. 2r.; Derrymore, 1 cartron, 52a, and 24p.; Aghaknappagh, 3 cartrons, 163a. 2r. 4p.; Cartron-Garrow, Tuaralin and Cartron-Keele, 2 cartrons and a quarter, 143a. 2r. 24p.,—all in the barony of Moydow, and county of Longford. Total quantity 591a. and 24p. plantation measure, or 957a. 2r. 9p. statute measure. Total rent £12 0s 0½d. In Foare, county Westmeath, he was assigned eleven cottages, twenty-one garden plotts, one acre of meadow, one stang of pasture, and four waste places on which cabins had stood, the total rent of all being 13s 2d. In the town of Navan, county of Meath, he was allotted 28 ruinous houses, consisting generally of walls without roofs, and yards and gardens attached, the total rent of which was £5. In the town of Trim, county Meath, eighteen ruined houses with yards and gardens, the total rent £1 17d. In the town of Drogheda, six ruinous houses with gardens and yards, rent 3s 3d. See *Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., pp. 176.

[143] *For this Journey.*—Among those who gave the author trouble were certain kinsfolk named Montgomery. See p. 391, *supra*.

[144] *And I sate.*—See pp. 406, 422, *supra*.

[145] *Deare said Countess.*—See p. 230, *supra*.

trustee)[146] I returned home & stayd till summer 1668, when at ye said Countesses (Long and great intreaty, our 2d Viscountess was perswaded to visit her in Dublin.[147]

This visit being condescended to & my wife, self, & childe also earnestly invited, the Countess sent down her Coach, & we went up, and were met near Dublin by her L^ap^ and other friends, welcomed and caressed with extraordinary civil deference, & affection by her L^ap^; who ever since she marryed our Earle, (and till her death), caryed a Daughter and Sister Like Love to those our two Northern Ladys, as appears in all her Letters to my deserving deare wife.[148]

Our Entertainment was grand; for an house and provision was prepared for us, & wee Lived by ourselves as if wee had been at Mount Alex^r^. And y^e^ Countess came with her young daughters twice a week to dine with us, and she had her mother and Sister in Law as often with her, & herself and children came some evenings also to beare us company: Whilst I took my Liberty to be with them, or at y^e^ Court of Claimes, to rectify y^e^ mistakes afores^d^, for they were not all remedyed the preceding yeare.

Wee visited the Lady Houth, and her children, & she returned the Compliments, and came sometimes to dine at our house,[149]

Harvest was now come, & short days & therefore wee returned as wee came, y^e^ women & my childe in y^e^ Countess Coach; my selfe and y^e^ retinue attending and but little disordered by those jorneys.

The Countess was engaged by promise to repay our visits, & she came next summer with her son S^r^ Richard Parsons[150] and her two daughters—(The Ladys Kathrin and Betty Montgomery)[151]

[146] *Tho I was a trustee.*—For the date of his patent for reprisals, and the names of the lands thus obtained, see p. 406, note 6, *supra*. The grant in trust to the author, for himself and others, contains the following names of officers, and sums of arrears due to them respectively:—For William Montgomery—his father's arrears—£9,942 0s. 7d.; Lieut. Col. Hugh Montgomery, £1,060 2s. 10d.; Lieut. Robert Montgomery, £503 8s. 8d.; Lieut. Abraham Smith, £37 0s. 5d.; William Buckanon, £352 11s. 2.; Major Alex. Adair, £215 1s. 4d.; William Johnston, £4 12s. 4d.—*Irish Record Commission Reports*, vol. iii., p 306.

[147] *Her in Dublin.*—The lady of the second viscount Montgomery, afterwards wife of general Monro, must have been of advanced age in 1668. She died in 1670. The first countess resided in Aungier street, where she died suddenly on the 8th of October, 1675.

[148] *Deare wife.*—The "two northern Ladys" were the author's mother-in-law, the second viscountess; and her daughter, the author's wife. The countess was daughter-in-law of the former lady, and sister-in-law of the latter.

[149] *At our house.*—The dowager lady Howth, alive in 1668, and for several years afterwards, was a near kinswoman of the visitors from Rosemount, being Jane Montgomery, only daughter of George Montgomery, bishop of Meath. In 1615, she married Nicholas St. Lawrence, twenty-third baron Howth, and one of her daughters, Frances, had been third wife of sir James Montgomery, the author's father. The "Lady Houth" of the text was no doubt the wife of her son, the twenty-fourth baron, who succeeded to the estates at the death of her husband in 1643, and who married Elizabeth, the widow of colonel Fitzwilliam. This lady Howth had five children, one of whom, Mary, the eldest daughter, married Henry, third earl of Mount-Alexander, in 1672.—Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 203. See p. p. 289, *supra*.

[150] *Sr Richard Parsons.*—Catherine Jones, who was the first earl of Mount-Alexander's *second* wife, had been previously married to sir William Parsons of Bellamont, county of Dublin. See p. 159, *supra*. Her son by him, who accompanied his mother to the Ards in the summer of 1669, was then a youth. The following is sir J. Bernard Burke's notice of the representatives of this distinguished family, so far as the sir Richard mentioned in the text:—"William Parsons settled in Ireland about the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and being a commissioner of Plantations, obtained very considerable territorial grants from the Crown. In 1602, he succeeded Sir Jeoffry Fenton, as surveyor-general of Ireland; in 1610, he obtained a pension of £30 a year, English, for life; in 1611, he was joined with his brother, Lawrence, in the supervisorship of the crown lands, with a fee of £60 a year for life; in 1620, presenting to the king, in person, surveys of escheated estates, in his capacity of surveyor-general, he received the honour of knighthood, and was created a Baronet 10th November in the same year. Sir William Parsons represented the county of Wicklow in Parliament in 1639, and was constituted Lord-Deputy with Lord Dillon in 1640; but that nobleman being soon removed, he was re-sworn with Sir John Borlace, master of the Ordnance. He continued in the government until

they were sometimes at Mount Alex[r] as visitants but never at Newtoun, and Resided at Rosemount, where (tho I say it) they were very Loveingly and well treated, being visited by y[e] Gentry men and women round about, and there this Earle[152] was long and dangerously sick of a surfeit (as was supposed) of fruit, and was cured by D[r] Kennedy; His L[ops] brother Henry and sister the Lady Jean[153] were sometimes there, this was A° 1669.

Then y[e] Shreevalty[154] came upon mee (w[ch] put mee one way or other) in about 300 Lib.

1643, when he was removed, charged with treason, and committed to prison, with Sir Adam Loftus and others. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Mr. Alderman John Lany, of Dublin, and niece of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, by whom he had several children. He died at Westminster in Feb., 1650, and was succeeded by his grandson, Sir William of Bellamont, co. Dublin (2nd baronet), only son of Richard Parsons, Esq., by his 1st wife, Lettice, eldest daughter of Sir Adam Loftus. Sir William married Catherine, eldest daughter of Arthur Viscount Ranelagh, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, Sir Richard, 3rd baronet, who was elevated to the peerage 2nd July, 1681, as Baron Oxmantown and Viscount Rosse, with remaindership to the male issues of his great grandfather. He married 1st Anne Walshingham; 2nd Catherine Brydges, daughter of George Lord Chandos, both or whom died without issue; and 3rdly, in 1685, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir George Hamilton, and niece of Sarah duchess of Marlborough, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. He died in 1702, and was succeeded by his eldest son, who was advanced to the earldom of Rosse 16th June, 1718." Connected with the origin of this and some other distinguished families in Ireland, we have the following curious notice in *Memorialls of the Warre begunn in* 1641, by James Kearney, preserved among the *Carte Papers* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and quoted by Mr. Prendergast in his very valuable contribution entitled *The Tory War in Ulster*:—"Shortly before this resolution, Philip O'Dwire of Dounedromore, a gentleman of such quality and estate, yt he could not brook the reviling language of Sir William St. Leger [and he and the rest seeing] y[e] Irish Estates exposed to men of meane birth, but aimed to raise estates by the ruin of innocents, so that Sir Parsons and y[e] Earl of Cork, who within this sixty years past *coming as naked lads here*, without either friends, meanes, or learning . . . were glad, in the service of one Keny, then Escheator General, to earne their livelehood in his menial service, wherein they learnt those tricks, acquiring by hook and crooke, lands, offices, and livings, that they were shortly after the ablest men for riches in the kindom . . . And, as for Sir John Borlase, Sir W. St. Leger, y[e] Lord Esmond, Sir Chas Coote, and others of their conditions, which being from single soldiers, were by y[e] extension of y[e] favours of y[e] succeeding Kings and Queens of England advanced to wealth and dignities, yet they did not ascend by their gallantry, for there was no occasion to draw their swords from the beginning of King James's reign."—*Journal of Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. v., new series, p. 37, *note*.

[151] *Montgomery.*—The lady Catherine Montgomery was married to sir Francis Hamilton of Killyshandra; and lady Betty or Elizabeth became the wife of Raphael Hunt of Dullardstown.—Mrs E. G. S. Reilly's *Genealogical History*.

[152] *This Earle.*—The second earl of Mount-Alexander.

[153] *The Lady Jean.*—See p. 297, *supra*.

[154] *Then y[e] Shreevalty came upon mee.*—The author does not mention the precise year in which he was high sheriff for the county of Down, but we infer that it was in 1670. The festivities at Rosemount, to which he refers in the text, took place in 1669, and immediately afterwards came the unfortunate honour of 'the Shreevalty,' which imposed upon him additional debt to the amount of £300. Should this inference as to his year of office be correct, we can thus supply from his *Manuscripts* three names to the imperfect list of high sheriffs for the county. The other two names are those of *Richard Bingley*, who was sheriff in 1658 and *William Waring*, who held this office in 1669. See pp. 368, 373, *supra*. Several names on the following list have been kindly supplied to the editor by J. W. Hanna, Esq.:—

1400.—Robert Fitz John Savage.
1585.—Thomas Woulf.
1592. } Randall or Ralph Brereton of Killanleaghe.
1593. }
1600.—Timothy Castletown.
1605.—William Ward.
1607.—Edmond Burey.
1610.—Richard West.
1612.—George Stritsbury (Stotisbury).
1613.—Anthony Hawes.
1615.—Nicholas West.
1619.—Thomas Bands.
1620.—Nicholas West.
1621.—Piers Rutbergh.
1622.—James Peckham.
1623.—William Hamilton.
1624.—Nicholas West.
1634.—Henry Savage of Ardkeen.
1638.—William Reading.
1639.—William Burley.
1641.—Patrick Shane of Mullogh and Erinagh.
1642.—Peter Hill of Hill Hall.
1655.—James Traile.
1656.—Bernard Ward of Carrignashanagh.
1657.—Capt. Roger West of Ballydugan.
1658.—Major Richard Bingley.
1659.—John Magill of Gil Hall.
1660.—Ralph Walsh.
1661.—(Sir) Robert Ward of Killough.
1662.—Nicholas Ward.
1663.—John Savage of Ardkeen.
1664.—James Lesley of Sheepland, Ardglass.
1665. { William Lesley. / Francis Aunesley of Cloughmaghericatt.
1666.—Richard Price of Farinfad.
1667.—Robert Ward.
1668.—William Shaw.
1669.—William Waring of Clanconnel.
1670.—William Montgomery of *Rosamon* (sic).
1671.—James Ross of Portavo.
1672.—Francis Annesley of Cloughmaghericatt.
1673.—Sir Robert Maxwell, Knt. and Bart. of Killileagh.
1674.—James Maxwell of Drum.
1675.—John Hawkins.

Debt: by reason (in the first place) the judges were treated at my cost. 2d I kept a clerk named Hugh Hamill (whose father Lt. Mathew was an old servant to my father) instead of

1676.—Randall Brice.
1677.—Francis Hall.
1678.—Hugh Eccles.
1679.—William Brett of Ballynewport.
1680. } James Lesley.
1681. }
1682.—Murt. McGennis of Greencastle.
1683.—Sir Thomas Fortescue, knt.
1684.—Patrick Savage of Portaferry.
1685.—Charles Ward.
1686.—Hugh Montgomery.
1687. } Valentine Russell of Coniamstown, Killough.
1688. }
1689.—Richard M'Gennis.
1690.—Bernard Ward.
1691.—Samuel Warren of Waringstown.
1692.—Sir Arthur Rawdon, bart.
1693.—Richard Johnston.
1694.—Nicholas Price.
1695.—James Montgomery.
1696.—John Gibbons of Ballykinler.
1697.—James Bagly of Inishargy.
1698.—John Montgomery.
1699.—John Hultridge of Dromore.
1700.—John Hawkins.
1701.—Hugh Colvill of Comber.
1702.—Roger Hall of Mount Hall.
1703.—Hercules Montgomery of Ballylesson.
1704.—Nicholas Price of Saintfield.
1705.—Westenra Warren.
1706.—Mathew Ford of Seaforde.
1707.—John Norris of Newcastle.
1708.—Hans Hamilton.
1709.—Robert Ross.
1710.—Robert Johnson.
1711.—Michael Ward of Castleward.
1712.—John Magill.
1713.—Western Warren.
1714.—Roth Jones, Jonesborough.
1715.—Toby Hall, Mount Hall, Narrow Water
1716.—Henry Maxwell of Finnebrogue.
1717.—Sir William Johnston of Gilford, knt.
1718.—Robert Hawkins of Gill Hall.
1719.—Simon Isaac of Holywood.
1720.—George Lambert of Dunlady.
1721.—James Maxwell of Rubane.
1722.—Cromwell Price of Hollymount.
1723.—William Montgomery of Rosemount.
1724.—Thomas Waring of Waringstown.
1725.—John Bayley of Inishargie.
1726.—Hon. Thomas Montgomery of Comber.
1727.—Robert Lambert of Dunlady.
1728.—Robert Needham of Newry.
1729.—Mathew Forde of Seaforde.
1730.—Edward Bayley of Ringdufferin.
1731.—William Savage of Kirkistown Castle.
1732.—Francis Savage of Ardkeen.
1733.—John Donnelson Isaac of Holywood.
1734.—Samuel Waring of Waringstown.
1735.—Richard Johnston, junior, of Gilford.
1736.—Samuel Close of Bannfield.
1737.—Arthur Hill of Belvoir
1738.—Hill Wilson of Purdysburn.
1739.—Francis Hall of Strangford.
1740.—Roger Hall of Mount Hall.
1741.—James Ross, the younger, of Portavo.
1742.—James Echlin of Rubane, now Echlinsville.
1743.—Robert Maxwell of Finnebrogue.
1744.—Chichester Fortescue of Dromiskin, co. Louth.
1745.—Samuel Hill of Strangford.
1746.—Bernard Ward of Castleward.
1747.—Simon Isaac of Holywood.
1748.—John Bateman of Magherelinch, Moira.
1749.—Sir John Rawdon, bart., of Moira.
1750.—Henry Waring, Waringsford.
1751.—William Annesley of Clough, created Baron Glerawley.
1752.—Mathew Forde of Seaforde.
1753.—Francis Price, Saintfield.
1754.—James Johnson of Rademon.
1755.—William Montgomery of Greyabbey.
1756.—Andrew John Mathews of Spring Vale.
1757.—Hon. Henry Moore of Drumbanagher.
1758.—John Echlin of Ardquin.
1759.—Thomas Pottinger of Mountpottinger.
1760.—Charles Douglass of Gracehall.
1761.—Holt Waring of Waringstown.
1762.—Rob. Lambert Tate of Dunlady.
1763.—Patrick Savage of Portaferry.
1764.—Richard Magennis of Warringstown.
1765.—Richard Johnston of Gilford.
1766.—Nicholas Harrison of Oakley, Ballydargan, Killough.
1767.—James Baillie, Innishargie.
1768.—John Moore of Drumbanagher.
1769.—John Kennedy of Cultra.
1770.—Charles Savage, Ardkeen.
1771.—Robert Ross, Rosstrevor.
1772.—James Waddell of Springfield, Dromore.
1773.—Gawen Hamilton of Killileagh.
1774.—Townly Blackwood of Castle Hill.
1775.—Charles Innis of Dromantine.
1776.—John Reilly of Scarva.
1777.—Charles Echlin of Echlinvale.
1778.—Daniel De la Cherois of Donaghadee.
1779.—John Knox of Waringsford.
1780.—Hill Wilson of Purdysburn.
1781.—Cromwell Price of Hollymount.
1782.—Thomas Douglass of Gracehall.
1783.—Hon. Richard Annesley of Castlewellan.
1784.—Arthur Johnston of Rademon.
1785.—Lord Kilwarlin of Hillsborough.
1786.—James Arbuckle of Maryvale, Donaghadee.
1787.—George Hamilton of Tyrella.
1788.—William Johnston of Gilford.
1789.—James Watson Hull of Belvedere.
1790.—Robert M'Leroth of Comber.
1791.—Francis Savage of Turf Lodge.
1792.—Hon. Robert Ward of Bangor.
1793.—Henry Savage of Rock-Savage.
1794.—Hon. Vesey Knox of Newry.
1795.—Roger Johnston Smyth of Ballykeele.
1796.—Daniel Mussenden of Larchfield.
1797.—Thomas Waring of Newry.
1798.—Lord Charles Fitzgerald of Ardglass Castle, created Baron Lecale.
1799.—Marcus Corry of Newry.
1800.—Savage Hall of Narrow-water.
1801.—Nicholas Price of Saintfield.
1802.—Hugh Kennedy of Cultra.
1803.—Mathew Forde of Seaforde and Ballee.
1804.—Sir John Stevenson Blackwood of Ballyleidy
1805.—James Rose Cleland of Rathgael.
1806.—Francis Turnley of Richmond Lodge.
1807.—Ross Thomson of Greenwood Park, Newry.
1808.—Andrew Savage of Portaferry.
1809.—Robert Bateson of Orangefield.
1810.—John Lushington Reilly of Scarva.
1811.—William Sharman of Moira and Portadown.
1812.—David Gordon of Florida.
1813.—James Blackwood of Saintfield,
1814.—Arthur Innes of Dromantine.
1815.—William Edmund Reilly of Coolnacran, Loughbrickland
1816.—Roger Hall of Narrow-water.
1817.—John Waring Maxwell of Finnebrogue.
1818.—Arthur Johnston Crawford of Crawfordsburn.
1819.—Francis Savage of Hollymount.
1820.—Matthew Forde of Seaforde.
1821.—Nicholas De La Cherois Crommelin, Carrabore Castle
1822.—Lord Viscount Glerawly of Castlewellan.
1823.—Edward Southwell Ward of Castleward, afterwards 1st count Bangor.
1824.—William Montgomery of Greyabbey.
1825.—John M'Cance of Drumbough.
1826.—John Holmes Houston of Greenville.
1827.—John Echlin, Echlinville.
1828.—Viscount Newry of Mourne Park, Kilkeel.
1829.—Daniel De La Cherois of Donaghadee.

the last subsherif (for whom good Baile was offered to me that I should be at no charge but y^e^ Judges Entertainment) but I feared no mischance; being then (as I thought) skilled in y^e^ office, & haveing an unsollicited kindness for y^e^ said clerk: I embraced not that safe and saveing offer which I now mention as another great error, especially because I trusted him without bondsmen for his fidelity and right management) and I wrote for him, & imployed him, and meaning to improove him, I allowed largely on him, every term, to attend my Attorney on Record (also called Hugh Hamill[155]) that he might learn to practise for others, & he acted very duty fully, and was well rewarded; he gained credit above all that had been subsherifs before him, insomuch that he was imployed for several years successfully; and gott to be under Senschall to the earle of Clanbrazill; he then maryed & built B: Attwood house[156] where his son and heire now lives; so that my Love imploying his father, recommending him, & being bound for him to other Sheriffs, my countenancing him, and advices and instructions in affaires, gave the rise, and contributed greatly to his attainments in the barrony of Ards. 3^rdly^ by a Letter from our present Earle, I too soon superseded Sheriff Waring[157] who was then going to Levy great Subsidys and arrears of Kings Rent due by y^e^ Viscountess, and his Lo^p^ (then a minor) * * *

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1830.—Nicholas Charles Whyte of Loughbrickland.
1831.—William Mussenden of Larchfield.
1832.—Arthur Innes of Dromantine.
1833.—Robert Gordon of Florida.
1834.—The Earl of Hillsborough, Hillsborough.
1835.—Narcissus Batt of Purdysburn.
1836.—Charles Douglass of Grace Hall.
1837.—David Robert Ross of Rosstrevor.
1838.—Thomas Johnston Smyth of Lisburn.
1839.—John Sharman Crawford of Crawfordsburn, Bangor.
1840.—Matthew Forde of Seaforde.
1841.—David Stewart Ker of Montalto, resigned in May.
1841.—Robert Percival Maxwell of Groomsport.
1842.—Robert Edward Ward of Bangor Castle.
1843.—John Patrick Nugent of Portaferry.
1844.—John Reid Allen, Mount Panther.
1845.—Hugh Montgomery of Greyabbey.
1846.—Robert Batt of Purdysburn.
1847.—Thomas Morris Hamilton Jones of Moneyglass.
1848.—Richard Blakiston Houston of Orangefield.
1849.—William Keown of Ballydugan.
1850.—Archibald Hamilton Rowan of Killileagh.
1851.—Robert Herron of Ardicon.
1852.—Samuel De La Cherois Crommelin, Carradore Castle.
1853.—William Brownlow Forde of Seaforde.
1854.—John Temple Reilly of Scarva House.
1855.—Andrew Mulholland of Springvale.
1856.—Francis Charles Leslie, Ballyward.
1857.—John Andrews of Comber.
1858.—Samuel Murland of Woodland, Castlewellan.
1859.—J. Charles Price of Saintfield.
1860.—John Blakiston Houston, Orangefield.
1861.—Alex. John Robert Stewart of Ards House, County Donegal..
1862.—John Joseph White of Loughbrickland.
1863.—Daniel Delacherois of Manor House, Donaghadee.
1864.—Thomas M'Clure of Belmont, Belfast.
1865.—Aubrey William Beauclerk of Ardglass Castle.
1866.—John Cleland of Stormont Castle.
1867.—Andrew Nugent of Castleward.
1868.—John Mulholland of Craigavad.

[155] *Hugh Hamill.*—See p. 139, *supra.*

[156] *B: Atwood House.*—See p. 347, *supra.* See also Harris, *State of the county of Down*, p. 68.

[157] *Sheriff Waring.*—See p. 373, *supra.*

CHAPTER XXV.

AN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

CONCERNING SOME OF YE MONTGOMERYS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, COLLECTED OUT OF SEVERAL AUTHORS.[1]

READER

I have herein gathered some notes as materialls for a Treatiss, or memoires, of the Tribe, Nation, & Surname of the Montgomerys, which I pick[t] up as they occurred in my readings, and now give thee the perusal of them to be pryed into as a piece of well-painted Architecture or Landskip, which the following pages much resembles for the variety of objects therein: Yett it may be worth our while to remember and consider previously how Surnames had their Originalls, for Camdens Remaines tells us y[t] this way of differencing Famillys is not Gen:[lly] of a thousand years standing. As to y[e] varietys of ways & Accidents by w[h] they came to adhere to y[e] persons and posteritys so distinguished: it were endless, (as impossible to trace out & recite them): I will only mention a few Instances. Imprimis I find Surnames Imposed by kings as marks of Honor putt upon ye chiefe or founder of the sept, for their great merit: As y[e] Douglasses first soe called, on Occasion of a brave Person who haveing rallyed y[e] Highland Scotts, was pointed at, and shewn to y[e] king as y[e] man that thereby, & with his valor and conduct, had recovered y[e] victory from y[e] Danes: y[e] words were in Irish (the true Ancient Scottish speech[2]) viz[t] (says one to y[e] king) *Sholto Duglas*, w[ch] is by interpretation, Behold this black haired, grayish, pale complexioned man, which designation y[e] king then gave him, as a *Surname:* and his Posterity have

[1] *Several authors.*—The following curious treatise, so characteristic of the author, is here printed for the first time. This fragment of the *Manuscripts*, preserved among the Family Papers at Greyabbey, originally formed part of a much larger work, being paged 567-603. It appears, however, to be complete in itself, as it is paged from 1 to 38 distinctly from the larger work, of which it forms a part. If the memorandum at the end originally belonged to this memoir, we infer that it was written previously to the author's account of the Montgomerys of Ireland.

[2] *Irish (the true ancient Scottish speech).*—Irish was the prevailing language throughout the Highlands and Isles of Scotland from an early period until the close of the seventeenth century. It was originally planted there by Irish colonists from Dalriada—a territory extending from the present village of Glynn to the Bush-foot, on the coast of the present county of Antrim.—Reeves, *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 319; Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, pp. 433-438. A Gaelic poem of great antiquity, generally known as the *Albanic Duan*, and a genealogical *MS.*, the most ancient now known to exist, point distinctly to the *Irish origin* of the Islesmen and inhabitants of the western Highlands of Scotland. So late as the sixteenth century, the Lowland Scotch spoke of their neighbours in the Highlands and Isles as the "*Yrische*," the "*Yrischemen of Scotland*," the "*Irishrie*;" and of their language, as the "*Erische*," or "*Erse*," i.e., Irish—*Transactions of the Iona Club*, pp. 25, 27, 141. A peasant farmer, named Magee, residing near the town of Ballycastle, on the Antrim coast, has in his possession an ancient deed, conveying a grant of lands in Isla to one of his ancestors, in the year 1408. This deed, granted by Donnell Macdonnell, the then King of the Isles, to Brian Vicar Magee, is written on goat-skin, and expressed throughout in the purely Irish language of the period. "Although a Scottish record," says Dr. Reeves, "it is strictly conformable to the rules of Irish orthography and construction, showing that the peculiarities which now characterize the Scotch dialect of the Gaelic did not exist in 1408, the date of this instrument." The reader will find a copy of this document, with a translation and notes, by Dr. Reeves, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. v., pp. 230-233. So late as the year 1690, when a Bible and a Catechism were

retained it.[3] Allsoe on a like occasion, as y^e^ Duglasses: A Farmer goeing at plow (founder of y^e^ house of y^e^ Earle of Erroll), with his two sonns; seeing his countrymen (y^e^ Highland Scotts), flying from y^e^ Danes, he stopt them at a Pass, with y^e^ yoke of y^e^ Plow oxen, & gathering many, he brought them about an hill & through a by way, Ledd them upon y^e^ Danes rifeling their Camp: & with Great Slaughter defeated their Army. The Scottish King bountifully rewardes him, and called him *Hay*, y^t^ being y^e^ word of Encouragement, which y^e^ farmer and his sonns often cryed out aloud; when he stopt and Rallyed the flyers aforesaid.[4] A° Christi 942 y^e^ 2^d^ yeare of King Kenneth y^e^ 3^rd^ y^e^ fight was at Loncarten.

translated into the Irish language, for the use of the Irish population, these Translations were circulated among the people of the Highlands of Scotland, whose language was even then almost identical.—Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 39. See also Anderson's *Historical Sketches of the Native Irish*.

[3] *Have retained it.*—Hector Boece is accountable for this fabulous account of the origin of the surname of Douglas, and of those of several other distinguished Scottish families. This traditional account of the origin of the great house of Douglas is supposed to have existed since the close of the eighth century, when Solvathius, the son of Eugenius, was king of Scotland. The tradition sometimes speaks of the Danes as the invaders of Scotland in that reign, and sometimes of the Islesmen, under their leader or king, Donnell Bane. The brave *Dhu Glas*, who retrieved his country's cause, is supposed to have left two sons, the elder of whom became the founder of the family in Scotland, and the younger the ancestor of the *Scoti Duglassi* in Italy. Godscroft, who wrote the History of Douglas upwards of two centuries ago, appears to have rejected this account as improbable. "We do not know them," says he, "in the fountain, but in the stream; not in the root, but in the stem; for we know not the first mean man that did raise himself above the vulgar." Wynton's *Chronicle* (Book VIII., cap. vii.), written about the year 1425, states, that of the origin of the houses of Murray and Douglas, divers men speak in divers ways, so that he could affirm nothing for certain; nevertheless, as both bear in their arms the same stars set in the same manner, it seems likely to many that they have come of the same kin, either by lineal descent, or by collateral branch. It is generally agreed, however, that the original founder of the Douglas family received, at a very early date, and for some cogent reason, large grants of land from the crown, in Lanark; and it is more than probable that the race derived its surname from these lands. "The Douglas water, springing from the foot of Cairntable (a hill on the borders of Kyle, 1,650 feet above the level of the sea), flows westward for about eleven miles through the pastoral dale and parish to which it gives name, and about a mile beyond falls into the Clyde." In Wishaw's *Description of Lanark*, p. 65, the writer describes the parish of Douglas as "a pleasant strath, plentifull in grasse and corne and coall," but this refers to the portions immediately adjoining the Douglas Water, in the centre of the parish, the other parts stretching away into rude moors, or rising into heathy hills. The first well-recognised owner of the manor of Douglas, which is coextensive with the parish, was William of *Dufglas*, whose name appears as witnessing several charters between the years 1175 and 1213. He had six sons, of whom *four* were in holy orders. His eldest son and heir, Archibald or Erkenbald of *Duneglas*, held the family estate between the years 1213 and 1232. He was succeeded by his son, sir William of *Duneglas*, who was one of the most active partisans in Scotland of Henry III., in the year 1255. In 1267, he had possession of the manor of Fawdon, in Northumberland, held from Gilbert Umfraville, lord of Redesdale, and conferred on Douglas by prince Edward, son of the English king. He died in 1276, leaving two sons, Hugh and William. The former, who married Margery, sister of sir Hugh Abernethy, died without issue in the year 1287, and was succeeded by his younger brother, William. In 1289, the latter, at the head of an armed band, carried off his future wife Alianora of Lovaine, from the manor of her kinsfolk, the Zouches, at Tranent, in Lothian. In 1296, he swore fealty to Edward I., in return receiving letters for the restoration of his lands in the shires of Fife, Edinburgh, Berwick, Dumfries, and Wigton. This William Douglas died a prisoner in England, about the year 1302, and was succeeded by his son, who was known as the *good sir James Douglas*, whose personal history is so intimately associated with that of king Robert Bruce, and from whose time the succession and the fortunes of the lords of Douglasdale are to be read in the common annals of their country. Of their old castle, which witnessed many startling family vicissitudes, only one ruined tower now remains, surrounded by large ash trees, apparently as venerable in years as itself.—Abridged from *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i., pp. 152–160.

[4] *The flyers aforesaid.*—The memorable battle of Longcarten, or Longcarty, in the parish of Redgorten, and county of Perth, must have occurred at a much later date than that mentioned by the author in his marginal note. The reign of Kenneth III. did not commence until about the year 970, and the battle here referred to is generally supposed to have taken place in 980. On that occasion, the Scots are said to have been surprised and outnumbered by the Danes. After a desperate resistance, in which Kenneth courageously led, the Scots broke from him in panic, rushing along a narrow defile, where they were met and driven back on the enemy, by a countryman and his two sons, who had indignantly witnessed their flight. After the battle, Hay and his sons were introduced to the king, who ordered them to be conducted in triumph to Perth, granting them the lands of Erroll and others adjoining. It is said he gave them their choice to accept as much as would be included either in a hound's chase, or a hawk's flight, and that they accepted the latter. Hay was created thane of Erroll and received an armorial bearing, viz., three escutcheons, gules, the supporters countrymen, armed with yokes and bows: the crest a falcon with expanded wings; the motto *Serva Jugum*. The Hays of Erroll continued in possession of these lands from the date of the original grant in 980, until the year 1650. The repre-

Another occasion and Account is given in y^e^ Scottish History of a contryman who Cutt K. Robert y^e^ third (commonly called y^e^ bleerd Eye) out of his mothers belly: when as (by a fall from her horse) at hunting she dyed in y^e^ feild. This King (hunting in those grounds) was informed of y^e^ Story, and sent for y^e^ man, and seeming to be angry for the Scarr on his eyes, (which had gotten him y^e^ nickname aforesayd) questioned him what he Sayd, when he urged and took upon himself to doe y^e^ office of a midwife: The poor man trembleing, Answered, y^t^ he told y^e^ nobility, and confessed he was but a *Semple* man (as they then called him), but y^t^ God putt it in his mind, y he should save a Kings Life, and soe he had y^e^ courage to doe as he did begging his Ma^tys^ Par-lon for y^e^ Scarr he had given him unwittingly. King Robert did then impose y^e^ surname of *Semple* on y^e^ man & his posterity; and gave them y^e^ Lands of Southenan and y^e^ title of Lord *Semple*, which they enjoy in the West of Scotland to this day.[a 5]

Some Familys have had their Surnames from their offices, as y^e^ Stewards, Butlers, Mershalls, Constables, &c.

[a] P. 105 of Howells Londinopolis: K. Ed. y^e^ 4^th^ gave y^e^ surname of Horn to Sir Wm. Littleburye, because he was a most excellent winder of a horn at hunting.

sentatives of this family have often distinguished themselves subsequently in their country's history. By the assistance of the Hays, chiefly, Robert Bruce won the decisive battle of Barra, in 1308. For this service the family of Erroll soon afterwards obtained a grant from the crown of the parishes of Cruden and Slains, and portions of the parishes of Logie Buchan, Ellon, and Udny. The chief of the family was also appointed by Bruce to the office of hereditary great constable of Scotland, the charter for this appointment (which is still preserved at Slains castle), being dated at Cambuskenneth, 12th November, 1316. The earl of Erroll, in virtue of his distinguished office, is by birth the first subject in Scotland; and, in right of this privilege, on state occasions where the sovereign is present, he takes precedence of all the other Scottish peers.—Abridged from *Scottish Journal of Topography, &c.*, vol. i., pp. 387, 388.

[5] *West of Scotland to this day.*—The celebrated house of Sempill, Semple, or Sympill, appeared so early as the reign of Alexander II., but its chief honours and possessions were acquired in the time of Robert Bruce, who granted to Robert Sympill 'the haill land of Southennan, which was the lairdship of the late John Balliol, with the common pasturage of the Lairgs, to be held by him and his heirs, in a free barony, paying us a silver pennie yearly, at the feast of Pentecost." About the year 1330, or 1340, William Sympill obtained a grant from the crown of the barony of Elliotstoun, parish of Lochunioch in Strathgryfe. The Sympills of Elliotstoun were bailies and chamberlains of the barony of Renfrew under the high stewards of Scotland, and were afterwards advanced to the office of hereditary sheriffs of Renfrew, from the year 1406, when that district was erected into a distinct county.—*Scottish Journal of Topography, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 292, *note*. The story told in the text, and popularly believed in Scotland even to this day, has reference to the birth of Robert II., not Robert III., as here stated. The death of Marjory Bruce, the king's mother, popularly known as *Queen Blearie*, is believed to have been caused by a fall from her horse, whilst hunting, between Paisley and the castle of Renfrew, on Shrove Tuesday, the second of March, 1315–16; and the popular story further affirms that her child (Robert II.) was brought into the world by the *Cæsarean operation*, performed on the spot by a simple peasant.' Crawford in his *History of Renfrewshire*, p. 41, records this legend as follows:—"At this place, in the lands of Knox, there is a high Cross standing, called *Queen Blearie's Cross*; but no inscription is legible. Tradition hath handed down, that it was erected on this occasion—Marjory Bruce, daughter of the renowned Robert I., and wife of Walter, great Steward of Scotland, at that time lord of this conntry, being hunting at this place, was thrown from her horse, and by the fall suffering a dislocation of the *vertebræ* of her neck, died on the spot. She being pregnant, fell in labour of King Robert II.; the child or *fœtus* was a *Cæsar*. The operation being by an unskilful hand, his eye being touched by the instrument, could not be cured; from which he was called *King Blearie*. This, according to our historians, fell out in the year 1317." Lord Hailes has remorselessly demolished this tradition by the statement of a few facts. Thus, Fordun and Major record the birth of Robert II., but say nothing of the strange circumstances associated with that event in the popular story. Barbour, who wrote during the reign of that king, and Winton, whose chronicle was compiled soon after the death of Robert III., are wholly silent as to the matters related by Crawfurd, and so also are Bellenden, Lesley, and Buchanan. Hector Boece not only omits any mention of this story, but expresses himself in words wholly inconsistent with it. Speaking of Marjory Bruce, or Stewart, he mentions that she *died leaving a son yet a child*. But why should this lady be called a *Queen* because her son became a *King* fifty-seven years after her death, or why should she be called *Blear-eye* because her son was so nicknamed when advanced in life, having had a remarkable inflammation in one of his eyes? Lord Hailes conjectures that Robert II. got the nickname of *Blear-eye* subsequently to the death of Robert III., to distinguish him from the latter, who was known as Robert *Faranyeir*, or the *late* Robert. Hailes farther thinks it improbable that the lady should have been hunting on horseback so near the time of her confinement; and that being a Roman Catholic, she was not likely to be so employed on *Shrove-Tuesday*. See his *Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 339–344; see also *Archæologia Scotica*, pp. 456–461.

Some have been Surnamed from a remarkable part of their face which hath stuck to y^e^ Posterity of y^t^ Eminent Person who first was designed soe, as y^e^ Campbells from one who had a wry mouth (for *Cambeoll* signifys soe much in y^e^ high-Land Scottish speech) but of late Ages since y ffamily of Argile grew great eminent and civillized; they have rejected y^e^ surname of M^c^Allen Moore and spell themselves Campbells as de *Campo belli;* being more Hon^ble^ than the former Asterick given them, but perhaps some of them may cleare y^t^ point to which I am a stranger.[6]

The Clan Camerons (A great family and very Antient in y^e^ sayd High Lands) yett retaine theire Surnames, as originally put upon their cheife (y^e^ words Signifys a crooked or wry nose) & think noe shame of it.[7]

[6] *To which I am a stranger.*—The Campbells were anciently known as *Maccallums*, being descended from a great-grandson of Diarmuid O'Duibhne, an Irish chieftain, who married the daughter of a Dalriadic king, in Scotland, about the year 512. The chief or head of this clan was invariably known as the *Maccallum Mor*. The clan name *Campbell* is popularly believed to have had its origin as the author states in the text; but modern senachies and genealogists of the Argyle family come forward with a more acceptable, if not a more correct, derivation. Buchanan of Auchmar has the following account of this surname, which our author, no doubt, had heard in some shape or other, but to which he evidently attached little or no importance:—"Malcolm O'Duin (a grandson of Diarmuid O'Duibhne), after his first lady's death, went to France, and married the heiress of the Beauchamps, or, as in Latin, *Campus bello*, being niece to the duke of Normandy. By her he had two sons, Dionysius and Archibald, who, from the inheritance got with their mother, changed their surname from Oduin to Campbell. Dionysius, the eldest, continued in France, and was ancestor of a family, designed Campbell, in that kingdom, of which family was Count Tallard, a mareschal of France, carried prisoner to England in the reign of Queen Anne, and divers others of quality. The second brother came to Scotland, as some say, an officer in William duke of Normandy's army, at his conquest of England, anno 1066. And coming to Argyleshire, married his cousin, Eva Oduin, daughter of Sir Paul Oduibhne (surnamed *ansporran*, 'of the purse,' knight of Lochow). She being heiress of Lochow, and he having retained this surname of Campbell, as did his successors, the whole clan of Oduibhne, in a small tract of time, in compliance with their chief, assumed that surname, as did many others in this kingdom upon the like occasion."—*Ancient Scottish Surnames*, pp. 31, 32, Glasgow, 1820. The clan Campbell came to include other smaller clans, who eventually assumed the leading name, although for a time retaining their own tribe names. "Many families and small tribes of Breadalbane in the sixteenth century renounced their natural heads, and took Glenurchy (Campbell) for their chief. Many more, in Argyle and the Isles, must have suffered a change from awe of Macallummore."—Cosmo Innes on *Scotch Surnames*, p. 24. This writer in his *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, p. 374, has referred to this fact as follows:—"We find families and small tribes choose Glenurchy for their chief, sometimes renouncing their natural head, and selecting him as leader and protector, yet retaining their own patronymical designations. These new subjects bound themselves not only to pay the allegiance of clansmen, but to give the 'caulp of kenkynie,' the Celtic equivalent for the Heriot of feudal customs; to visit the chief's house with sufficient presents twice in the year; to serve in 'hosting and hunting;' and to be ready at all times 'to ride and go' in their lord's affairs." The 'kenkynie' was the 'kincogish' of the Irish. See p. 43, note 42, *supra*. The ancient and distinguished family of Argyle has for many centuries exercised a great influence over the West Highlands and Isles of Scotland. Like so many others of the Scoto-Irish lords, this family owed much of its elevation to the gratitude of King Robert Bruce, for faithful services rendered to him in his perilous career. Hence his extensive grants to sir Neill Campbell of Lochawe, or Lochowe, from the lands forfeited by the Macdougalls of Lorn, the Comyns, and other leading supporters of the Balliol party. The marriage of sir Neill with lady Mary, sister of Robert Bruce, attached the Campbells still more closely to the dynasty established by the latter. Early in the fifteenth century, sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe was one of the wealthiest barons in Scotland. His grandson, Colin, created first earl of Argyle, was chancellor of Scotland, and acquired the entire lordship of Lorn. At the close of the previous century, the family of Argyle had commenced to supplant—sometimes by force, and not unfrequently by fraud—the great Macdonnell chiefs, and assisted by the forfeitures of James IV., the *Maccallum Mores* soon acquired an influence almost as great as ever had been enjoyed by the Lords of the Isles. See Gregory's *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 84.

[7] *And think no shame of it.*—The more modern Camerons are not satisfied with this account of their surname, which they now derive from *Cambro*, a Dane, or Norwegian, who married the daughter and heiress of a Scottish chief named Mac Martin, proprietor of that part of Lochaber, afterwards possessed by Lochiel, the representative of the Clan Cameron. "Cambro not only retained his own name upon his marriage of the heiress of the Mac Martins, a very old clan, but also from his own proper name transmitted the surname of Cameron to his posterity, which, in a tract of time, becoming the more powerful, the whole remains of the Mac Martins went into that surname. . . . The dependents on this surname are a sept of the Mac Lauchlans, the Mac Gelveils, Mac Lonnies, Mac Phails, or Pauls, and Mac Chlericks, or Clerks, and some others. These are all originally Camerons."—Buchanan's *Ancient Scottish Surnames*, pp. 94, 97.

Other Familys assumed Surnames from y^e^ device which their founders had, in their respective Coats Armoriall, sheilds, Targetts, or Banners, (This distinction is more Antient than surnames), which y^e^ Eminent Leaders of Troops, Companys, Brigades, or Armys, used; thereby to be better distinguished and resorted to, in y^e^ warrs, and so y^t^ famous Uter y^t^ victorious British prince[8] is always mentioned w^th^ addition of Pendragon[9] y^t^ is a dragons head, w^ch^ was painted in his Banner, y^t^ he advanced against y^e^ Romans. Some A Lyon, A Beare, A City, or y^e^ Like in their sheilds, thence came the surnames of Lyons, Fitzurslys,[10] De Burgos, &c. The family of Howth are called

[8] *Uter, yt victorious British prince.*—Of this prince's father we have the following notice:—"And then, when the men of Rome refused the tribute from the Isle of Britain, because they were weary of defending it, on ascount of the many wars in which they were engaged, they went to Armorica to procure a king, and there they got Cystenin (Constantine), brother of Aldwr, king of Armorica, and he came to this island, and was proclaimed king of the Isle of Britain. He was a good and merciful man, and had three sons, namely, Constans, Ambrosius (Emrys), and Uthyr Pendragon; and he erected three cities, Caer Wmber, Caer Wster, and Caer Angow. He was called by some Constantine the Deliverer, by others Constantine the Blessed."—*The Cambro-Briton*, vol. iii., p. 364. The descent of Uttyr Pendragon is given somewhat differently by different writers. See *Camb. Biogr.*, p. 340; *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, vol. ii., p. 140. In the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. i., p. 489, is given as follows:—"Uther Pendragon, ab *Tewdrig*, ab *Teithwallt*, ab *Mynan*, ab *Urban*, ab *Edrig*, ab *Breichrwy*, ab *Meurig*, ab *Meirchion*, ab *Gwyron Vrych*, ab *Arthonel*s ab *Ennydd*, ab *Gorddwyn*, ab *Gorug*, ab *Meirchion Vawd Milar*, ab *Owen*, ab *Cynillin*, ab *Caradog*, ab *Bran*." This prince Uthyr was appointed by the Britons, to carry off the monumental pile from Kildare, in Ireland, known throughout Britain as the *Giants' Dance*. "If you are desirous," said Merlin, "to honour the burial place of these men with an everlasting monument, send for the Giants' Dance, which is in *Killarous*, a mountain in Ireland. For there is a structure of stones there, which none of this age could raise without a profound knowledge of the mechanical arts. They are stones of a vast magnitude and wonderful quality, and if they can be placed here, as they are there, quite round this spot of ground, they will stand for ever." When Uthyr, with 15,000 men, arrived in Ireland, for the purpose of carrying these stones into Britain, Gillomanius, king of Ireland, on hearing their errand, smiling, said to those around him:—"No wonder a cowardly race of people (meaning the Saxons) were able to make so great devastations in the island of Britain, when the Britons are such brutes and fools. Was ever the like folly heard of? What! are the stones of Ireland better than those of Britain, that our kingdom must be put to this disturbance for them? To arms, soldiers, and defend your country; while I have life, they shall not take from us the least stone of the Giants' Dance." But Uthyr is represented as having actually succeeded in his expedition, carrying off the vast monumental pile, which is now the pile long known as *Stonehenge*, near Winchester.—Jeffry of Monmouth's *British History*, translated by A. Thompson, 1718, pp. 246, 248.

[9] *Pendragon.*—"During these transactions at Winchester, there appeared a star of wonderful magnitude, darting forth a Ray, at the end whereof was a globe of fire in the form of a Dragon, out of whose mouth issued forth two rays; one of which seemed to stretch out itself beyond the extent of Gaul, the other towards the Irish Sea, and ended in seven lesser rays." On Uthyr asking Merlin the meaning of this portent, the latter replied:—"The star, and the fiery dragon under it, signifies yourself; and the ray extending towards the Gallican coast portends that you shall have a most potent son, to whose power all those kingdoms shall be subject over which the Ray reaches. But the other ray signifies a daughter, whose sons and grandsons shall successively enjoy the kingdom of Britain." So soon as Uther's brother, Ambrosius, died, and was buried "in the Giant's Dance, which in his lifetime he had commanded to be made," Uther was crowned king of Britain in his stead. The latter "commanded two Dragons to be made of gold, in the likeness of the Dragon which he had seen at the ray of the star. As soon as they were finished, which was done with wonderful nicety of workmanship, he made a present of one to the cathedral church of Winchester, but reserved the other to himself, to be carried along with him to his wars. From this time, therefore, he was called *Uther Pendragon*, which, in the British tongue, signifies the *Dragon's Head;* the occasion of this appellation being Merlin's predicting, from the appearance of a dragon, that he should be king."—Jeffry of Monmouth's *British History*, pp. 253, 254, 255, 257. On the death of Uther, his son Arthur became "a king of great praise over thirty kingdoms; and he was styled Emperor of Rome. He was one of the most praiseworthy sovereigns of the whole world: the most generous, the most valiant, and the most merciful. He loved and honoured Caerleon on the Usk more than any other place; and he erected many religious houses and monasteries, and gave them endowments and salaries, and these will last for ever."—*The Cambro-Briton*, vol. iii., p. 364.

[10] *Fitz-Ursulys.*—"Campion, who wrote in 1567, says that Mac Mahon signifies the *Bear's son;* and Spencer, who wrote in 1596, says that the Mac Mahons of the North were descended from the Fitz-Ursulas or De-Veres, who fled from England during the Barons' Wars against Richard II. To which sir Charles Coote adds, in his *Statistical Account of the County of Monaghan*, that their ancestor had murdered St. Thomas a Becket! For their true descent, viz., from *Mathghamhain*, lord of Farney, who was slain at Clones, A.D. 1022, see Shirley's *Account of the Dominion of Farney*, p. 140."—*Note* by Dr. O'Donovan in O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, p. 49. The old sept of the Mac Swines of Doe Castle bore a *salmon* with an open hand on their Arms, and probably from *Sxvin*, the Welsh

S[t] Laurence from y[t] S[te] Holyday, because thereon y[e] Predicessor (who then was eminent and of another Surname) obtained a famous victory over y[e] Irish.[11] But when Surnames came to be more common, they were assumed divers ways, as from Trades, so came y[e] Carpenters, Taylors, Smiths, Bakers, &c.[12] Some from complexions as Whites, Reids, Greens, &c.[13] But the most affected and antient way was when Rich men stiled themselves by their Lands, or y[t] y[e] same was allowed to them as designations, in Princes Charters. Thus Malcolm y[e] 3[rd] (nicknamed Canmoore) K : of Scotts, universally did : reserving a certaine Rent payable to y[e] Crowne, on every one who so held of him.[14] Thus it continued, promiscously among all y[e] Kings Tenannts, so y[t] y[e] surnames of familys in y[t] kingdom was hardly knowne, even amongst neighbours, Till a late Act of Parliament there, in K : Cha : y[e] 2[de] Reigne, obleiged y[e] Gentry to write, name and S[r]name before y[e] stile of their Lands, or cheife Seate, as an addition in all their subscriptions, to Letters, bonds, Leases, or other deeds[9] for example, one family of Shaw, subscribed onely *Greenock:* but now they write *Shaw of*

for a salmon, originally drew their surname. Minor branches used the porpoise or herring-hog on their crest; and in the old graveyard of Doe Castle there is a tomb with a figure apparently intended to represent a common swine cut on it. "In the centre of the Mac Swines' country there is a huge table-topped mountain called *Muckish*, which, from a certain point at sea, exactly resembles the back of a porpoise or herring-hog rising up to blow." The sept name may have come to the Mac Swines from this circumstance. The reader may see a curious account of the modern representatives of this once powerful race in Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, p. 501–4.

[11] *Over the Irish.*—*Tristram* was the original surname borne by the family of Howth,—a race well-known in Britain long previously to the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. Chroniclers are not agreed as to the particular circumstances under which this surname was dropped and that of *St. Lawrence* adopted, some affirming that the change was made by sir Armoricus Tristram, because of a victory he had achieved on that saint's day over the Irish, whilst others maintain that it was in consequence of a grand defeat inflicted on the Danes by one of his descendants, who had made a vow to St. Lawrence, that if victorious, he would take the saint's name, and transmit it to his descendants. —Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 180. Hanmer is of opinion that the change was accomplished from another and much more agreeable cause. When speaking of De Courcy, he says:—"He served King Henry the Second in all his warres, and in France he met with a worthy knight, Sir Armoricus Tristeram, who married Courcy his sister; and whether it was derived of the Ladies name, or for that they were married on Saint *Lawrence* day, ever after hee and his posterity after him was called Sir Armoricus *de Sancto Laurentio*, whence the Noble house of Howth is lineally descended." —*Chronicle of Ireland*, p. 297.

[12] *Bakers, &c.*—Among surnames derived from *Trades* are *Miller*, *Multer* (a gatherer of the multures or mill dues), *Walker* (from the walking or fulling mill), *Fuller*, *Girdwood* (from hooping barrels, in England *Hooper*), *Brander* (shortened into *Brand*), *Barker* (from curing skins), *Tanner*, *Currier* (now *Curry*), *Skinner*, *Boucher* (*Butcher*, often in Scotland *Baxter*) *Brewster*, *Suter*, *Webster*, *Litster* (now *Lister*), *Cook*, *Kitchener*, *Taylor*, *Turner*, *Sadler*, *Lorimer* (bridle-maker), *Glover*, *Boyer*, *Bowman*, *Fletcher* (from Flêchier, arrow-maker), *Smith*, *Cowan*, *Harper*, &c., &c. See *Scotch Surnames*, by Cosmo Innes, pp. 29, 30.

[13] *Reids, Greens, &c.*—The principal surnames derived from this source are *Black*, *Blackie*, *Duff*, *White*, *Whytocks*, *Bane*, *Grey*, *Brown*, *Red* or *Reid*, *Ruddiman*, *Green*, *Blue*, *Scarlet*, *Dunne*, *Glass*.

[14] *So held of him.*—Malcolm, surnamed *Canmore*, is generally understood to have first introduced the feudal system into Scotland. It differed essentially from the patriarchal rule which had previously existed in that country, and which, indeed, was peculiarly cherished by the Celtic nations throughout all Europe. Under the patriarchal system the several districts of the land were governed by chiefs and *Ceann-tighes*, or heads of families, the former constituting the executive, the latter the judges and juries of the respective clans. No capital punishments were permitted by this system, and the right of "pit and gallows" was unknown in Scotland prior to the accession of Malcolm. The feudal system is supposed to have been the growth of the invasions and conquests of the Goths and Vandals. When introduced into Scotland, it changed, very materially, the aspect of affairs in that country, although the patriarchal rule continued to influence its people long after statutory enactments had become general. But Malcolm Canmore being by the new system constituted not only the fountain of all honour and power, but, what was more important, the rightful owner and inheritor of all the land, he was thus in a position to grant it on his own terms and conditions. One of these conditions was that mentioned in the text, namely, that the grantee should take the name of the land, which was no doubt deemed a necessary stipulation, from the fact that these grantees were at first in many instances foreigners. The system, however, soon found favour among the native chiefs and ceann-tighes, who, although required to sink their family surnames, so as that such were "hardly known even among neighbours," received with the new system the "power of pit and gallows," and were indeed constituted petty sovereigns in their several districts. For a list of Scotch surnames derived from *Lands*, see the Essay on *Scotch Surnames* by Cosmo Innes, pp. 44–53.

Greenock, Prefixing their christian name and allsoe y^e^ word S^r^ if they be of Knights degree. But y^e^ nobility subscribe onely y^e^ Title of Honor to w^ch^ they are advanced by y^e^ Kings Letters Pattents. The former Custom of y^e^ Lowland Scottish gentry was introduced in imitation of y^e^ French (w^ch^ w^ch^ nation there was Antient and Strict confederacy of a long duration, from Carolus III. even till y^e^ union of Great Brittain, under K: James y^e^ first), they sendeing their eldest sonns into Ffrance for Education and y^e^ younger to serve y^t^ kingdom in y^e^ warrs, their marchants exchanging their Children with their Correspondents mutually, to breed them to be the better factors for trade. But I heare of noe Ffrench Surnames among them except the Montgomerys,[15] yet of other things there is plenty of Ffrench names and Ffrench words allsoe: Here it is noteworthy, That K: David observes how Rich men gave their names to their Lands & I think y^t^ was a Custom (probably not new) in his time soe to doe: we find in Scotland and elswhere in these Kingdomes that it is frequently done. Instances thereof may bee had both in Elder and Later times, As Huston of Huston, Raudon of Raudon, Craffords Burn, Newtown Buttler, Mount Morrice, and many such.[16] I presume this practice (now and then) was from a naturall desire to perpetuate their Surnames and memory w^ch^ (on failor of Issue male and familys,) might be distinct, (as in many mens Cases happens) soe y^t^ Oblivion would swallow them all upp, were it not for coats of Arms and such like preservatives of Surnames and familys which have been used, to y^e^ Like Intent, as, first Traditions, then heaps of Stones, Crosses (as mortimers) Pillars[17] (as Seths and Rachells) monuments, oblesks, sepulchers, buildings. And, (w^ch^ is best of all) written Records were invented and made. Take here one

Instances of y^e^ ii.

Absolem's Pillar.

[15] *Except the Montgomerys.*—There must have been many such, however, although in our author's time some had been corrupted and others had altogether disappeared. In reference to this point Cosmo Innes says:—"Of those now extant only a few are the surnames imported from Normandy. The names of *Bruce* and *Barclay*, *Lindsay* and *Sinclair*, indeed, if not so great as they once were, still mark houses of ancestral nobility. But how many have gone down the stream of time, and left no trace! Take the single district of the Border. The *De Vescis*, the *De Morevilles*, the *De Viponts*, *De Normanvilles*, the *Avenels*, the *Randolphs*—greater than all, the *De Balliols*, are names now unknown, even in the traditions of Tweedside, where their forefathers ruled as princes. I fear it is against Mr. Aytoun's theory of the high antiquity of our extant ballads, that these names are not found in them. Only the *De Sulises* have had the fortune of being sung in Border minstrelsy, where they are not represented amiably, being of the unpopular, indeed, unpatriotic faction. The other names have either disappeared, or have suffered a change of a curious kind. The grand old Norman name of De Vesci is now *Veitch*. De Vere, once still greater, is with us *Weir*. De Montealto has come through several steps, till it has rested in the respectable but not illustrious name of *Mowat*. De Monte-fixo is *Muschet*. De Vallibus—De Vaux—De Vaus—by the simple blunder of turning a letter upside down, has assumed the shape of *Vans*; while De Belassize, carrying us back to the times of the Crusaders, has, in our homely mouths, degenerated into the less euphonious name of *Belsches*."—*Scotch Surnames*, pp. 8, 9. At p. 53, the same writer gives the following as "A few extant Scotch Family Names, derived from places in England and Normandy:—Balliol, Barclay, de Berkelai, Bethune, Beton, Beaton, Boyle, Bruce, Brus, Bysset, de Byseth, Bisset, Campbell, Charteris, de Chartreux, Cheyne, le Chene, Corbet, Cumin, Cumming, Comyn, Grant, Graunt, le grand, Haig, Hamilton, de Hambledon, Hay, de la Haye, Lindsay, de Lindeseye, Lyle, De l'Isle, Lovel, Maule, Montgomery, Mowbray, Mortimer, *demortuo mari*, Mowat, *de monte alto*, Muschet, *de monte fixo*, Muschamps, de Muschamp, Norvel, de Normanvil?, Ramsay, de Rameseie, Russell, Ross, Ros, Rose, de Roos, Sinclair, de Sancto Clare, Somervil, Summerville, Umphravil, de Umphraville, de Vaux, Vaux, Vaus, Veitch, de Vesci, Vipont, *de veteri ponte*, Weir, de Vere."

[16] *And many such.*—In these instances, here mentioned, one is selected from Scotland, one from England, and three from Ireland. In selecting *Crawfordsburn* for an illustration, probably the author may refer to the place so named near Greenock. See p. 138, note 54, *supra*.

[17] *Pillars.*—The custom of erecting some description of monument seems to be coeval with the human race. In very early times—stretching far beyond the reach of any records—upright stones were used to mark the last resting-places of human bodies. In the simplest state of society, and where there were but comparatively few human beings, it was deemed enough to erect the unhewn and unsculptured pillar, which, when assisted by local tradition, would no doubt hand down to many succeeding generations the remembrance of the person whose grave it indicated. These pillar stones, which were set up just as they had been raised from the ground or taken from the quarry, are found throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa. In later times the custom prevailed of using symbolical figures, having reference to

Famous Instance and Proof of this practice, viz., The Inscription on a great leaden Cross (buryed with and made for K: Arthur who instituted y^e^ Round Table-Kn^ts^) found in the Isle of Ely reported by Camden to have been dugg upp there, which Lay 15 or 16 foot under Ground. The words were *Hic Jacet Inclitus Rex Arturius sepultus in Insula Avalonia.*[18] But among other (beside y^e^ aforesayd) ways how Surnames have stuck to persons and from them been derived to their Posteritys and soe a new family (as it were) created, w^ch^ can claim no Pedigree is y^t^ of giveing Surnames to children disowned by their parents and found Layd in Church Porches, or elswhere to be taken up and reared at y^e^ Parish Charge: which I have heard was y^e^ Lord Cravens Ancestor his case, so found in y^t^ towne bearing y^t^ name.[19] Other Instances of other divers ways to y^e^ purpose aforesayd, I willingly pass over: because the premisses are fforraigne to my intended designe, which is not general but speciall, and it being without my reach to Asscertaine whence the origin of y^e^ Montgomerys (in y^e^ province of Normandy) is deduced, as being a Stranger to the Records y^t^ y^e^ Count of y^t^ surname may have & to what y^e^ Ffrench Historys, (except Du Serres, de Girard and others) or heralds, may mention thereof, viz: whether y^e^ family are native Gauls and homologized (in their stile) with y^e^ Normans: or came in with them into y^t^ Contry (now called Normandy from y^e^ Collony, who transmigrateing from y^e^ North part (perchance Danemark or Swedland) seated themselves there.[20] I must lay that matter aside and not debate nor determin it: being, at present, totally Igno. de Girard and others.

the buried persons by way of identification; but even then the human mind still seems to have clung to this simplest and earliest form of monument, these figures, including that of the cross, being sculptured on the face of the upright stone. There are rare instances, but of a much later date, in which the pillar assumes the shape of the cross. Indeed the original pillar form survives more or less throughout all ages, and in every variety of tomb, even the most elaborate—whether as cairn, pyramid, obelisk, or headstone.

[18] *In Insula Avalonia.*—The following is Speed's account:—"When Henry the Second, and first Plantagenet, had swaied the English scepter to the last of his raigne, it chanced him at Penbrooke to heare sung to the Harpe certain Ditties of the Worthy Exploits and Acts of this Arthur (by a Welsh Bard, as they were termed, whose custome was to record and sing at their feasts the noble deeds of their ancestors), wherein mention was made of his death and place of burial, designing it to be in the Church-yard of Glastenbury, and that betwixt two pyramides therin standing: Wherupon King Henry caused the ground to bee digged, and at seuen foot depth was found a huge broad stone, wherein a leaden Crosse was fastned, and in that side that lay downward, in rude and barbarous letters (as rudely set and contriued) this inscription written vpon that side of the Lead that was towards the stone:—

"*Hic Jacet Sepultus Rex Arthurius in Insula Avalonia.*
"*Here lieth King Arthur buried in the Ile of Avalonia.*"

"And digging nine foot deeper, his body was found in the trunk of a Tree, the bones of great bignesse, and in his scull perceived ten wounds, the last very great, and plainely seene. His Queene Gueneuer, that had been neere kinswoman to Cador duke of Cornwall, a Lady of passing beauty, lay likewise by him, whose tresses of haire finely platted, and in colour like the gold, seemed perfect and whole vntill it was touched, but then (bewraying what all beauties are) shewed it selfe to be dust. *Giraldus Cambrensis*, a worthy author and an eye-witnesse, is the reporter of this finding of *Arthurs* bones. And the Crosse of Leade with this inscription, as it was found and taken off the stone, was kept in the Treasury of Reuester of Glastenbury Church, saith *Stowe*, till the suppression thereof in the raigne of King Henry the Eight, whose forme and rude letters we haue here expressed to thy sight. [Here follows a drawing of the Cross.] The bones of King Arthur and Queene Guenauer his wife, by the direction of *Henry de Bloys*, nephew to King Henry the Second, and Abbat of Glastenbury, at that present, were translated into the great new church, and there in a faire Tombe of Marble, his body was laid, and his Queenes at his feete; which noble monument among the fatall ouerthrowes of infinite more, was altogether raced at the dispose of some then in commission; whose too forward zeale and ouerhasty actions in these behalfes, hath left vnto us a want of many truths, and cause to wish that some of their imployments had beene better spent."—*Chronicles*, pp. 271–273.

[19] *Bearing yt name.*—See Camden's *Britannia*, translated and enlarged by R. Gough, vol. iii., p. 280.

[20] *Seated themselves there.*—Count Roger Montgomery, who came to England in the year 1068 (and not in 1066, as is generally supposed), had a son also named Roger, who spoke of himself and his father in the act of foundation for the Abbey of Troarn, as follows:—"Ego Rogerius ex Normannis Normannus, Magni autem Rogerii filius." See Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 1. In these words Montgomery undoubtedly claimed for himself a Scandinavian descent, although sir Francis Palgrave, on the authority of the Monk of Jumièges, stoutly contests this point in his *History of Normandy and England*, chap. v., p. 28, as follows:—"He (Roger) designated himself as *Northmannus Northmannorum*, but for all practical

rant thereof: but what I have read of y^t^ Surname in France shall be remembered, after mention hath been made of y^e^ Montgomerys Familys in England, Scotland, and Ireland. However for y^t^ Honor: of y^e^ nation in Geur^l^. Let it be known (to all men) that there is at this day, the Tytle of a Count or Earle (y^e^ Dignity is all one tho y^e^ words bee of divers Languages, in latin called Comes) in all his Matyes four Kingdomes. viz. Count de Montgomery in Ffrance, Earle of Montgomery in England, Earle of Eglinton in Scotland, and Earle of Mount Alexander in Ireland: The like whereof cannot be truly sayd (as I believe) of any other Surname in all y^e^ world. Now if any object y^t^ there is noe Montgomery Surname of an Earles dignity in England, and y^t^ therefore my proposition is untrue, I answer, first y^t^ all Tytles of Honor are in place and often used as Surnames to keep memory of y^e^ familys & their Surnames who by matches conveyed estates to theire Posteritys and in this case (I have been told) y^t^ y^e^ Herberts succeed to y^t^ Tytle as well as they retaine theire former Tytle of *Penbro* or *Penbroch*, and doe write Penbroch and Montgomery. I am Sure Eglinton does so on y^t^ account: as appeares in y^e^ sequell of this Treatis. Item: I say in answer to y^e^ s^d^ objection, y^t^ it is well known y^t^ Bipps (toties quoties) as they are removed (they call it translated) from one Sea to another, they subscribe (as for example) Dunnensis, Clogerensis, Midensis, Armachanus, etc., which is in memory of their Bppricks and of y^e^ names given them, & so these denominations becom their pper Surnames (quatenus Episcopi) dureing their Sitting in those Cathedralls: Then again to make y^e^ proposition more apparent Truth, I say; y^t^ there is y^e^ Title and hath been an Earle of y^e^ Montgomerys Surname in those four illustrious Kingdomes: and three of those familys very ancient (as will appeare hereafter), which (as for ought I know) is without a Paralell in y^e^ world.

Conway and Kilultagh.

Reader! Undertakeing at Present (as memory and a few notes now by me will assist) to write of y^e^ Montgomerys of England I might ascend as High as y^e^ Conquest; for Then it was y^t^ this Surname came over with W^m^ Duke of Normandy, to abett his Title to y^e^ Crowne of y^t^ Kingdome, and as Speed avers, That Roger De Montgomery Ledd y^e^ vantgard of K. w^m's^ Army at y^t^ bloody bataile which gained him England,[21] I crave leave to presume that this Hon^ble^ person was not the

book x. p. 467, sect. 37. bataile-bridge.

purposes he was a Frenchman of the Frenchmen, though he might not like to own it. This ancestral reminiscence must have resulted from some peculiar fancy; no Montgomery possessed or transmitted any memorials of his Norman progenitors." But thus to set aside count Roger's distinct assertion of his Norman descent, some evidence would be necessary. Although the family was not known in Normandy before the conquest of that province by Rollo, or "Hrolf the Ganger," it may have come there in some previous invasion from the north, a supposition rendered highly probable by the readiness—even the delight—with which the Montgomerys evidently welcomed the coming of Hrolf. The facts, too, of the Montgomerys having retained their landed possessions undisturbed by the northern conquerors, and of their having soon formed marriage alliances with the family of Hrolf, lead to the same conclusion. Professor Le Herichen, of the College of Avranches, referring to Roger Montgomery's statement above-mentioned, remarks that from it "we can see that if the language of the Scandinavians was then forgotten in Normandy, the pride of the race was not." See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ix., p. 293.

[21] *Gained him England.*—The passage in Speed occurs in the eighth, not tenth book, as here stated in the margin. The page, and number of the section, are correctly referred to by the author. In this passage, Speed, when speaking of Harold on the day of the battle, says:—"His enemies *Vauward* was led by Roger of Montgomery and William Fitz-Osberne, the same consisting of horsemen out of Anjou, Perch, and little Britaine." This Montgomery was probably a young soldier, and son to the then representative of the family. The father was not present in the battle of Hastings, and did not come to England until the year 1068. The Conqueror visited Normandy in that year, and on his return to England, we are told by *Ordericus Vitalis*, the best authority on this point, that "he was attended by Roger de Montgomery, who, at the time of his former expedition to invade England, was left, with his wife, governor of Normandy. The king first conferred on him the earldoms of Chichester and Arundel, and after a time made him earl of Shrews-

Cheife of his Family (to witt y^e^ Count de Montgomery, but rather his Uncle or Brother) because he is not designed as such a count, and for y^t^ he was advanced to y^e^ Title of an Earle in England, and had lands given him by y^e^ Conquerour, and that his three sonns allsoe enjoyed y^e^ Same successively, and now remaining and residing in England, whereas the count Mon-Gomerys family was then, & still is, of y^t^ degree in Normandy: to w^ch^ (as it is reported) he was remanded, to y^e^ Administration of y^e^ government of y^t^ turbulent Dukedom, whilst K: W^m^ was obleiged to stay and settle his affaires and prosecute his victory in England.[22]

Camden denotes of this Roger y^t^ y^e^ City of Shrewsbury (inter alia) being by K: w^m^ given him, Hee pulled downe Fifty houses and built a Strong Castle on y^e^ north side thereof, on a Riseing Rock,[23] w^ch^ his 2^d^ son Robert Montgomery de Belesm & (soe called from y^e^ place of his nativity as Edw^rd^ of Carnarvan, and other English Kings were in like manner surnamed), walled it about on y^t^ side, where it was not fenced with y^e^ River: when as he revolted from K: Henry y^e^ first in behalfe of Duke Robert (commonly called y^e^ Curt Hose) eldest Son of y^e^ conquerour,[24] w^ch^ Castle (says he) hath not been heard to have suffered assault or Hostility, but once in y^e^ Barons warrs ag^t^ K: John. Camden further says y^t^ this Roger was created y^e^ first Earle of Shrewsbury and had most of y^e^ Lands, in y^t^ Shire, allotted to him.[25] And y^t^ after him Succeeded his eldest Son Hugh,[26] ye 2^d^ Earle, mentioned by Speed to be killed by an arrow shott in his Right Eye repulsing y^e^ Norwegians who Landed and were beaten in Anglesey, as hereafter shall bee more fully related.[27]

In Britannia, p. 595.

p. 599.

In A° 1652 I saw in Westminster abby wall this Rogers coat of Arms and name written under

bury."—Bohn's Edition of *Ordericus Vitalis' Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 14.

[22] *Victory in England.*—The author would seem to argue in this sentence that the count and the earl were two distinct persons, but the Roger de Montgomery created earl of Shrewsbury in England was undoubtedly count of Belesme and Alençon in Normandy through his wife, Mable de Belesme.—*Ordericus Vitalis*, vol. ii., p. 48, *note* 2. "This earl," says the same historian, "was wise, moderate, and a lover of justice; and cherished the gentle society of intelligent and unassuming men. For a long time he had about him three well-informed clerks—Godebald, Odelirius (father of Ordericus Vitalis), and Herbert—whose advice he followed with great advantage." The earl had by his first wife (Mabel) five sons and four daughters—viz., 1. *Robert*, count of Belesme and Alençon; 2. *Hugh* de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury; 3. *Roger* of Lancaster; 4. *Philip*, the grammarian, who died at the siege of Antioch in the first crusade; 5. *Arnulph* de Montgomery, keeper of Pembroke castle. His daughters were—1. *Emma*, abbess of Almenesches, who died on 4th of March, 1113; 2. *Matilda*, wife of Robert earl of Morton, half brother of the Conqueror; 3. *Mabel*, who married Hugh lord of Chateauneuf, and was alive in 1131; 4. *Sybil*, wife of Robert Fitz-Hamon, lord of Tewkesbury. On the death of Mabel, his first wife, count Roger married Adeliza, daughter of Everhard du Puiset, by whom he left one son, Everhard, who became one of the royal chaplains.—Ordericus Vitalis, *Eccl. History*, vol. ii., pp. 48, 195, and *note*.

[23] *On a Riseing Rock.*—This reference is to the edition of Camden's *Britannia*, published by Holland in 1637. Shrewsbury arose from the ruins of the ancient *Uriconium* or Wroxeter. Camden states that "Roger de Montgomery first built the beautiful and strong castle overhanging the Corve, and afterwards added walls, which include near a mile in extent." This "Riseing Rock" stands at the confluence of two streams known in Camden's time as the Temd and the Corve.—Camden's *Britannia*, translated by Gough, vol. iii., p. 3.

[24] *Eldest son of ye conquerour.*—Robert was the *eldest* son of Roger Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury. During this revolt Robert walled round the side of Shrewsbury castle where it was not defended by the river. On the suppression of the revolt, Robert de Belesme was attainted, and Henry I. kept the castle to himself, which was afterwards known as the *Prince's Palace.*—Camden, *Britannia*, vol. iii. p. 3. Robert, eldest son of the Conqueror, was surnamed *Curtoise*, or *Curt-Hose.*

[25] *Allotted to him.*—Camden's *Britannia*, vol. iii., p. 9.

[26] *Eldest Son Hugh.*—Ordericus Vitalis, a better authority in this matter than Camden, states (vol. ii., p. 195) that Hugh de Montgomery, who succeeded his father, was the *second* son. He became second earl of Shrewsbury in 1094.

[27] *More fully related.*—See Speed's chronicles, 1632, p. 445. Ordericus Vitalis, vol. ii., p. 203, thus notices the same occurrence:—"Hugh de Montgomery succeeded to the earldom of Shrewsbury, but some years afterwards he was pierced by the stroke of a javelin by Magnus, brother of the King of Norway, and died on the sea-shore; but his corpse was conveyed to Shrewsbury with great lamentations, and buried by the monks in the abbey cloister."

it, as benefactor to ye buildings thereof, he was in rank or place ye 7th or 8th (as I remember) among ye Contributors to ye sd building, or to ye convent thereof, but in Ao 1644 I found that his name and Arms, and all ye rest (above 40 Ancient noblemens) were wholly razed out, as writeings (on a stone table booke) are with a wett Sponge. Ibid.

Cambden reports further yt Rogers 2d Son, ye sayd Robert de Belesme, being a cruell man to his Hostages and to his owne Sons (whome he guelded and whose eyes he pluckt out, with his own hands) was convict of High Treason, yett kept in perpetuall Prison by K: Henry ye 1st of yt name.[28] I suppose this rigour (to his Sons) might be occasioned by their Cowardice, disobedience, neglect of orders, or loss of Battaile[29] (as strange Severitys (on like accounte even to ye inflicting of death by Parents on Sons) hath been practiced by Roman Genlle, by Strongbow &c.[30] Saul allsoe, for a

[28] *1st of yt name.*—Robert de Belesme was *eldest*, not second son of Roger de Montgomery. Camden describes him as "a man of savage cruelty, both to his own children and to his hostages, whom he deprived of their eyes and testicles with his own hands; but being at last convicted of high treason, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment by Henry I., and suffered the punishment due to his atrocious crimes." "Robert de Belesme was of a subtle genius, deceitful and wily; in person he was stout, and of great strength; intrepid and formidable in war; he was a fluent speaker, but desperately cruel; his avarice and lust were insatiable; he was an able manager of important affairs, and toiled with the utmost patience through the greatest earthly trials; he displayed great skill in constructing buildings and machines, and other difficult works, and inexorable cruelty in tormenting his enemies." Ordericus Vitalis, *Eccles. History*, vol. ii., p. 458. "The character of this extraordinary man, whose great talents distinguished him from most of the turbulent nobles of that age, seems to have inspired all the contemporary historians with horror. Henry of Huntingdom says, 'He was a very Pluto, Megaera, Cerberus, or anything you can conceive still more horrible,' and gives details of his cruelties, which are omitted by Ordericus. William of Malmesbury particularly enlarges on the powers of dissimulation, by means of which his victims became his prey."—Huntingdon's *Letters to Warin*, p. 311; and *Malmesbury History*, Bohn's edition, p. 432, as quoted in Forester's *Note*, at p. 458 of *Ordericus*. Robert de Belesme on being finally captured by Henry I., and "not being able to clear himself of the countless and enormous iniquities of which he was guilty, both against God and the king, was, by the just judgment of the royal court, thrown into the strictest confinement." He was imprisoned first in Cherbourg, and afterwards at Warham castle in Norfolk, where he ended his days.—*Ibid*, vol. iii., p. 442, and *note*. This distinguished criminal is supposed to have starved himself to death in his dungeon, probably to escape some impending doom which would have been more horrible.

[29] *Or loss of Battaile.*—It should be observed that the atrocities here ascribed to Robert de Belesme are not mentioned among the catalogue of his crimes by the historian Ordericus. This Montgomery was an inveterate enemy of monks in general, and his reputation, therefore, would not be in safe keeping in the hands of such chroniclers as Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury. Robert de Belesme appears to have inherited his mother's violent and rapacious dispositions. Of the circumstances connected with her death, Ordericus has the following notice:—"At last the righteous Judge, who spares repentant sinners, but exercises vengeance on the impenitent, permitted that cruel woman, who had caused many great lords to be disinherited and to beg their bread in foreign lands, to fall herself by the sword of Hugh, from whom she had wrested his castle on the rock of Ige, thus unjustly depriving him of the inheritance of his fathers. In the extremity of his distress, he undertook a most audacious enterprise; for with the assistance of his three brothers, who were men of undaunted courage, he forced an entry by night into the chamber of the countess, at a placed called Bures, on the Dive, and there in revenge for the loss of his inheritance, cut off her head, as she lay in bed, just after enjoying the pleasures of the bath. The death of this cruel lady caused much joy to many persons; and the perpetrators of this bold deed instantly took the road to Apulia. Hugh de Montgomery, who was then in the place with sixteen men-at-arms, on hearing of his mother's murder, instantly pursued the assassins, but was unable to come up with them, as they had taken the precaution to break down behind them the bridge over which they had crossed the river, to prevent them falling into the hands of Mabel's avengers."—*Eccles. History*, vol. ii., p. 194.

[30] *By Strongbow, &c.*—This act of Richard earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, is related by Hanmer as follows:—"This Richard had issue by his first wife a sonne, a fine youth, and a gallant stripling, who following his father with some charge in battaile array, as he passed by Idrone in Leinster, to relieve Robert Fitz-Stephens in Wexford, upon the sight and cry of the Irishmen, whom his father was in cruell fight, gave back with his company, to the great discouragement of the hoste, yet the Earle got the victory, and commanded with the teares in his cheeke, that his son should be cut in the middle with a sword for his cowardice in battaile; he was buried in the church of the blessed Trinitie in Dublin, where now his father resteth by his side, and caused the cause of his death for an Epitaph to be set over him—

Nate ingrate mihi pugnanti tergа dedisti,
Non mihi, sed gentі & regno quoque tergа dedisti.

'My sonne unkinde didst flye the field, the father fighting hard,
Nor me, nor English birth didst weigh, nor kingdome didst regard.'

How the son pleaded with his father for the place of service, and how the father answered, *Stanihurst* hath many

Slender unwitting omission would have destroyed Jonathan. Allsoe he says yt this Robt had a younger brother named Arnulph de Montgomery, who succeeded as 4th E: of Shrewsbury, who fortified the Town of Penbro (so ye welshmen call Penbroch) wth a Castle Stakes and Turfes, weh was defended by Gerald of Windesore against all ye welshmen of South Wales . . . and yt . . . the Family of Carews of Carew Castle in this Tract, avouch themselves, to have been called (aforetimes) de Montgomerys, and yt they are descended from ye sayd Arnulph.[31] Cambden, p. 651.

Cambden allsoe describeing Montgomery Shire (which and Radnor were first made Shires in K: Henry ye 8th Reigne by Parliament) sayth yt much of ye Lands here and thereabouts, were p. 661.

circumstances hereof, and delivered, that his own father in his fury, and in the face of the enemy, cut him off, and marvaileth that Cambrensis would conceale it, and in the end taketh it as a matter of truth, both by the testimony of the Tombe in Christ Church, as also by the industry of Sir Henry Sidney, Knight, a great favourer of Antiquities, in preserving the same, to the knowledge of posterity."—*The Chronicle of Ireland*, p, 293, 294. Richard, surnamed Strongbow, was son of Gilbert earl of Pembroke, who was son of Gilbert of Tunbridge, who was son of Richard, who was son of Gilbert earl of Brion. A charter granted by Strongbow to Adam de Erford, is still preserved among the muniments of the Ormond family, which is accounted for by the fact that Thomas de Hereford married Beatrix, only daughter of Theobald Butler, thus establishing a connexion between the families of Butler and de Hereford, the latter of which soon became extinct in Ireland." See *Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, old series, vol. i., p. 502.

[31] *From ye sayd Arnulph.*—Arnulph was fourth son of Roger de Montgomery, and is generally described as keeper of Pembroke castle. He also built Carew castle in the same neighbourhood. Ordericus, *Eccles. History*, vol. ii., p. 203, says, "The prudent old earl obtained earldoms for his two remaining sons, Roger and Arnulph, who, after his death, lost them both for their treasonable practices in the reign of King Henry" (the First). The same writer, vol. iii., p. 33, in speaking of the four younger sons of the first Roger, says—"Roger, Arnulph, Philip, and Everard, had no share in their father's inheritance, the two eldest brothers (Robert and Hugh) having divided the whole, as well on this side of the sea as the other (in England and Normandy). However, Roger and Arnulph, who ranked high among their countrymen as knights and men of worth, by their father's advice, married noble wives, procured for them by him, and both were made earls, and for some time were distinguished for their power and wealth; but before their death, they forfeited for their treason the honours and estates they had acquired." Roger married the countess of March, being hence known as of *Poitou*. Arnulph married the daughter of an Irish prince. Roger had large grants in Lancashire, and Arnulph in Pembrokeshire, but it is doubtful whether they were ever created earls. Their forfeiture was incurred by their having (in common with their eldest brother Robert), espoused the cause of Robert Curt-Hose in 1102. The following is the account of Camden to which the author refers in the text:—"Upon the innermore and east creeke of this Haven, in the most pleasant country of all Wales, standeth Penbroke, the Shire-towne, one direct street upon a long narrow point, all rocke, and a forked arme of *Milford Haven*, ebbing and flowing close to the towne walles on both sides. It hath a castle, but now ruinate, and two Parish churches within the wals. But heare Giraldus who thus describes it—'A tongue of the sea shooting forth of Milford Haven, in the forked end, encloseth the principall towne of the whole country and chiefe place of *Dimetia* seated upon the ridge of a certine craggy and long shaped rock: and therefore the Britains call it *Penbro*, which signifieth as much as a head of the sea; and we, in our tongue *Penbroke*. Arnulph of Montgomery, brother to Robert Earle of Shrewsbury, first in the time of King Henry the first forfeited this place with a Castle, a very weake and slender thing, God wot, of stakes and turfes, which, afterwards, he returning into England, delivered unto Gerald of Windsor, his constable and captaine, to bee kept with a garrison of few souldiers; and immediately the Welshmen of all South Wales laid Siege to the Castle.' But such resistance made Girald and his company, more upon a resolute courage than with any forcible strength, that they missed of their purpose and dislodged. . . . . All those noble families of *Giralds* or *Giraldines* in Ireland, whom they call *Fitzgerald*, fetch their descent from the said Girald. . . . . Upon another creeke also of this haven, Carew Castle sheweth itselfe, which gave both name and originall to the notable family *de Carew*, who avouche themselves to have beene called aforetime *de Montgomery*; and have beene perswaded, that they are descended from that *Arnulph* de Montgomery of whom I spake erewhile."—*Britannica*, edition of 1637, pp. 651, 652. The *Life of Sir Peter Carew*, by John Vowell, *alias* Hooker, informs us that "his proper and ancient name is *Mongomeroye*, but by reason that one Eugenius his ancester did marry one Eugarthe, the daughter of Rhesius, Prince of Wales, and thereby made baron of the castle of Carrewe, in the county of Pembroke, the name of honor in course of time became to be the name of the family, and so the natural and proper name of Mongomeroy grew into the name of Carrewe."—*Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, lxxii., edited by Brewer and Bullen, 1867. See also *Hollinshed*, vi., 376. In 1101, Arnulph Montgomery married a daughter of Murtagh O'Brien, king of Munster; but the Irish, after their defeat of Magnus king of Norway, attacked their Norman allies, and determed to kill Arnulph. The latter, "discovering the execrable frauds of this barbarous people, made his escape to his countrymen, and lived for nearly twenty years afterwards without having any settled abode. At last, in his old age, having been reconciled with the king, to outward appearances at least, he married, and on the morrow of his nuptials fell asleep after a

given to ditto Roger de Montgomery, & he built ye Town and Castle of Montgomery, which his sayd Son Robert forfeited, to K: Hen: ye 1st, who gave them unto Baldwin Bellers, in marriage with his niece Sybill de Ffalais. It is now possessed by ye Lord Herbert of Cherbury, descended from Sr Wm Herbert ye first E: of Penbroch.[32]

The Welshmen (in spight to ye Surname of Montgomery for ye sayd Robte sake, who roughly handled them) doe (even since yt grant) call it Trebaldwin, *i.e.* Baldwin's Town.[33]

Speed, p. 445, sect. 29.

Now as to Hugh ye Eldest Son of Roger aforesayd, and so ye 2d E: of Shrewsbury: I find in Speeds History yt he and Hugh Lupus E: of Chester, under K. Wm Rufus, did Conquer Anglesey, and did use great Crueltys and Barbaritys therein; At which time Magnus K: of Norway (son of Olaus, who was ye Son of Harold Harfager) haveing Conquered Orknay Islands, Essayed to land here, but by the sayd two Earls was repelled, and in ye Conflict Hu: Montgomery was shott in his right Eye (as afores[d]) whereof he died in eight dayes. A Just Judgment of God upon him, because his eye had noe pitty to spare ye poor Brittish, whose women and children (as well as men) fought bravely (to admiration) in theire owne defence.[34]

banquet, and shortly expiring, left the guests to listen to funeral dirges instead of an epithalamium."—*Ordericus Vitalis*, vol. iii., p. 351. Robert Montgomery, son of Arnulph (his father having been expelled from Ireland, and the family possessions lost in England), retired to Scotland, where he obtained lands from Walter the Steward, and was the first of his surname known in the latter kingdom.—Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 8.

[32] *First E: of Penbroch.*—Camden describes the castle and town of Montgomery as situated not far from the east bank of the river Severn "on the rising of a Rocke, having a pleasant plaine under it." "The Englishmen," he continues, named the Castle *Montgomery*, and the Latines *Mons Gomericus*, of Roger de Montgomery, Earle of Shrewsbury; who winning much land hereabout from the Welsh, built it, as wee find in *Doomsday booke*. But, when his son Robert was attainted for Rebellion, King Henry the First gave this Castle, and the honour of Montgomery, to *Baldwin Bellers* in marriage with *Sybill of Falais* his Niece. . . . Now the Herberts are here seated, branched out from a brother of Sir William Herbert, the first Earle of Penbroke of that name."—*Britannia*, editition of 1637, pp. 661, 662.

[33] *Baldwins Town.*—An heir of Baldwin claimed this property in the reign of Henry III., that monarch having raised up the castle from the ruins in which it had long previously been permitted to lie. He granted a free burrough to be called *Montgomery*.

[34] *In their own defence.*—Hugh Montgomery was the *second*, not the eldest son of Roger de Montgomery. (See p. 449, *supra*.) The passage in Speed here referred to by the author is as follows:—"But bearing a minde still to subdue all Wales, he had first in his eye the iland *Anglesey*, against which he sent Hugh Montgomery Earle of Shrewesbury, and Hugh Lupus Earle of Chester, who there executed their conquests with very great cruelty, cutting off the noses, arms, and hands of their resisters, without regard of Age or Sexe, nor sparing either places or Persons, sacred or profane. At which very time it chanced Magnus King of Norway, the son of Olanus, (the sonne of Harold Harfager) to haue made his conquest on the Isles of Orkeney, and then wafting along the seas, sought to come on land in Anglesey, whom to impeach, these Earles made all their powers: where Hugh Montgomery, armed at all parts, but only the sight of his Beuer, was shot into the right eye, whereof he dyed eight dayes after."—*Chronicles*, p. 445, edition of 1632. Giraldus Cambrensis, Ordericus Vitalis, and the Saga mention the event of Hugh de Montgomery's death, but they make no mention of the atrocities here charged by Speed to his account. Ordericus says—"However one day when the inhabitants rushed to the shore in great confusion, to oppose the Northmen, who appeared to be preparing to attack the English from their ships, Earl Hugh, putting spurs to his horse, and getting the people together in a body, by virtue of his superior authority, that they might not be cut off in detail, arrayed them against the enemy. Meanwhile a brutal Norwegian, perceiving the gallant earl thus actively riding about, suddenly shot him, alas! at the devil's instigation with a wizzing arrow. The earl fell from his horse the same instant, breathing his last in the flowing tide." The Saga relates that Montgomery's mortal wound was inflicted by king Magnus himself:—"King Magnus shot with the bow, but Hugo the brave was all over in armour, so that nothing was bare about him excepting one eye. King Magnus let fly an arrow at him, as also did a Halogaland man who was beside the King. They both shot at once. The one shaft hit the nose-screen of the helmet which was bent by it to one side, and the other hit the earl's eye, and went through his head, and that was found to be the king's." The version of *Giraldus* is as follows:—"Pirates from the Orkneys had come into the island sound in long ships, and the earl hearing that they were near the shore, ventured too rashly into the sea on a strong horse to encounter them. Then the commander of the fleet, whose name was Magnus, and who was standing on the prow of his ship, shot an arrow at him, and although the earl was in complete armour of steel which entirely protected his person from head to foot, except his eyes, the arrow pierced his right eye, and penetrating the brain, he fell dead into the sea."—*Ordericus Vitalis, Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii., pp. 218, 219, and note.

Cambden allsoe relates (out of records) yt Achelfleda, a lady of ye Mercians, first built ye City of Bridge North (corruptly soe called instead of Bragh morf, which is a Forest adjoining) which City was walled about by ye sayd Robt de Belesme, brother and Heir of ye sayd Hugh de Montgomery.[35] p. 591 of Shropshire.

And Cambden says further (p. 591) yt ye sd Roger did cause repaire an ancient ruined nunnery in Wenlock, wherein St Millburge ye holy virgin lived and was entombed, he converting it into a Pryary for black monks.[36] ditto, p. 591.

Hitherto wee have remembred Rogr his two sonns Hugh and Robert, ye Last of whom wee Left in ppetuall prison under Forfeiture, whereby his lands were disposed of to others: and his blood tainted So yt ye Honor could not descend from him: he haveing so barbarously abused his sons, by whom wee may well suppose, there was noe Legall issue Left (if any at all), noe

See Speed, fol. 1074. Shropshire. Of Dissolutions towards the end. ye sd Roger 16 of Wm. Conq. 1081, gave lands valued at Dissolution to £615 4s 3d. See Speed, ditto, fol. 1074.[37]

[35] *Of ye sayd Hugh de Montgomery.*—The following is the passage of Camden to which the text refers:—"Then saw wee on the right banks of the *Severn*, *Brug Morfe* (commonly, but corruptly called *Bridg-north*) so called of *Burg* or *Burrough*, and *Morfe*, and a forest adjoining, whereas before time it was named simply *Burgh*, A Towne fortified with wals, a ditch, a stately Castle, and the Severn, which betweene the Rockes runneth downe with a great fall: seated also upon a Rocke, out of which the waies leading into the upper part of the Towne were wrought out. *Achelfleda* Lady of the Mercians first built it, and Robert de Belesme Earle of Shrewesbury walled it."—*Britannia*, p. 591, edition of 1637. But Robert de Belesme did not succeed to the possession of this place as *heir* to Hugh, but by purchase from the king. "On the death of Earl Hugh," says Ordericus (vol. iii., p. 220), "his brother Robert de Belesme presented himself to William Rufus and offered him three thousand pounds sterling for his brother's earldom. Having thus secured it, he exercised great cruelties on the Welsh during four years. He built a very strong castle at Brignorth, on the river Severn, transferrring the town and people of Quatford to the new fortress." The original fortress at that point on the Severn was built by Achfleda, (a sister of king Alfred), so early as the year 912. "Robert de Belesme, who was one of the most able engineers of his age, surrounded it with walls, and created the Norman fortress, which, in after times, stood many sieges, but no trace of it is left."—*Ibid*, *note* 1.

[36] *For black monks.*—Wenlock was celebrated in early times for its lime, and subsequently for its copper mines, "but much more known," says Camden, "in the Saxon dayes for a most antient Nunnery, where *Milburga*, that most holy Virgin, lived in great devotion, and was entombed: the which Nunnery Earle Roger Montgomerie repaired and replenished with Monks."—*Britannia*, p. 591. Leland, in noticing this place (v. 182) says "*Wenlock*, a markett towne, where was an abbey of black monkes, passing over an highe hille called *Wenlock Edge*." Milburga, who founded the nunnery in the year 680, was daughter to king Meroald (whose body was buried there), and niece to Wulpher, king of Mercia. After the setting in of the reformation, the bones of St. Milburga were burned in the market-place, opposite the entrance into the church-yard. The abbey church was built at Wenlock by Roger de Montgomery about the year 1080. During the progress of that building the tomb of St. Milburga was broken open, and from it, says William of Malmesbury, a sweet odour issued, which, among other miracles, had the effect of *curing the King's Evil*." The remains of Roger de Montgomery's church, consisting of a south transept, south aisle, and three massive round Saxon arches of an adjoining building, shew it to have been very magnificent. It was in length from east to west about 240 feet; and from north to south, including the transept, about 120. The choir appears to have been terminated by a semicircular chapel. The cloister makes a farm house, and the bottom of the south aisle is converted into stabling. Its yearly revenue at the dissolution was £401. It belongs now (1806) to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne." See Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, vol. iii., p. 21, and *note*.

[37] *Ditto folio* 1074.—In the "Catalogue of Religious Houses, Colledges, and Hospitals sometime in England and Wales," given in Speed's *Chronicles*, p. 1074, there are the following entries:—

"Shrewsbury	S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Milb.	Roger Earle of Montgomerie 1088 the 16 of K. Wm. the Conqueror.	Blacke Monkes, £615 4s 3d.
"Wenlock	S. Milburge	Leofrick E. of Mercia *per* Hollinshead Roger Earle of Montgomery & Salop, 1801 11 Wm. Conqueror *per* Fabian,	Blacke Monkes, £434 0s 1s."

Roger de Montgomery made all his grants to the church after his marriage with his second wife, Adeliza du Puiset, "who was remarkable," says Ordericus, "for her good sense and piety, and frequently used her influence with her husband to befriend the monks and protect the poor. In consequence, the earl repented of the ill turns he had often done the monks, and prudently endeavoured to efface his former errors, by his subsequent amendment of life." Ordericus then quotes from earl Roger's charter, "made freely before the great officers of his household," in which, after the mention of several liberal endowments for churches in Normandy, the donor says—"Likewise in England, I give two manors, Owne and Merston, in Staffordshire; the tithe of my cheese and wool at Paulton, and all that I have at Melbourne, in Cambridgeshire; and one hide of land at Grafham in Sussex; and the land

memoires (of such) remaining extant.[38] Yet nevertheless his brother Arnulph (how he came to be Earle is not recorded that I find, yet he must needs (in all probability) be thought to have been largely provided for, in Lands by his sayd Father Roger and by his Eldest brother Hugh: for notwithstanding of his brother Rob^te forfeiture and loss of Montgomery Castle, Towne and Lands thereabouts, given to Baldwin Bellers aforesayd, yett I find this Arnulph was 4^th E: of Shrewsbury, & was originall of y^e Carews aforesayd, & y^t hee Fortified Penbro as aforesayd: And so by his father & Eldest brothers Grants to him out of their Large acquests & by his owne Conduct, or by K: W^m Rufus favour: he might have had very great Estate, & by y^e prudent Clemency of K: Henry y^e 1^th towards him (hee being unconcerned in his brother Rob^ts faults, & he allsoe being a Powerfull man) might have been restored to y^e Honor of Earle of (and part of y^e lands in & about) Shrewsbury: of w^ch y^e Tytle tooke y^e name: I say upon these & other considerations: as of many worthy actions performed by him in y^e warrs, This Arnulph might have been restored by y^e Sayd K: Henry Lest hee should be too much alienated from him, to Duke Rob^ts claime, as beinge exasperated for what was done to his brother de Belesme in prejudice to his right of succession; but where History is silent, or Latent, I will not pretend to divulge my Conjectures:[39]

See further my pages 19 & 20 of this treatiss.

Parliaments; London, printed for Jo. Ridgell, A° 1682. By a naimless Author.

I find (p. 241) in Vita Regis Stephani, the author speakeing of a Parliament held at Boum Vadum (*i.e.* Oxford) upon the Kings complaint to those whom hee there calls Potent laicks; and by Councell or perswasion of the magnates or Proceres Regni, I find, I say, that (inter alios) one of the lords committed to ward was the great Roger of Salisbury (the great favourite of the two W^ms Kings) afores^d, the charge against him was this chiefly, viz., that without leave of y^e King and Parliament, he had built & fortifyed a castle.

Now in this Devises,[40] (this was y^e name of y^e castle) he did ensnare himself. The name & fate thereof (sayeth the author) hath been since found (observed more than once) & yet they write that it was the fairest castle in all Europe. This anonymous author cites Malmsbury (p. 242) who was well acquainted with that famous Roger de Montgomery first earl of Salisbury, who thus gave occasion, that (at this Parliament) the militia was settled in King and Parl: upon which this castle of Devises (which Roger called his own) was presently demanded, & (hee being then in custody) it was at length yeelded. * * * * * *

I suppose this Montgomery (spelled as above in y^e citation of y^e record) to have been either Count James Montgomery, the son of James de Lorge (who did great things for the Protestant religion in France, and who A° 1559 was put to death by y^e queen regent, or els he was that Neile

of Wulfine, the goldsmith, at Chichester." "He also began the erection of a new monastery in honour of St. Peter, prince of apostles, near the east gate of his own capital town of Shrewsbury, on the river Meole, where it runs into the Severn. . . . He gave to St. Peter the whole suburb situated outside the east gate, in token of which he pledged his gauntlets on the altar. This grant was made in 1083. "He died there in the year 1094, on the sixth of the calends of August (27th July), and was buried with distinction in the new church, between the two altars."—Ordericus Vitalis, *Eccl. History*, vol. ii., pp. 195, 196, 203.

[38] *Remaining extant.*—See p. 450, *supra.*

[39] *My conjectures.*—See pp. 451, 452, *supra.* It does not appear that Arnulph received any of his grants from his second brother, Hugh, who, with Robert, the eldest brother, divided all their father's estates. Arnulph, through his father's influence, obtained large grants from the crown.

[40] *Devises.*—In ancient records this place is called *Devisa*, *De Vies*, and *Divisis*. The name seems to have arisen from the supposition that the town was *divided* between the king and the bishops of Salisbury. The beauty and strength of its castle in early times were the wonder of Europe. It was built in the reign of Henry I., and the site has been lately converted into pleasure grounds. See *Archæologia* vol. ii., p. 191; *Penny Cyclopædia* vol. viii., p. 448.

Montgomery who was killed before the walls of Dola in Britannia Armorica, A° 1590 both mentioned p. 25 of this my treatise, and p. 591 from y^e^ beginning of this work, Queen Elizabeth being contemporarys with them.

Sir Nicholas Montgomery of Cotely in Darbyshire his heiress Elizabeth was marryed to Morevill of , & so he had that Montgomerys estate, w^ch^ together with ye said Morevills lands[41] by marriage descended to y^e^ first lord Baron of Okum[42] y^e^ lord Cromwell who quartered the said Morevills coate with his own : as appeared by a taffeta scutcheon sent by y^e^ countess of Ardglass from her late lord (the last earl of Ardglass) his funeral, he being descended that way as well from the Morevills & Montg. afors^d^ as from the L^d^ Cromwell baron of Okum, w^ch^ was sent by the s^d^

[41] *Ye said Morevill's Lands.*—The great Anglo-Norman family of de Moreville, or de Morwell, settled in England immediately after the Conquest in 1066, but it is soon afterwards found north of the Tweed, and in possession of great power and distinction. So early as the reign of David I., the office of High Constable of Scotland had become hereditary in this family. Hugh de Morvil witnesses a charter from this king to a Robert de Brus of all lands "from the bounds of Dunegal of Strath Nith to the bounds of Randulph Meschines," in Estrahanet, now Strath Annan. Richard de Morvill witnesses a charter from Malcolm IV. to Walter Fitzalan, his steward, of the lands of "Birchinside and Leggardswode, by their right bounds to wit, as fully and wholly as King David my grandfather held the lands in demesne." Richard and William de Morevil witness a second grant of this king, to the same Walter Fitzalan, of other lands, together with a confirmation of the office of High Steward of Scotland, which had become hereditary in his family. It was customary for the great nobles at that period to hold and sell their fellowmen as slaves or serfs. Thus, we find that Richard de Morvil, the constable of Scotland, "sold to Henry St. Clair, Edmond the son of Bonda, and Gillemichel his brother, and their sons and daughters, and all their progeny, for the sum of three merks; but on this condition; that if they leave St. Clair by his consent, they shall not pass to the lordship of any other lord, nor to any other lord or land than De Morvill." See Cosmo Innes's *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, pp. 120, 141, 142, 201, 203, 207. The members of this family gave large grants to the Church, and founded several religious houses in Scotland. Richard de Morevill founded the celebrated monastery of Kilwinning in Ayrshire. His wife, Alicia Lancaster, and his daughter Dorathea, married to Philip de Horssey, assisted in the pious work. Pont's notice of this foundation concludes as follows:—"The revenues of this abby very grate and maney by their proper lands. The founder thereof Sir Richard Morvil, layes interrid in the new cemetery of this church, under a tome of lymestone, framed coffin-vayes, of old polished vorke, without any superscriptioune or epitaphe. The structure of this monastery wes solid and grate, all of freestone cutt; the church fair and staitly, after ye modell of yat of Glasgow, with a faire steeple of 7 score foote of hight, zet standing I myselve did see it." Pont's account is printed in James Dobie's notice of Kilwinning, which appeared in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*. See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 224. "Between the years 1196 and 1214, Ellen of Moreville in exchange for the land in Cunningham, which William of Moreville her brother, devised to the monks of Melrose by his last will, namely, the land which Simeon of Beumunt held, gave them a certain piece of land in the territory of Killebeccokestun (or Gillebecchistun). . . . . She gave to the monks also common pasture in the territory of the township, wherever her own cattle, or the cattle of her men went to pasture, for seventy sheep with their lambs till two years old, or as many wethers; for forty cows and a bull, with their calves under two years old; for forty oxen; for eight horses; and for four swine with their porkers under three years old; together with all the common easements of the township, and free egress and regress to and from the pasture, through the granter's lands and the lands of her men. The grant was confirmed by Alan of Galloway, constable of Scotland, the son of Ellen of Morville, and of her husband Roland of Galloway; and by King William the Lion. The lands of Harehope in Tweeddale (included in the above grant) belonged to the abbey of Melrose at the Reformation."—*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i., p. 214. "Between 1150 and 1153, Beatrix de Belchaump (wife of Hugh de Moreville) granted to the canons of Dryburgh all that land of Rogerburgh which she bought of Roger the janitor. Her grant was confirmed about 1153 by Richard de Moreville her son. Between 1150 and 1153 King David I. confirmed to them all the grants and alms which Hugh de Moreville and Beatrix de Belchaump his wife gave them for their maintenance."—*Ibid.*, p. 473.

[42] *Ye first baron of Okum.*—The founder of the family of Cromwell, barons Okum or Okeham, was a splendid illustration of what Mr. Smiles would call *Self Help*, but whether he is mentioned as such by this author, we do not, at this moment, recollect. His name was Thomas Cromwell, and although he was born a blacksmith's son, he became earl of Essex, vicegerent, and principal minister of Henry VIII. And although he lost the confidence of the king, and was condemned and executed by act of parliament, all his grand titles dying with him, yet there was such noble vigour in his family that the name continued to be a great one in the annals of England and Ireland. His eldest son, Gregory, to whom our author refers, was a member of the English house of peers in 1539, appearing as baron Cromwell of Okeham. On his death he was succeeded by his son, sir Henry, whose son, sir Edward, the third baron, settled in Lecale, probably about the year 1604, being appointed in the following year governor of Lecale, Dundrum, and the borders thereof. For his transactions with Phelomy Macartane, the native chieftain of that territory, and his (Cromwell's) descendants, see pp. 218, 219, 223, 224, 295, 307, *supra*.

Countess unto W^m^ Montgomery of Rosemount esq^r^, from y^e^ s^d^ funeral.[43] This account was given

[43] *From ye said funeral.*—Taffeta was the material of which achievements or hatchments used at funerals were made. See p. 144, *supra*. For the heraldic meaning of the term scutcheon, see p. 143, *supra*. Vere Essex, fourth and last earl of Ardglass, was born in 1623, and died on the 26th of November, 1687. In 1672, he married Catherine, only daughter of James Hamilton of Bangor and Erinagh, by whom he left one child, Elizabeth, born on the 3rd of December, 1674. His countess, who afterwards remarried with general Nicholas Price of Hollymount, survived until November, 1725, being then 84 years of age. The family of the last earl of Ardglass appears to have always lived on very neighbourly terms with the Montgomerys of the Ards, and this sending of the taffeta scutcheon was in acknowledgment, no doubt, of such friendly relations. The last earl of Ardglass was one of the principal persons in attendance at the funeral of the first earl of Mount-Alexander, in 1663. See p. 245, *supra*. Ardglass, from which the Cromwells derived the name of their earldom is one of the most attractive places in the north of Ireland, both by its natural beauties and historical associations. Its name is translated 'the green height or promontory,' which promontory is surrounded on three sides by the sea, and commands a magnificent view, including the bay of Dundrum, the mountains of Mourne, the Isle of Man, and the blue summits of the Ayrshire hills. Of this place there is little known prior to the invasion of De Courcy, although, judging from its position, and the eagerness with which it was seized by the Anglo-Normans, Ardglass must have had a prominent place in the early history of Ulster. Jordan de Saukeville settled here in the time of De Courcy, and was confirmed in his possessions *de Ardglas* by Henry III., in the year 1217. At the commencement of the fifteenth century, a trading company from London was established in this town; and, to encourage its operations, Henry IV., in the year 1401–2, granted to Nicholas Baylly four messuages and four carucates of land in "Grenecastle, Ardglass, Ardwel (now Ardfole), and Rosse, in Ultonia." Early in the same century, Janico Dartus, or D'Artois, held the manors of Ardglass, Ardwel, and Rosse, with their spiritualities, from Richard duke of York, as heir of the earl of March, he being then (1426) under age and in the guardianship of the crown. In the year 1433, the town of Ardglass was destroyed by fire. The cause of this destruction is thus noticed in the annals of Ireland at that year:—"A great contest arose in the Dubh-trian (Dufferin) between Niall Garv O'Donnell, M'Quillan, and Robert Savadge on the one side, and Owen O'Neill and Mac Donnell of Scotland, Lord of the Isles, on the other, in which the latter were victorious. Such of the other party as escaped from the Dufferin were mostly put to the sword at the Pass of Newcastle. O'Neill with his party then marched to Ardglass, which they burned; afterwards Mac Donnell with his Scotts proceeded from Ardglass in their ships to Inisowen, in Donegall." In the year 1453, Ardglass was the scene of another great conflict, in which the combined forces of the English and the Savages defeated the Irish, under the leadership of O'Neill, Magenis, and Macartan. The annals of Ireland have the following notice of this battle, at the year 1453:—"The O'Neills of Claneboy sustained a great overthrow at Ardglass, by the Savadges and the English of Dublin, who, with a large fleet, pursued as far as the northern sea a Welsh fleet, by which the shipping of Dublin had been plundered, and the archbishop of Dublin taken prisoner; and on their return, Henry, the son of O'Neill Buidhe, met the English at Ardglass; and they took him prisoner, and slew Cu-Uladh, the son of Cahwar Magennis, heir to the lordship of Iveagh; Hugh Magennis; Macartan; and also fourteen leaders from the Route; and their entire loss amounted to five hundred and twenty." During Tyrone's rebellion, Ardglass was once more the scene of furious conflict, one of its castles gallantly holding out against the Irish during a long siege, until relieved in June, 1601, by the deputy Mountjoy, who came expressly with a fleet from Dublin for this purpose. After the relief of the castle, the besiegers were overtaken at Dunsford, and entirely defeated; and two other castles in Ardglass garrisoned by the Irish were then surrendered to Mountjoy. The castle which Simon Jordan so valiantly defended is still known by his name. During the rebellion of 1641, the Irish held Ardglass for a time, but were soon expelled. Since that period the town has been at rest, and has decayed or improved in proportion to the neglect or care of its owners. There still exist the remains of at least four castles in Ardglass, and there were probably five, all supposed to have been built by Anglo-Normans. Those best known, however, were King's castle, Jordan's castle, Margaret's castle, and Newerk or New Works. *King's Castle* stood on an elevation at the west end of Ardglass. "The roof consisted of large broad flags so placed in the walls that they supported each other without the use of timber. The walls were breast high above the roof on which turrets were placed. To one of these turrets, on the eastern side, there was a passage from the roof by a flight of steps. A flight of stone stairs led from the ground to the summit. A tower, of which the ruins remained with the castle, was connected with it by a covered way. Previous to the commencement of the present century this edifice underwent a partial repair, the different apartments having been rendered comfortable, and fit for the reception of a respectable family. About the same period it was occupied as a temporary barrack. A good drawing of *King's Castle*, by Nicholl, is given in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., p. 313." *Jordan's Castle* is situated "in the centre of the town, and is the loftiest and most elegantly constructed of all the others. . . It has a crypt, and the walls are surmounted by four turrets. On a stone near the summit are some armorial bearings—a cross and three horse shoes—supposed to be those of the family whose name it bears." *Margaret's Castle* "is a plain edifice, almost square in its general form; it stands about 250 feet south-west of Jordan's. History and tradition are alike silent as regards Margaret's castle." *Newark Castle*, or *New Works*, is supposed to have been rebuilt by Shane O'Neill about the year 1570. "The greater portion of this edifice was, in 1790, converted by Lord Lecale into what is now Ardglass castle, the residence of Major Beauclerk. Since that time there has been no such place as the *New Works*, that cognomen being entirely unknown to the present inhabitants, as applied to a castle or building. . . . With respect to two edifices usually called *Cowed* Castle and *Horned* Castle, and which

by the lady Elizabeth Cromwell[44] to M^r Montgomery of Ballymagown[45] near Rosem^t afors^d. in com. Downe et Regno Hiberniæ.[46]

Therefore I will descend to Latter times & relate what I have observed concerning some few remarkable persons of y^t surname & of Lesser note for dignity & estate.

And first Let us heare (our often named author) Çambden in his descriptions of Scotland, saying, That whence these Montgomerys should come he could nɔt tell, But this hee knew, y^t out of Normandy, this Surname came into England & y^t divers Familys there were of y^t name & y^t That in Essex from w^ch S^r Tho. Montgomery (Kn^t of y^e order of y^e Garter in K: Ed: y^e 4th Raigne) descended: gave Arms but a Little different from those of y^e E: of Eglinton.[47] Camden, p. 271, Scotiæ. S^r T. M. eg: Barteriæ.

The same Cambden also notes That John D: of Burbon taken in y^e bataile of Agincourt, was detained 19 years prisoner (in y^e Castle of Melburn nere the River of Trent in Darbyshire) under custody of S^r Nicholas Montgomery y^e younger.[48] P. 554.

Item, I find y^t (long before these two Familys florished) one Phillip Montgomery seneschall of K: Edw: y^e 1^st his Fforrest of Canoco, in Staffordshire, had a Tryall at Law, in behalfe of y^e K: against Randulph Quintyn Balife of y^e free Haye of Acrewas; Take it in y^e words of y^e Record, cited by y^e L^d Chiefe Justice Coke, in y^e fourth part of his Institutes ch: 73: p. 313 as followeth; he cites y^e case concerning Fforrest Laws, in Trin. Term 14°: Edward 1: in Banco, Stafford Shire w^ch are in haec verba vizt: Rot. 7, A° X^iii

Philipus de Montgomery qui sequitur dno Regl. petit versus Randulphum Quyntin Balivum custodiae liberae Hayae, Regis, de Acrewas qua pertinet ad Sergentiam Regis Seneschall: Forestae Regis de Canoco, et quae ab eadem Sergentia alienata est, sine assensu predecessorum Regis et Regum Angliæ, et Randulphus venit, et per licentiam reddit dno Regi, inde seizinam suam &c.

modern writers have always included to make up the number to five, they were merely flanking towers or bastions to the curtain walls of Newark Castle, and, therefore, ought never to have been included or designated as castles." The foregoing notice has been abridged from the account of Ardglass and its castles written by the late J. A. Pilson, and printed in the columns of the *Downpatrick Recorder*.

[44] *Lady Elizabeth Cromwell.*—This lady—who explained to Hugh Montgomery of Ballymagoun the marriage alliance between the family of Montgomery and Cromwell in England—was the only child, as already stated, of the last earl of Ardglass, by his countess, Catherine Hamilton. See note 43, *supra*. On the death of her father, she succeeded to the estates and English barony of Cromwell, whilst the Irish titles of Lecale and Ardglass, being limited to male issue, became extinct. As baroness Cromwell, she assisted at two distinguished ceremonials, viz., the funeral of queen Mary, and the coronation of queen Anne. On the 28th of October, 1703, she married the right hon. Edward Southwell of Kinsale, county of Cork, and King's Weston, near Bristol. She died in childbirth on the 31st March, 1709, leaving three sons, Edward, Robert, and Thomas; and one daughter, who died unmarried.

[45] *Mr. Montgomery of Ballymagown.*—This was the gentleman known as "My Lord's Hugh," to distinguish him from several other Hughs of this surname. See pp. 366—384, *supra*.

[46] *Regno Hiberniæ.*—The paragraph ending here, and the three preceding ones, are written by the author on a loose leaf, and directed by him "to be incerted next to ye mark p: 13." These paragraphs are now printed in the place thus indicated by William Montgomery.

[47] *Ye E: of Eglinton.*—Camden's words are, p. 21, *Scotia*:—"But whence the said surname (Montgomery) should come, a man can hardly tell: this I know that out of Normandie it came to England, and that divers families there were of the same name; but that in Essex, from which sir Thomas Montgomerie, Knight of the Order of the Garter, descended, in the reign of Edward the Fourth, gave Armes a little different from these."—Edit. of 1637.

[48] *Sr Nicholas Montgomery ye younger.*—Camden's words are, as translated by Holland:—"Then not farr from *Trent* is *Melborn*, a castle of the kings now decaying, wherein John Duke of Burbon, taken prisoner in the bataile of Agincourt, was detained nineteen yeeres, under the custody of Sir Nicholas Montgomery the younger." *Gough's* translation represents the prisoner as being "kept *nine* years in the custody of Nicholas Montgomery,"—not Sir Nicholas. Leland (I. 24) describes Melburne castle, two miles from Duddington, as "pretty and in metely good repair." At the time of the Conquest, the lands belonging to this castle constituted a royal demesne, and so continued until the time of Henry II., who bestowed the estate on Hugh de Beauchamp, whose son Oliver gave it to his son-in-law, William Fitz-Geoffry, as a marriage portion with his daughter.—Camden, *Britannia*, edited by Gough, vol. ii., pp. 415, 419, and *notes*.

It is to be observed y^t if any Forest bee appendant to a Castle then y^e Constable of y^t Castle is ever (by y^e Fforest Law) cheife warden of y^e forest (which is so appendant) as this Phillip was.

1664. Ed. Monty.

Item, There bee two families of y^e Montgomerys in England (partly knowne to my selfe) y^e one in Shropeshire, worth at present about four hundred pounds p ann. I saw Edward a younger son of this house in London, An^o 1664; he was Q^r. M^r. to y^e E: of Oxfords Troop & did avouch himself to be a Cadett of Roger de Montgomery (y^e Castle of Shrewsbury which he built being in y^t shire) & said his fathers estate was brought low by adhereing to K: Ch: y^e martir, and by paying composition money to y^e usurpers on y^t account. I had seen his elder brother William, An^o 1656, in Westminster, when I was soliciteing to be admitted to compound for myselfe.[49] but in y^e said yeare 1664 y^e sayd W^m was then at home w^th his old father, & with his owne wife & children whose dwelling was not farr from Shrewsbury.

1656. Wm. Monty. in Shropeshire.

The other family was of Acton Burnell[50] in * * probably descended from y^e s^d S^r Thom: Montgomery & my acquaintance with y^e old Gentl. & his two Sons was very accidental, & because at present I know noe more, I now doe mention these Montgomerys Last of y^t surname in England (but y^e Heralds office can informe y^e curious more fully) you may be pleased to take y^e Story thereof as followeth.

An account of my own knowledge concerning Lewis Montgomery and his father.

As I was goeing to y^e old exchange A^o 1665 I lookt into a large Shopp, wherein I thought there was noething but flax, I went in, to satisfy my curiosity & asked one of y^e apprentices (an handsome youth about 17 yeares old) whether Flax was Sold by wholesayle in London: Yes, sir, said hee, but what you see here is Slave Silk undyd, unspunn, & not throved, adding that his master traded into Turkey for noething els, but such Silk in Balls & twisted Bundles, & kept a Throveinghouse & men at worke: but as he was speaking, being called upon by y^e name of Lewis Montgomery, hee went away in haste. I fearing hee might bee sent out on bussines, prayed y^e other apprentice to follow and tell him I was of his Surname & desired to speake with him, before he went any way abroad. After a while he returned & haveing discoursed a little of his family, I obtained leave for him to goe with mee to y^e next Tavern, y^t wee might bee acquainted & talke further than was fitt to doe in y^e shopp: wee drank & sate together near half an hour, but hee not being in any reasonable manner, able to satisfy my inquisitive curiosity, he prayed to know my Name and Lodgeing w^ch he tooke with his pen: & after two dayes I had his billet of Invitation to dine w^th his father, as by his order: I went (as desired) to his house in Milk Street, & was curteously wellcomed by y^e old Gentl: who told mee y^t y^e whole estate of Acton Burnell had been his Ancestors, but by Iniquity & calamity of Times and some improvidences & necessitys of his forefathers, it was all (to a little) gone from them and him: being in y^e beginning of K: Hen: y^e 8^ths raigne five thousand Pounds old rent p Ann^o: There was at dinner w^th mee the Father a widower, & y^e sayd Lewis. There was allsoe at a side board another Son named Stephen in his Long coats, about five yeares of Age & a daughter about fower yeares elder, (Shee was black haired but very comely of a pure white and red complexion,) her brothers hayre was of a mouse cullor, and wee all were attended by one serving man.

[49] *Acton Burnell.*—Acton Burnell was situated a little westward from Wenlock in Shropshire.

[50] *Compound for myselfe.*—See p. 199, *supra*.

The old gentl[n] (whose name & y[e] memoires of his discourse are Lost) gave out his arms as followeth viz: Hee beareth quarterly for all y[e] feilds argent; in y[e] first three flowers de lice Azure, in y[e] 2[d] one spread Eagle, propper, y[e] 3[d] as y[e] 2[d] & y[e] fourth as y[e] first. It is probable (as I said before) That y[e] s[d] S[r] Tho: Montgomery was cheife of this family, it being soe great an Estate & enough then for a K[t] of y[e] Garter, & y[t] this old gentl[n] was but a Cadet thereof: who told me, y[t] y[e] spread Eagle belonged to y[e] family of an Heiress, w[th] whom his Ancestor had matched in marriage, y[e] Account whereof is allsoe Lost, w[th] y[e] other memoires aforesayd.

But I mett w[th] y[e] sayd Stephen in Newtown of y[e] Ards on Saturday next following K: Williams arrivall at Carrickfergus, & thus it was viz[t]. & Com. Downe. A° 1690

I went y[t] day to Newtown mercat to learn news & being at Provest Montgomerys,[51] I heard y[e] trumpeter of y[e] troop of Guards (under y[e] Lord Marlebroughs command as I think) calling to y[e] Sayd Stephen (by his S[r] name) to come in: I observed him to be a pretty propper well timbred man much resembling my son, in face, Stature & Shape of body, w[ch], & y[e] desire to understand news made me invite him to a chamber, where I treated him & entertained him w[th] discourse, hee seemed mighty Joyfull to meet any of this Surname, whereof he thought there had been none in Ireland; he prayed to be informed of our Family, & I did so. I did in part content him, referring y[e] further Account, to gratify him therewith, when he came to Rosemount (w[ch] was but 8 miles distant from his quarters in Bangor) & gained his promise to visit me there. He was Brigadeer to y[t] troope of guards & in very good Equipage, civill & well bred; w[ch] made me covet his company at my house, desiring to know more of his Family. It was y[e] 17[th] day of June 1690 y[t] y[e] s[d] Stephen Montgomery (who writes his name as here spelled) came to rosemount; he gave me account of his Education, & services in Employments at Court & of quitting them, to take y[e] Post of a Brigadeer in y[t] troop of Guards, to be neer y[e] Kings person & to Signalize himselfe in this warr of Ireland. He told mee allsoe of his fathers death & Sisters marriage (w[ch] I think not proper to be here recounted) by w[ch] & other discourse, I understood he was y[e] same Stephen whom I had seen in coats & brother to y[e] girle aforesayd. Hee told me y[t] his elder brother Lewis aforenamed after his fathers death & for about five years after his apprentishipp ended, haveing trafficked to Turkey in y[e] Levant (in y[e] same trade wherein hee had served) he quitted merchandizing & marryed Doctor Arrice his daughter, who brought him a good portion, & y[t] he was then liveing in a pretty house with gardens & Lands, in a quarter of a mile southward of S[t] Albans, haveing neare four Hundred pounds rent per anno besides w[ht] he held in his owne hand & occupation. In requittal of w[ch] relations I gave unto y[e] sayd Stephen a briefe account of y[e] Family of Ards & Mount-Alexander; of their descendants, theire Estates, titles, & missfortunes, for w[ch] last part, he was very sorry & much concerned: & (of himselfe) sayd that on all fitt occasions, & in all companys, w[th] all y[e] Honor and advantages he could devise, he would make mention of y[e] Same, & soe we parted well pleased w[th] one another. Acct. by Stephen bro: of Lewis aforsd.

The reader is desired (in like manner) to be contented & satisfyed, w[th] y[e] premisses, till a larger history of y[e] English or other Montgomerys, may be had, for his peruseall and entertainment: this being only *raptim scripta* * * * I have wondered that there haveing been

[51] *Provest Montgomerys.*—See p. 395, *supra*.

very many Montgomerys none have written of the familys * few gen[ll] Instances * * * Montgomerys are mentioned: I find p. 149 of charles Molloys first book of marine affairs, ch: ii titule of protection, by the law of Nations viz:

That Q: Eliz demanded Morgar (?) and other subjects fled into france for treason against her, the french kings answer was, viz.

Si quid in Gallia machinarentur, Regem, ex Jure, in illos.

POSTSCRIPT.

Reader! because page 12 cannot in y[e] margent containe what (since y[e] transcription hereof) I have mett with in Speeds Tables of y[e] Account given of dissolved Religious houses (tempor: Hen: 8[th]) I have here incerted some memoirs of y[e] English Montgomerys therein mentioned. And first of Roger de Montgomery, Camdens account of him (related in y[e] s[d] page) is confirmed with this further viz. that s[d] Wenlock was by y[e] s[d] Roger, A° 1081: 16[th] of W[m] Conq: (as Fabian says) endowed, & in y[e] return of y[e] s[d] dissolution it was valued at lb.434 oosh. 01d. per annum. See *Speeds history, Book, nynth* ch: 21, on y[e] backside of folio 1074

Item on y[e] same side (at y[e] topp) I find that y[e] s[d] Roger did, in y[e] same year of our Lord 1081, endowe y[e] monastry of black monks in Shrewsbury, dedicated to St. Peter, St. Paul & St. Melby, y[e] value whereof returned to K: H[7]. 8[th] on its dissolution was per annum lb.615 oosh. ood. but there be no benefactors named to it since it was founded by him. I find also on y[e] backsyde of folio of Speeds history 1052 of the dissolutions, That Sybill daughter of y[e] s[d] Roger Montgomery, widow of Robert Fitz-hamon, temp. Hen. I[mi], founded a Preceptoria in Shengay, for the Knights Templars, who were afterwards Knts hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, which was returned to K: H: 8: worth lib.175 04sh. 06d.

Item on y[e] backsyde of folio 1076 in ditto Speeds history I find W[m] Montgomery (cum aliis) recorded a benefactor to y[e] Priory of black monks benedictines in Tutbury; dedicated to St. Mary returned value 244lbs. 16s. 8d.[52]

A FEW MEMOIRS OF YE MONTGOMERYS OF SCOTLAND.

The Place where they abound most & are most eminent is y[e] Shire of Air and Bailairry of Coningham, (w[ch] being a Saxon word) is by Interpretation, y[e] Kings Habitation, Steade, or Dale.[53]

[52] *Value 244lbs. 16s. 8d.*—The author has given correctly the several references to Speed's table, as stated in the text.

[53] *Steade, or Dale.*—The latter part of this local name. viz. *ham*, or *hame*, looks like a Saxon termination, but several well-informed writers claim the first portion of the name as of Gaelic origin. "The combination of a Gaelic substantive with a Saxon termination," says Paterson, (*Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i. p. 3), "may be accounted for by the circumstance that the name, so far as we are aware, does not occur in any document prior to the adoption of patronymics, after the accession of Edgar to the throne of Scotland, or what Chalmers calls the Saxon period of our history. Chalmers derives Cunningham from *Cuning* a 'rabbit,' and Paterson from *Cuinneag* a 'milk-pail' or 'churn,' "the district having been celebrated from a remote period for its dairy produce." A charter of David I., prior to 1153, gives the name of *Cunegan* to the district, which Paterson regards as the plural of *Cunneag*; and in later documents it is *Conyghame*, which he thinks evidently signifies the place or district of milk-pails. The derivation of *Cunninghame* from *Cununing*, the name of an ancient Northumbrian town, this writer supposes cannot be maintained, from the fact that the former was known as a local name *prior* to the grant of the district obtained by Hugh de Morville, constable of Scotland.—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 4.

Cambden in his Brittania p: 21 of his description of Scotland mentions Ardrossan Castle belonging to y^e^ Montgomerys: w^ch^ he calleth a very Ancient & famous Family, as any other: I have seen it, at a small distance, it is now Ruinous & uninhabited, a large Pile, and hath Spacious Courts, and high walls: It looks noble (tho a Skeleton) and is bravely Scituated over y^e^ Sea. only y^e^ Keeper of y^e^ Stone walled Park (belonging to it) lives in some of y^e^ vaults thereof, or Lone buildings adjoining to it, as I was told in Summer 1689 when I went y^t^ way.[54] y^e^ author of this treatise his account

He writes allsoe of Ponuny Fort (so he calls it) built with y^e^ Ransom money of Henry Piercy (nick-named Hotspur) whom y^e^ Lord Montgomery tooke prisoner in y^e^ Battaile of Otterburn. The Scottish writers report, y^t^ this bataile was fought y^e^ 21 of July 1388, and y^e^ victory was gott mostly by y^e^ valor & Conduct of y^e^ sayd L: Montgomery, who with his owne hand, took y^e^ s^d^ Piercy prisoner; & therefor had y^e^ Right to sett him to Ransome: with y^e^ money whereof (how much I read not) he built y^e^ Castle of Ponune & over y^e^ door thereof caused carve y^e^ Resemblance of a spurr, in memory of y^e^ sayd Action, Person & Ransome[55] This castle * * * * Camden 1388.

[54] *I went y^t^ way.*—This ancient castle, which stood on a hill near the present town of Ardrossan, has been permitted, since our author's time, to fall entirely into ruin, as at present only two small fragments of it remain. It is generally believed among the inhabitants of the Ayrshire coast, that Ardrossan castle was demolished during the Cromwellian wars, and that its materials "were shipped to Ayr, to aid in building the fortification erected there by the troops of the Commonwealth." See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 226; Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 13. Our author's passing notice of the remains, in 1689, proves that the general supposition as to the date and means of its destruction must be erroneous. The castle must have been in good condition at the commencement of the seventeenth century, as Timothy Pont, who wrote about the year 1610, has the following curious account of it in his *Cunninghame Topographized*:—"This castell is verry strongly and Veille bulte, haveing in it maney roumes, and a spring of frech Vatter, wich makes it the more strong. In this castell ther is a touer, named y^e^ red touer, and in it a vaulte called Vallace Lardner, for this castell being in possession of ye Englisch, Vallace used this stratageme; He sett a housse hard by the castle a-fyre, that thesse quho keipt the castell, not suspecting aney fraud, came out to the reskue of the housse, quhome they imagined by accident to have taken fyre. Bot Vallace, with a veill armed companey, gifs them a very hote welcome, and kills them, every mother's sone, and furthwith, forces the castell, and wins it. In this deep vaulte, in the bottome of the read touer, flang he the carcatches of these Englisch, vich, to this day, gave it the name of Vallace Lardner. There is one thing to be admired in this fontane of frech vatter, vich is in a vaulte in this castell, for it, lyke to the sea, ebbs and flowes two severall tymes each 24 hours—

> "Its bankes to pass doeth tueisse assay,
> And tueisse againe reteir each day."

The ressone is, from the ebbing and flowing of the salt sea, vich enuirrons the rocke quheron the castell standes, and at each surge with horrible repercussions regorges the frech water, not letting isseu from its spring, and so makes the fontaine suell." When Pont wrote the above description, the castle of Ardrossan was occupied by the Montgomerys as their principal residence, it having originally come into their family at the close of the fourteenth century, by the marriage of sir John Montgomerie of Eagleshame with Elizabeth, the daughter and sole heiress of sir Hugh Eglinton of Eglinton. The castle and barony of Ardrossan had previously come into the possession of the Eglinton family by a marriage with a daughter and heiress, probably of the *Berclays*, who had been its owners from the commencement of the twelfth century.—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 226.

[55] *Person & Ransome.*—The chief of this surname, who so distinguished himself at the battle of Otterburn in 1388, was sir John Montgomerie, the eighth in descent from Philip de Montgomerie, one of the first of the family who settled in Scotland. The castle of *Polnoon*, built by the ransom forced from Percy after the battle, is corruptly named *Ponuny* by Camden.—*Britannia*, p. 21 of Scotland, 1637. "The original residence of the family of Montgomerie at Eagleshame, was a castle situated at some distance from Polnon, the site of which is marked on the large map of Renfrewshire. Part of Polnoon was standing in 1676, and is thus noticed in a Paper of instructions by the eighth Earl of Eglinton to his friends, dated 21st April of that year: 'That he (the factor) cause sight that pairt of the house of Polnun that is now standing, and if it needs pointing, to cause point it and dresse it.'"—Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., 14. "Polnoon stood on the bank of a rivulet of the same name, about three quarters of a mile south-east from the church. It has long been a complete ruin, and only a part of the walls remain standing."—Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. iii., p. 852, as quoted in Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 14, *note*. The spear and pennon of Percy, which were long kept at Polnoon, are still preserved among other trophies at Eglinton. Paterson states, vol. ii., p. 233, that a *MS. Memoir* of the family contains a story about Percy's pennon and spear, which appears, to us at least, apocryphal. The late duke of Northumberland, it seems, requested the restoration of these relics of Hotspur, and the late earl of Eglinton announced in reply:—"There is as good lea land here as any at Chevy Chase; let Percy come and take them." Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 14, inserts the following letter from Hugh, twelfth earl of Eglinton,

This Lord Montgomery was Sisters son to Earle James Douglass who (being faln sick of some sudden distemper) gave y^e^ cheife comand of y^e^ Army to his s^d^ nephew, himselfe being killed afterwards in y^e^ Conflict.[56]

It is to be noted, That this Adventure was Long before this L: Montgomerys Posterity were matched in marriage with y^e^ heiress of y^e^ Surname and Lands of Eglinton: y^e^ w^ch^ allsoe y^e^ sayd Cambden reports: & sayeth further That his whole Lineage is faire and farr spread; that the Earl of Eglintons arms as Montgomery are but little different from Sir Thomas Montgomerys of Essex, Knight of the Garter, in K: Ed. the 4ths raigne as aforesaid.[57]

And y^t^ Gabriell de Lorge (called in y^e^ French History, Count Montgomery) Cap^t^ of y^e^ Guards of Scotts, instituted by Charles y^e^ ..... K: of France, and made his Guard de Corps);[58] was descended from y^e^ Montgomerys of Govean. this is A Towne neare to Glasgow[59] & belonged to y^e^ L^ds^ Montgomerys. In John Johnston of Aberdeen[60] his excellent Poems on y^e^ Scottish Heroes

to his agent, Mr. George Russell, and dated Eglintoun Castle, 8th October, 1807:—"A good many years ago, the duchess of Northumberland, on being informed that the castle of Polnoon was built by Harry Hotspur for his ransome, and that the Percy arms were still to be seen, sent a person to take a copy of them; but no arms of any kind was to be found. Very lately, Robert Montgomerie, banker of Irvine, was with me at Eagleshame. During the time he was there, he paid a visit to Hugh Montgomerie. On looking about the house, Hugh Montgomerie pointed out to him a stone built in the house, but harled over so as not to be easily seen. This stone, in his vanity, he said was arms which had been taken from Polnoon castle; but as he was told that he would be obliged to pay for wearing arms, if they continued exposed (or some such nonsense as this), he had them cast over. I suspect these to be the very arms, and stole by Mr. Montgomery. I wish to know, therefore, what steps I ought to take to recover these; for, undoubtedly, whether Percy arms, or whatever they may be, they ought not be allowed to remain with him, as he can have no right to them whatever." The old ballad, entitled *Memorables of the Montgomeries*, has the following allusion to the struggle in which this old castle had its origin:

"Sir Hugh was slain, Sir John maintained
The honour of the day;
And with him brought the victory,
And Percy's son away.

He with his ransom built Pouoon,
A castle which yet stands;
The king well pleased as a reward
Did therefore give him lands."

[56] *In y^e^ conflict.*—Sir John Montgomery's mother was Margaret, daughter of William first earl of Douglas. This lady was half-sister of earl James Douglas mentioned in the text, and not his daughter, as our author represents.

[57] *Raigne as aforesaid.*—See Camden's *Britannia*, 1637, p. 21 of his account, of *Scotland*. The "adventure" at Otterburne occurred in 1388, but sir John Montgomery, must have been married to the heiress of Eglinton several years *prior* to that date." See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p, 232, Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 15.

[58] *His Guard de Corps.*—If Charles VII. of France was not the *founder* of the celebrated Scots guard, he certainly "adjusted its organisation as a permanent institution of the French Court." Burton, in his *Scot Abroad*, vol. ii., p. 47-9, says—"It is a pity we have no distinct account of its origin, and can only infer from historical probabilities, that Claude Fauchet is right in saying that it was formed out of that remnant of the Scots who survived the slaughter at Verneuil, and did not desire to return home." As instituted, or reorganised, by Charles VII., "the Scots guard consisted of one hundred gensdarmes and two hundred archers. The first captain of the guard who appears in history—and probably the first person who held the office—was John Stewart, lord of Aubigne, the founder of a great Scots house in France. By a chivalrous courtesy, the appointment to this high office was confided to the king of Scots. This was an arrangement, however, that could not last. As the two nations changed their relative positions, and the guard began to become Scots only in name, it became not only out of the question that the captain should be appointed by a foreign government, but impolitic that he should be a foreigner. It is curious to notice a small ingenious policy to avoid offence to the haughty foreigners in the removal of the command from the Scots. The first captain of the guard who was a native Frenchman, was the Count of Montgomery, who, for his patrimonial name, which corresponded with that of an old Scots family, passed for a man of Scots descent." Although this count Montgomery was born in France, he was probably of Scottish extraction, as his title of *de Lorge* or *Largs* implied, The conjecture of our author on this point is at least ingenious.

[59] *A Towne neare Glasgow.*—A part of Govean was separated from the parish of Glasgow by the little river Kelvin. Govean lay on both sides of the Clyde, comprehending the present parish of that name, and what is now known as the Gorbals. Prior to 1147, David I. granted Govean to the see of St. Kentigern of Glasgow in pure alms. The church was dedicated to St. Constantine, "who," says Forbes, "was a King of Cornwall, who accompanied St. Columba into Scotland, and preached to the Scots and Picts." It is added that he founded a monastery in Govean, and converted all the inhabitants of Cantyre to Christianity, among whom he at last suffered martyrdom.—*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i., p. 17, 18. Although the Montgomeries held lands in Govean soon after their settlement in Scotland, the date of their occupation is uncertain.

[60] *John Johnston of Aberdeen.*—For a notice of the

(among them as such) I read of these four Montgomerys following: viz. That Hugh Earle of Eglinton (a Brave person both for outward & inward Parts) was by his insidious nighbours (Feuds being then too frequent and mortall) slain, by an Ambush Layd for him, at y^e^ River of Annock y^e^ xiix day of Ap^l^ An^o^ Dni 1586. p. 42 of John Johnston aforesᵈ.

Item Rob^t^ Montgomery brother of y^e^ s^d^ Earle (so insidiously murthered) haveing done very incredible great Actions: in Requitall of his brothers Death; he layd aside his Arms, & Hostility, and Banished all Revengfulle Appetites, and lived peaceably & dyed, composed in mind & desmeano^r^ y^e^ 20 of August 1596.[61] p. 48.

Now allsoe may be noted concerning this Family of Eglinton, That y^e^ Earle onely bears & writes or Subscribes, y^t^ Title or Surname, to keep alive y^e^ memory of y^t^ Heiress, by whom in marriage, An Estate came to it: as he likewisse doth, by quartering her Coate of Arms, w^th^ y^e^ Montgomerys, (Theire Bearing) in y^e^ same sheild Armoriall. And further (observe worthy it is) That all y^e^ Sons and Brothers of y^e^ sayd Earles carry y^e^ Surname of Montgomery: y^e^ Eldest son (vivant son Pere) being stiled y^e^ L^d^: Montgomery, & his Eldest son is called y^e^ Master of Montgomery w^th^ out Addition of Christian name or place of Dwelling: as y^e^ French King his next Brother, is called The Monsieur & no more, i.e., sans *Cul*, as they phrase it in France.)[62] of Eglintons family note.

This useage ariseth (as I am informed) from a Custom or Law in Scotland That where any of y^e^ nobility, marry an Heiress of a Lower Degree of Honor than himselfe, then hee is not obliged y^t^ himselfe or Posterity should change their former Surnames; but only y^t^ y^e^ cheife of y^s^ Family (so benefitted by y^e^ accession of Lands & a new Estate) should subscribe & be called by y^e^ Title & Surname of y^e^ Heiress & beare her Coate of Arms w^th^ his owne: By which it appeares That y^e^ Montgomerys before y^e^ marriage w^th^ y^e^ Eglinton Heiress, was of a more Hono^ble^ Family and Extraction than Shee, and were Lords of Ardrossan.[63] But it is quite Contrary, where a nobleman married an Heiress of a Family in Rank of Honor superior to his owne: for in this case y^e^ s^d^ nobleman & his posterity (by y^t^ match) doe Abdicate & Relinquish their former proper Surnames, & assume y^e^ Surname & Title of y^e^ Heiress; y^e^ cheife of y^t^ posterity, Retaining only his old Title, yett Quartering his Coate w^th^ y^e^ Heiress Arms, in y^e^ 2^d^ & 3^d^ part of y^e^ Sheild, w^th^ y^e^ Supporters he formerly used, as I am told. Instances of this useage, or proofs I have not now at hand: but I know y^t^ James Duke of Monmouth Bastard of K. Ch: y^e^ 2^d^ was stiled S^r^ James Scott, as I saw it graven in a of precedency as to matters with an Heiress of Eglinton matched with Montgomery.

distinguished Scottish poet, see p. 7, *supra*. The fourth earl of Eglinton, slain at the ford of Annock, is thus celebrated by Johnston:—

> Illa opifex solers rerum, magni æmula Olympi
> Natura, immensis, ambitiosa opibus;
> Illa sibi de te certans quæ singula, rara
> Vix aliis, dedit haec cuncta benigna tibi.
>
> Sic artus, sic ora, animos, sic pectora finxit,
> Cæteraque humanis anteferenda nouis:
> Vix aliquem ut credas mortali semine cretum,
> Ast quales tulerunt secula prisca Deos.

—Fraser, *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 51.

[61] *August*, 1596.—For the circumstances connected with the assassination of the fourth earl of Eglinton, and its direful consequences, see p. 6, *supra*. The *Broomlands Manuscript*, in allusion to the terrible revenge taken by Robert of Giffen, the earl's brother, against the Cunninghams, says:—"This unhappy fact cost much blood, and was afterwards honourably revenged by Master Robert Montgomery of Giffen, the nobleman's brother." See Paterson, *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 236. This gentleman, who, after many deeds of blood, is represented by the author in the text as dying so comfortably, married Jean, daughter of sir Matthew Campbell of Loudon, by whom he had Margaret, his only child and sole heiress. This lady, who was born in 1583, married her cousin, Hugh, fifth Earl of Eglinton, by whom she had no family. At her death, the second branch of the family of Giffen became extinct.—*Ibid*, vol. i., p. 287.

[62] *Phrase it in France.*—See p. 353, *supra*.

[63] *Lords of Ardrossan.*—Scottish genealogists now affirm that the Montgomerys became lords of Ardrossan only through the marriage of sir John Montgomery with the heiress of Eglinton.

Plate of Brass (w^th^ other his Titles of Honor) sett over his chaire or stall of Precedency in y^e^ Chapell or Hall of y^e^ Kn^ts^ of y^e^ garter in Windsor Castle: And his children are of y^t^ Surname by reason of his acquiring y^e^ Estate of Buccleugh (belonging to y^e^ Scotts) by marrying y^e^ Heiress of y^e^ Earle of Buccleugh[64] who was of y^t^ Surname.

Jo: Johnstons Heroes.

But to returne to our Montgomery Heroes mentioned by Jo: Johnston afores^d^, I find in p. 29 of his booke viz: That Count James Montgomery, son of James de Lorge, did many things, w^th^ happy success for y^e^ Reformed Religion, in France: This is hee, who (being in great Esteem & Favour at Court) was invited & urged to runn at Tilt, or to just ag^t^ & it was at the Instance of Henry y^e^ 2^d^ K: of France: in w he gave him his deaths wound, by a Splinter of his Lance, which entered y^e^ Kings Eye (of which y^e^ King did acquitt him) it being an unlucky accident (wholly against Montgomerys will & occasioned by y^e^ Ks: own procurement. This action speaks much to prove y^e^ opinion of That Counts Bravery; in y^t^ he was singled out, as worthy to cope (in y^t^ martial exercise) with his Prince; who, in those feats of Arms, was very dexterous:[65] And so Montgomery scaped Scot-free at y^t^ time, w^ch^ was y^e^ 4^th^ of y^e^ Ides of July, y^t^ is y^e^ 12 day of y^e^ same month An^o^ Dni, 1559, as Johnston relates, but afterwards (viz 24 yeares) this count being besieged in Donfrona in Normandy was made Prisoner of warr & on y^e^ Surrender thereof was taken to Paris & contrary to quarters and y^e^ Articles, & to y^e^ Faith given (by y^e^ Instigation of Catherin de Medices y^e^ Ffrench Queen) hee was beheaded in An^o^ 1574.

de Serres 30 June 1559 See Speed page ii37.

Dola in litle Britain in france.

I find allsoe Neile Montgomery de Lorge (son of y^e^ sayd Count James) Famous for y^e^ great Renown he wonn in y^e^ Civill warrs in Ffrance: Assisting strenuously & faithfully K: Hen: y^e^ 4th of Ffrance & of Novarr, but hee was killed (by an unlucky wound) before y^e^ walls of Dola in Brittania

[64] *Earle of Buccleugh.*—Sir James Scott's mother was Lucy Walters, or Barlow, whom Evelyn, *Diary*, vol. iii., p. 11, describes as a "browne, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature." Her son bore so marked a resemblance to colonel Robert Sydney, with whom she had previously lived, that the latter, and not the king, was generally supposed to be his father. The title of duke of Monmouth was bestowed upon him by the advice of Bristol and lady Castlemaine. Lucy Walters called herself the wife of Charles, and she was designated by others as his wife or mistress. —Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 649; *Mercurius Politicus*, as quoted by Ellis, third series, vol. iii., p. 352. For the circumstances connected with his birth, see Clarendon's *Life*, p. 205; Clarendon's *Papers*, vol. iii., p. 180; Thurloe, *State Letters*, vol. v., pp. 169, 178; vol. iii., p. 325. For an account of the circumstances connected with his execution, see the *Buccleugh MS.*, published by Mr. Rose, p. 65 of *Appendix;* Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 167; Burnet, vol. iii., p. 50; Somers' *Tracts*, col. i., vol. i., p. 216. These references are quoted from Lingard's *History of England*, vol. viii., p. 225; vol. x., pp. 85, 87, *notes*. As confirmatory of the statement in the text that Monmouth assumed the titles of his wife's family, we quote the following document, written by him in 1679, and printed in Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 338:—

"James duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth, Earl of Dalkeith and Doncaster, Lord Scott of Askdale, Tindale, and Whitchester, Generall of his Majestie's Forces, &c.

"Permitt the bearer, Sir Robert Montgomery of Scarmerly, quiettly to pass, with his two servants and armes, to his dwelling house at Scarmerly, without any hindrance or disturbance whatsoever, as you will be answerable for the contrary. Given att the Camp att Hamilton, the 23rd day of June, 1679. "BUCCLEUGH.

"To all Officers & Souldiers and others whom it may concern."

[65] *Very dexterous.*—This accident, which made way for Mary Stewart to the throne of France, occurred at the jousts held in honour of the marriage of Philip II. with Isabel or Elizabeth, daughter of Henry III., and of the marriage also of his sister Margaret to Emmanuel Phillibert, duke of Savoy, both happening on the 30th of June, 1559. Speed's account of the fatal accident to the king is as follows:—"The French king, thus over-busie about Scotland's state, was over-carelesse of his owne, when (at solemnizing the marriages of his daughter and sister) he would needs be a *challenger* at tilt, seconded by the duke of Guize and Ferrara, which triumphant joy was suddenly clowded by a sad catastrophe. For to runne his last (and indeed his last) course in favour of his queene, he sent a lance to the earle of Montgomery, with a command to have him enter the Tilt; but hee excusing himselfe from running against his Majesty, alleged that fortune the day before, afforded him not to break one staffe, and that now (as he feared) shee would put him to a second shame; but the king, destiny so enforcing, and his date fully runne, sent him a second command, which Montgomery very unwillingly obeyed, and breaking his lance upon the king's cuirasse, a splinter thereof, his Beaver being somewhat open, struck him so deepe in the eye, that therupon shortly hee ended his life."—*Chronicles*, p. 1135.

Armorica y^e^ 11^th^ of July An° Dni 1590. for this see page 45, on w^ch^ four Heroes, y^e^ sayd Johnston (as on y^e^ rest) hath printed very excellent Poems.

Having, but now, cited two Scottish Montgomerys de Lorge (their Acts in France,[66] as briefly related by John Johnston aforesayd), & having cited out of Cambden, one Gabriel de Lorge descended of y^e^ house of Govean (w^ch^ house is a Cadett of y^e^ L^d^ Montgomery spoaken of at Otterburn Fight) termed in y^e^ French History (as he says) Count Montgomery. I think it will be worth y^e^ Readers while and my paines, to know whether this Addition (De Lorge) bee a pure French Title of Lands in France, or rather a French designation by a Scottish Title of Lands in y^e^ bailiary of Coningham, Added to these Montgomerys (now Last named) to difference them from y^e^ Count de Montgomerys Family in Normandy. And since wee are in y^e^ Dark wee might stepp Leizurely & groape for y^e^ way, Guessing at it, y^e^ best way wee can: Seing probabilitys (but not straining or compelling them) to be our guides in this enquiry.

First then Lett us grant y^t^ both y^e^ English and Scotish Montgomerys, are originally sprung from ye Greatly Ancient Stock and Root, yet alive in Normandy, it being There ever at Least (since Surnames came to be generally in use: w^ch^ was before Willm Duke of y^t^ Province invaded and conquered England,) as may be gathered from what I have sayd of Roger y^e^ first English Earl of Shrewsbury, whose extraction and Paternall Family, whether it were Norman & came in w^th^ them into y^t^ country, where it now is; or were old Gaulish & seated There, long before y^t^ time, I have (in y^e^ first Part of these discourses) Left to be determined by y^e^ French Count, or History & y^e^ Antiquarys of y^t^ Kingdom. This is known (as I said in y^e^ Introduction of these Treatises) y^t^ Surnames have Stuck to Familys & their Posteritys, by reason of y^e^ names of their Capital Dwellings, & Lands erected into mannors and Seignorys; as well as Lands, have been called by their owners names & surnames.

Count de mon: gomery present habitation is called.

[66] *Their acts in France.*—French historians mention two Montgomerys de Lorges, namely, count James, and Gabriel, whom they call the son of James. The former, it is said, in order to sustain the pretensions of his birth, in 1543, purchased the county of Montgomery in Normandy, which had belonged to his ancestors. In 1545, he succeeded John Stuart, count d'Aubigny, as captain of the Scotch guard. He died in 1560, at a very advanced age—between eighty and ninety—leaving several children, of whom Gabriel, the eldest son, was the most celebrated. In 1545, Gabriel commanded troops sent to Scotland by Francis I., to sustain the then queen, Mary of Lorraine, who had been appointed regent during the minority of her daughter, Mary Stuart, afterwards queen of Scots. After the catastrophe mentioned in the preceding note, he retired to Normandy, and visited Italy and England. In 1562, the first of the religious wars broke out, desolating France for upwards of thirty years, during which Montgomery was greatly distinguished as a commander on the side of the Protestant party. He had several narrow escapes, the enemy being specially anxious to capture him. He and Coligni were formally condemned to death, and executed in effigy. He was in Paris at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, but having had warning, Montgomery contrived to elude his pursuers. He was eventually attacked by Martignon, who commanded a very superior force, and who was anxious to capture him, knowing how cordially the cruel queen would hear of his destruction. Montgomery, who was forced to surrender at Domfront, was immediately tried and condemned to death, his children being degraded from the rank of nobility. When he heard the latter part of the sentence he quietly said—"If they have not the virtue of nobles to raise themselves, I consent to the degradation." He was executed on the 27th May, 1574. See *Biographie Universelle.* The following short notice of this family in France is written by professor Le Hericher, of the college of Avranches:—"Alexander de Montgomery, lord of Ardrossan and Eglintoun, was cousin of James I., King of Scotland. From this nobleman descended Robert de Montgomery, father of Jacques (James), who was celebrated under the name of 'captaine de Lorges.' In 1560, this Jacques died in the service of Francis I., King of France. His son Gabriel I., who became the 'great' Montgomery, and who was the person who mortally wounded King Henry II., succeeded to the estates of his five brothers and sisters. He married Isabeau de Teral, lady of Lucey, and through her became seigneur of Lucy, and of several parishes in Avranchin, in Normandy. The family chateau (still known as the chateau de Montgomery, but now unoccupied and going to ruin) is situated at Lucey, about three leagues from the town of Avranches. The present building is, however, comparatively modern, having been built about the year 1620, by Gabriel II., son

It is Likewise well known y^t ever since y^e French Kings did aggrandise themselves, by Encroachments upon (& reduceing under their Dominion) y^e neighbouring Earledomes & Dukedomes as Brettany, Burgundy &c (& other places before then) but cheifly when y^e s^d Kings began to fall out, & quarrell with y^e Kings of England & to encroach upon Aquitain, Guien, & other chief Territorys (under one pretence or another). Then I say, & before y^t Time, in the raigne of Carolus Magnus[67] There was strict League offensive and defensive (as need was) at Least of Friendly Amity & Assistance, made and upheld between y^e Scottish & French Kings so y^t they mutually sent succours each to other when required: w^ch made y^e Entercours for Tradeing between y^e Kingdoms both Familliar & Frequent: And y^e Royall Allyances allsoe, were sometimes used as bonds for confirmation, of a more solemn Friendshipp. It is allsoe Lippis & Tonsoribus notum and needs noe proof That y^e Towne and Parish of Larges is in the bailiary of Coningham, and shire of Ayre aforesaid.[68]

Wherein y^e Montgomerys abound & are proprietors among w^ch of especiall note, is y^e Ancient Family called Lairds of Skermorely, for many generations of Knightly Degree, orriginally descended from y^e s^d Ld Montgomerys Posterity since they were Earles of Eglinton,[69] as appears by y^e sayd Lairds Coat of Arms. wherein y^e 3 Annuletts adorned w^th turcoises proper in a feild Gules (w^ch was y^e Heiress of y^e Surname of Eglintons bearing) are quartered with y^e sayd Earles paternall Coat as Montgomerys; onely these Lairds have not a Tressure flowry contre flowerd de Lis, as y^t

of the great Montgomery. The ancient castle of the family stood at a short distance from it, on a cliff overhanging the river Lelune." See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ix., p. 293.

[67] *Carolus Magnus.*—The author accepts the popular account of the origin of the Scottish League with France as told by Hector Boece and other chroniclers of his class. These writers tell us "how the emperor Charlemagne, having resolved to establish a vast system of national or imperial education, looked around for suitable professors to teach in his universities, and perceiving Scotland to be the most learned of nations, and the most likely to supply him with the commodity he desired, he forthwith entered into a league with Achaius the then ruling monarch of that ancient kingdom." This is true in the main, but the learned teachers were from Ireland, the name *Scotia* being applied to no other country at the period here referred to. This Scottish king, Achaius, began his reign in the year 787. Modern Scottish writers are inclined to ignore the existence of any such league between the two countries earlier than the thirteenth century. At all events, it must have become firmer and more efficient when Scotland began to war for independence with England, and when English kings persisted in claiming succession to the throne of France. The League was then an important reality, as it enabled "the kings of the house of Valois to fight their battle on British ground without sending an army there, and provided to the Scots, whenever they could safely leave their homes, an opportunity for striking a blow at the enemy and oppressor of their land."—Burton's *Scot Abroad.* vol. i., p. 3.

[68] *Aire aforesaid.*—See p. 460, *supra.*

[69] *Since they were Earles of Eglinton.*—The connexion of Skelmorlie with the main line can be traced to an earlier date than the creation of the earldom of Eglinton. The first owner of Skelmorlie was George Montgomerie, the second son of Alexander first lord Montgomerie, by his wife, Margaret, who was a daughter of sir Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock. This George Montgomerie died in the year 1505, having received from his father, in 1461, a grant of lands, known as Skelmorlie in Ayrshire, together with additions in the barony of Renfrew. The *eleventh* in descent from him was an heiress, Lilias Montgomerie, who, in the year 1759, obtained an act of parliament enabling her to sell the family possessions in Renfrewshire, and to expend the proceeds in the purchase of lands adjoining her Ayrshire estate. By her husband, Alexander Montgomerie of Coilsfield in Tarbolton, she had a family of five sons and three daughters. Her eldest son, Hugh, who was born in 1739, succeeded his mother in the estate of Skelmorlie, his father in the estate of Coilsfield, and in 1796, became twelfth earl of Eglinton, on the death of his cousin Archibald, the eleventh earl. The husband of Lilias Montgomery, who was an officer in the army, received the following interesting letter from his father—written at Coilsfield—in 1731:—"I am glad to hear by yours that the Town will soon be too hot. Sudden may it be, and be you thankfull that you have a sweet and pleasant air to come home to, where you are sure to be made welcome by me, your mother and sisters. Having now resolved to take yourself to a pleasant country gentlemanly life of improving your own ground, which I think much better than fighting for your neighbours—I hope that motive of improving will excite you soon to leave Edinburgh—the sooner the better for us all, and therefore will not insist furder, leaving you to the protection and direction of our great God."—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 309, 311; Fraser's *Montgomeries*, vol. ii., p. 146.

Earles, but carryeth a naked Sword in Pale as an addition & Honorable distinction of a descendant from y^e^ sayd Earles Family.[70]

Now, being in this place, y^e^ Reader is desired to entertaine himselfe a little, with a breife account of a Buriall Monument made by the great Grandfather of the present laird, Sir James Montgomery.[71] There is to y^e^ Church in this Town of Largs an Ile adjoyned, the lower part whereof is Levell with y^e^ earth & is a Large Room (w^th^ a window & Door to it) it is very neat & clean & Lightsome without any ill or unsavory Scent: Round about this Room there are many cavitys in y^e^ wall thereof: each of them capable to receive one Large coffin & therein every Corps is shutt upp & lys alone, with an Inscription on y^e^ Free Stone, w^ch^ closeth upp y^e^ Receptacle for y^e^ Person who is there Left to his unalterable Lodging. Over y^e^ Place which is lofted are y^e^ Pews & Seats wherein y^e^ Laird & his Lady, Children & servants rest themselves in time of Sermon: & may conveniently kneell at Prayers: And y^e^ Funerall Trophees with y^e^ Painted & Guilded Coates of Arms, of y^e^ Family, & their Matches, are to be seen, round about & on y^e^ Seeling thereof, all very Curious & Comely, to w^ch^ place they ascend by Staires without y^e^ churche.[72]

as y^e^ mouth of an oven is closed wi^th^ stone, but is layd w^th^ lime and mortar

But now lett us leave this Digression w^ch^ is intended but as a Parcell memoire of y^t^ worthy & Signall Family, seeing it were besides my Pretence (in this work) to write Historys of all y^e^ houses

[70] *Ye said Earles family.*—The following are the armorial bearings of the Skelmorlie Montgomerys, as given by Paterson (vol, ii., p. 312) and other Scottish authorities:—*Arms*—Qurterly, first and fourth, azure, three fleur-de-lis, or, for Montgomorie; second and third, gules, three annulets, or, stoned, azure, for Eglintoun. A sword in pale, point in chief, proper for difference. *Crest*—A heart and eye over it, proper. *Motto*—Tout bien ou rein.

[71] *Sir James Montgomery.*—"The present laird," sir James Montgomery, who held the Skermorlie estates in the time of our author, was *eighth* in descent from the original owner, and was the great-grandson of that sir Robert Montgomerie, who, in 1636, built the celebrated Skelmorlie aisle in connexion with the old church of Largs. Sir Robert succeeded his father in 1583, and died in 1651, having thus enjoyed the family estates during the long period of sixty-seven years. He is described as a man of great personal courage, a quality which was very frequently tested in the feud between the Montgomerys and the Cunninghams, in which both his father and brother had been slain, and which also afforded him ample opportunities of exacting a bloody revenge. He is said to have "set no bounds to his wrath, but indulged in it with such eagerness as to occasion very much bloodshed of his enemies. For this he was afterwards seized with remorse, and in expiation performed many acts of charity and mortification in his latter days." Among these acts was the building of the "buriall monument" spoken of in the text.—Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 310. This Robert Montgomery was knighted by James VI., and created a baronet by Charles I., by patent dated 1st January, 1628. Of him Wodrow states (*Analecta*, i., p. 372) that he was "a man mighty in prayer, and much at it, but very short at a time. He would have left company, when in his house, frequently in a little time, and retired a little to his closett, as if it had been to look at a paper, and it was known it was for prayer." In 1593, he married a daughter of sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, with whom he got a tocher of 7000 merks. This lady's beauty is celebrated by Alexander Montgomerie, the poet, in two sonnets addressed to M. D. (Margaret Douglas). She died in 1624, and was buried in the aisle built by her husband. The following lines are inscribed over her resting place:—

"Bis duo, bisque decem transegi virginis annos;
Ter duo terque decem consociata viro,
Et bis opem Lucina tulit. Mas patris imago,
Spesque domus superest: Femina jussa mori,
Clara genus generosa, animi speciosa decore
Chara Deo vixi, nunc mihi cuncta Deus."

—Fraser's *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 160.

[72] *Staires without ye churche.*—This curious structure has been very fully described by the late William Dobie, Esq., of Grangevale, parish of Beith, in an interesting work, privately printed at Glasgow, in 1847, and entitled *The Parish Churches and Family Burying-Grounds of Ayrshire*. His description represents the family vault as less attractive than it appears in our text, but the change has evidently been wrought by time and neglect. "Every person of taste," says Mr. Dobie, "must regret that such rare and beautiful specimens of monumental architecture in the ornamental style of the early part of the seventeenth century, should be consigned by neglect to decay, and that nothing should be attempted by the noble proprietor (the Earl of Eglinton) to arrest the wasting 'deliberate malice' of time." The aisle, which was built in 1636, measures 34 feet by 22. Above the entrance door, on a panel enclosed with mouldings, the quartered armorials of Montgomery and Eglinton, impaled with Douglas and Mar, are neatly sculptured, and still in good preservation. The roof of this aisle, twenty feet high, presents forty one compartments of various forms and dimensions, the central panel being occupied by the emblazoned coats of Montgomery and Douglas, with the family motto *gardez bien*. Each of the remaining forty compartments is adorned by the pencil, with representations of a religious, emblematical, or heraldic character. The monument which was erected

de Lorge & Largs all one.

of this Surname in Scotland: which may or doe deserve a Severall full Comemoration & therefor I return to ye mention of this Town and Parish of ye Larges & doe believe this to bee ye place, from weh ye French have Stiled, ye aforenamed Counts Montgomerys as to be De Lorge.

For I conceive ye transmutation of ye Letter A: into O: by ye French, or of O: into A: by ye Scotts (as it might easily) so it hath often happened in a Little time even in ye Same Contry: much more when a word is transplanted to another Kingdom & Language. but (of this) I forbeare Instances to avoyd being Tedious & superfluous & because this change of vowells in Silabs, occurrs to every observer: I pray to take one Example in point, & another of a much greater Alteration, made by Forreigners in their designations of Scotch noblemen, who have resided abroade, viz.

Cumins two bro: one of them called de Mesme.

The Cuminss were a great family of Earles Degree but being competitors wth Robt Le Bruce for the Crown of Scotland was forced to flee & take service in France, The French King (upon their Address) asked ye eldest brother his Surname, he answered in ye mode of yt Contry de Cominges, ye other brother replyed to ye like Question, de Mesme and ye posteritys of those two brothers (weh yett remain in France) are called accordingly: Likewise a nobleman of ye Douglasses Surname (goeing through Italy to Jerusalem with ye heart of K: Robert Le Bruce to be buryed there) happened to Marry & Settle himselfe in Italy & his offspring are called Scoti to their Surname; but retaine their coats Armoriall as in Scotland, tho perchance with some Addition,—thus Surnames transplanted, easily are changed in part or in whole.[73]

douglasses called Scoti.

Now my beleife aforesd is confirmed on these and other Considerations following, viz: That John Johnston makes Count James & his Son Neil, both Montgomerys to be Scottish Heroes & yt in ye prose inscription (before his Encomiastick veres on ye sayd Count James) he designes him as followeth viz:

Jacobus Montgomerius Comes;
Jacobi Lorgiani filius multa et Religione, in Gallia renata feliciter gessit &c.

Whence may be noted yt James ye father hath not any Tytle of Honor added to his name, but is called Largiannus, *i.e:* of ye Larges to witt Laird, Lord, owner thereof. And I suppose (as Probable it is) yt his Son ye sayd Count, travelling into France, was (for service done to yt Crown) created a Count (as many Scottish Gentlemen of Small Estates arive by their valors & Conducts, to be Counts in Sweeden, & of ye Empire itselfe; weh last is an Honor above Counts of other Contrys. And noe doubt the said count James was in great Esteem at Court, when ye K: pitcht on him, to try his Skill or Prowes in Turnament or Justing as aforesd. The Montgomerys of

in the year 1639, stands across the aisle, being upwards of eleven feet long, five in width, and eighteen in height. Considering the period of its construction, this monument is no less remarkable for the taste, variety, and finish of its details, than the purity of its architectural profiles and general proportions. In the family vault, situated below the monument, "the two largest coffins are covered with lead, and contain the relics of Sir Robert Montgomery, and those of his lady. The coffin of the latter bears on the ends her family armorials, and on the cover in raised characters—*Dame. Margaret Douglas. Spouse. To. Sir. Robert. Montgomery.* The coffin of sir Robert is ornamented in a similar style, but on the cover, instead of his name, there is the following inscription:

"*Ipse mihi præmortuus fui, fato funera*
Præripui, unicum, idque Cæsareum
Exemplar, inter tot mortales secutus."

Signifying, "I was dead before myself; I anticipated my proper funeral: alone, of all mortals, following the example of Cæsar, *i.e.*, Charles V., who, it will be recollected, had his obsequies performed before he died"—*Scottish Journal of Topography*, &c., vol. i., pp. 289, 293.

[73] *In part or in whole.*—Many illustrations might be mentioned, of these changes of Scottish surnames when

Govean of whom the sd Gabriell is descended, began at last by ye vulgar to bee called Goveans as their Surnames. Likewise I observe yt in ye Like Inscription preceding ye sd Johnston's Eulogy of ye aforesd Montgomery it is thus worded viz

Nigellus Montgomery Lorgianus
Jacobi Comitis filius, Belli Gloria Clarissimus: &

Hence I note yt this Neil Montgomery is only stiled as his Grandfather James (before mentioned) was: & it seems allsoe yt his father ye Count aforesayd, (being beheaded) did Loose (with his life) ye Title of Honor as forfeited from himselfe & his Posterity & therefor it is yt there is soe bare an addition to ye name of this Neil.

It is allsoe to be taken notice of yt this name Neil is very frequent in Scotland, & in ye Family of Skelmorely,[74] which for ye most part, possess ye sayd Towne and Parish of ye Larges: And yt ye Grandfather, with James ye Count his Son, & this Neile ye Grandson, were Cadetts of ye sayd Family of Skelmorely is highly probable from what is before sayd & because every Generation thereof send some one (or more) younger sons to France, or other Kingdoms to raise their fortunes by Warr, Trade, or by Study of Divinity Laws, or Phisick, as many noble Familys in England & Ireland allsoe doe, and the heires marry at home. But we must not Leave this Neile dead & his Posterity too, under ye walls of Dola, in ye French Brittania.

Wee found his father ye Count fighting for ye Reformed Religion, Taken Prisoner, And (contrary to ye Law of Arms quarters being given) beheaded at Paris, & thereby his Honor & Blood tainted, and wrongfully & his posterity as outed from his French lands.

Wee have heard allsoe of himselfe (ye sd Neile) in ye Civill warrs (for ye sd Religion) Acting to ye great glory of his name & giveing strong & faithful Helpe to Henry ye 4th K: of France & Navarre. Surely then it may be reasonably concluded, That as a reward for his services & compensation for his Death: The sayd King did restore his Posterity to ye cleer Blood & Honor & Lands whereof their Ancestor, ye sd Count James, was possessed: For so much meritt & ye worth of those two men, their offspring could not starve: or be unregarded by so Pruddent & Bountyfull a K: as Henry Burbon was.

Note, That in converse with French officers and refugees, and by inquiry at others in 1697 and 1698, I am informed that the family of Montgomerys descended from the Count de Lorge are extinct and that ye title of de Lorge (which was imposed by them on their lands in France) was given to the late Marischall de Lorge his father or to himself descended of the duke de Duras his family, in K: Lewes ye 13ths raigne, and perhaps the said Montgomerys lands de Lorge also, for assisting the Rochellers and Protestants in their defence against that French King.

And further as to this of ye Title, it is observed, yt ye French generally doe not use to Sub-

the bearers of them had resided for some time in France. Thus the Cunninghams became *Coigans, Couinglants*, and *Cogingands*; the Gowries became *Gohorys*; the Morrisons, *Mauriçons*; the Drummonds, *Dromonts*; the Lawsons, *De Lazuns*; the Williamsons, *D'Oillençons*; the Stewarts, *Stujers*, &c., &c. See Burton's *Scot Abroad*, vol. i., pp. 83—88.

[74] *In ye family of Skelmorely.*—It is curious that of the *eleven* owners of Skelmorley, from the date that it came originally into the family of Montgomery at the commencement of the fifteenth century, until absorbed in the Eglinton estates in 1783, not one bore the christian name of *Neil*. Nor does this name appear, even as having been borne by any of their brothers or sons! But *Neil* was the most prevailing christian name among the Montgomerys of *Lainshaw*, at least during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 309–311, 453, 454.

scribe Surnames, neither the Father nor any of ye Children as I am told: so yt it is more than probable to mee, That ye Count de Lorge (whose Eldest son in his Life time is called Sieur de Lorge) a distinct family & come at first from Scotland, & not perticularly descended from ye Count de Montgomery, of whom I shall now write breifly not repeating wht hath been Generally sayd of him.

And first I observed yt he writes himselfe De Montgomery wth out his Christian name or other designation.

For yt in ye year 1664 I saw ye Count de Montgomery at White Hall; he came over in Grand Equipage with three French Ambassadors, The Cheife whereof was an old Abbott, who had a great Revennue, & was a Bastard of K: Henry ye 4th aforesayed: King Charles ye 2d called him unkle.

This Count de Montgomery was a little black haired man, very Brave in his Apparel & Retinue; I visited him once after I had first accosted him at Court; my French Tongue was then a little out of use, & he had noe good Latin (as I believe) scarce more than to say his creed & prayers by. So far I could Learn Little of him, concerning his family, but yt his Ancestors had been counts & great men in Normandy, and of Large Estates, ever since and before Duke William conquered England. Hee was (as I fancyed) ill read in History & unskillfull of his Geneology (as most men are careless of it) he sayd he had at home a Tree of his Predecessors names. Hee was not then under any great comand in France, & truely I find little of his family in ye French Chronicles, altho I have read and searched De Serres, de girard, & other Authors of yt kind, and soe I Leave him & them.[75]

Gabriel de Lorge.

returning to enquire (as I have done concerning James and Neill de Lorge soe likewise) of Gabriell De Lorge: Now yt hee was Montgomery, And his Surname written as now I doe, is not doubted: but yt he was of ye house of Govean, & stiled Count Montgomery de Lorge, and why not de Govean is a Question wch may thus be answered: viz. yt ye Family of Govean might allsoe be Lairds of Largs, as Mr. Francis Montgomery,[76] ye present Earle of Eglintons neerest brother, is

[75] *Soe I leave him & them.*—The following account of the Comtes d'Alençon was extracted from old records in Normandy in the year 1840:—

Les armes de
Montgomerie Comte d'Alençon, d'azure au lion d'or armè et lamposséd'argent—écarlate de Belesme, qui est d'argent a trois chevrons de Gueules.

1. Comte d'Alençon, Yves de Bellesme, mort l'an 944.
2. Guillaume I. son fils, mort l'an 1028.
3. Robert I. son fils, mort l'an 1035.
4. Guillaume II. did Falves, chossé par
5. Arnulfe, son frere, auquel succëda,
6. Yves II. son oncle, Eveque de Sies, mort l'an 1074.
7. Mabille, fille de Guillaume II. morte 5 Decembre, 1082, épouse de Roger de Montgomery.

SECONDE RACE.

8. Robert de Montgomery, son fils Comte d'Alençon, mort l'an, 1130.
9. Guillaume III. dit Falvas, mort 29 Juin l'an 1171.
10. Jean, son fils, mort 24 Fevrier 1199.
11. Juan, son fils, mort 6 Maii 1191.
12. Guillaume IV. son frere, mort 1203.
13. Robert III. son frere, mort 8 Septembre 1217.
14. Robert IV. fils posthumé, mort Août 1219.

TROISIEME RACE.

Alix, sa soeur, céda en Janvier, 1220, le Comté d'Alençon au Roi, Phillipe-Auguste, ayeul de Saint Louis, qui au mois de Mars. 1263, le donna à un de ses fils,

15. Pierre de France, mort s. p. 6 Août l'an 1283.
En 1293, le Roi Philipe le Bel le donna a son frere,
16. Charles, Comte de Valois, mort l'an, 1325.
17. Charles II. de Valois fils puisné le recût, 1326, en l'airie du Roi Philipe de Valois son frere; il fût tué à Creci, 26 Août 1346.
18. Charles III. son fils prit l'habit de St. Dominique, mort 1360.
19. Pierre II. le Noble, son fils, mort 20 Septembre, 1404.
1. Jean II. le Sage, son fils, en faveur duquel le Comté d'Alençon fût érigé en Duché Pairie, le 1me Janvier 1414; tuë à Agincourt, 25th Oct. l'an 1415.
2. Jean III. le Bon son fils, mort l'an, 1475.
3. René son fils. mort 1me Novembre l'an, 1492.
4. Charles IV. son fils, mort 14 Avril l'an, 1525.
Le 8 Fevrier, 1566, le Roi Charles IX. donna Duché d'Alençon a son frere,
5. François, mort 10 Juin l'an, 1584.
Le Duché fit partie de l'apanage de
6. Charles de France, dne de Berri par lettres de Juin, 1710; fût de Noveau reuni á la couronne par sa mort, s. p. 4 Maii, 1724. —Mrs. E. G. S. Reilly's *Genealogical History*, pp. 69. 70.

[76] *Francis Montgomery.*—This Mr. Francis Montgomery who acquired the lands of Govean and Hessilhead, resided on his estate of Giffon, in the parish of Beith, and was only brother of Alexander, the eighth earl of Eglinton, who died in 1701.—Paterson's *Parishes and Families, of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 238, 239. Francis Montgomery was one of the lords of the privy council, and a commissioner of the treasury, in the reign of William III., and queen Anne. He was a member of parliament for the county of Ayr during many years, and his name appears on the important Scottish Commission which assisted in negotiating the union with England of 1707.—*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 288.

Laird both of Govean & Hasilhead, w^ch Estates are distant some miles, & had several owners Montgomerys for divers descents; but are now come by purchase money to y^e s^d Francis: what hinders then: but y^t y^e s^d Gabriell (by y^e French King) might be styled from his possession in y^e Largs, & so called de Lorge. but y^t he was a Scottish man is Evident, in y^t he was descended of y^e house of Govean, and allsoe y^t he was made Cap^t over y^e Scotts (as it was most proper to bee) when y^e Guard afores^d of y^t nation was Instituted.

Now haveing cleered these points, as well as my knowledge in those matters could affoord, I will proced to a Testimony or two, taken out of Speeds History of Englands monarchs, one relates (as I suppose) to a Scottish Montgomery: you have it in vita Elizabethæ, page 1139, sect. 29, where he says, y^t Ambrose Dudley, Earle of Warwick, y^e Queens Gen^ll of some English Forces, Landed at Newhaven y^e 29th of October, 1562, where his Comission was proclaimed & oath taken: and That Strength of Scottish men, were sent unto him from Deip, whereof Monsieur Montgomery (thus y^e surname is spelled, and not as y^e Count de Mongomery writes himselfe) was presently made Governour: Speed's mention of two Montgomerys. Havre de Grace.

The occasion of this support given by y^e Queen was partly to gett Reparation for Seizures made by y^e French of English Shipps, but mostly to favour y^e Reformation of Religion: wherein Monsieur Vidame and y^e overruling inhabitants of Rouen, Deip, and New Haven were engaged. Now I take this Montgomery (from his Surname so spelled); from his fighting for y^e Reformed Religion, & from y^e comand he had given to him over y^e Scotts and over y^t town, and y^t firm trust reposed in him by y^e English Generall, I say I take him therefor to have been a Scottish Protestant, or of y^t Extraction: Alltho perhapps bredd or borne in France. because y^e Scottish Lingua was necessary to Exercise his command over people of y^t nation as y^e French tongue was for y^e Townsmen.[77]

This Montgomery certainly was a Famous Person: For hee being Governor of Roun, it was gained from him; tho with y^e Loss of y^e King of Navarrs Life, as he was veiwing where it was weakest.

The other mention y^t Speed makes is (I believe) of a French Montgomery, you have it page 1035, sect. 129, in vita Henry 8: this Gentleman is called Monsieur Mungumery (there is u put for o) of y^e order of France (i.e., as I take it Knt. of y^e Holy Ghost) who was sent to aid Scotland w^th 5000 men to maintain y^e Breach between y^e Scotts and King Henry y^e 8th afores^d touching y^e marriage of young Mary Queen of Scotts, & tis likely he might have been of y^e Family of Count de Mongomery in Normandy, and so fittest to command the French auxiliarys.[78] I find in the

[77] *For ye townsmen.* — The 'difficulty' between the governments of England and France on that occasion arose after the death of the young king Francis, who was succeeded by his younger brother, Charles IX. Although sir Henry Sidney had been sent into France to make peace between the parties headed respectively by Guise and Conde, yet the French fleet employed itself in seizing English merchant ships and imprisoning the men, "no other cause alleaged, but that they were Hugonets." The forces sent from England under the earl of Warwick, to obtain redress for these grievances, were strengthened by Scottish troops from Dieppe, commanded by *Monsieur Montgomery*, an officer of Scottish extraction. This movement occurred in September, 1562.—Speed's *Chronicles*, 1632, p. 1139.

[78] *The French auxiliarys.*—When Mary queen of Scots was born, in 1542, Edward, the heir to the throne of England, was a boy of five years of age. It seemed as if these two children should have been destined to form a marriage alliance, and by this means to have united the two countries, which, for generations, had been desolated by bloody wars. Henry VIII., determined that this union should be accomplished, as the best, and, indeed, only means of effectually excluding French influence from Scotland. To secure so desirable a result, he demanded the custody of Mary, and being refused, he imperiously dispatched a whole army to take the royal child by force. He would have undoubtedly done so, but for the interference of the French, who arrived in the Firth of Forth in June 1548, and soon afterwards carried off the youthful

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CORRIGENDA.

Page, 53, fourth line of text, *for* Mouck *read* Monck.

,, 56, fifth line of text, *for* corner *read* Comer.

,, 100, note 43, second column second line, *for* Ballymacquinadoe *read* Ballymacswinadoe.

,, 197, fifth line of the text, *for* Solamin *read* Solamen ; and *for* miseries *read* miseriæ.

,, 212, note 60, *for* 1675 *read* 1657.

,, 223, note 29, *for* 228 *read* 218.

,, 237, note 72, *for* 1683 *read* 1653.

,, 245, at the end of note 4 add :—The foregoing references are quoted from Buckle's *Civilization in England*, vol. ii., p. 266.

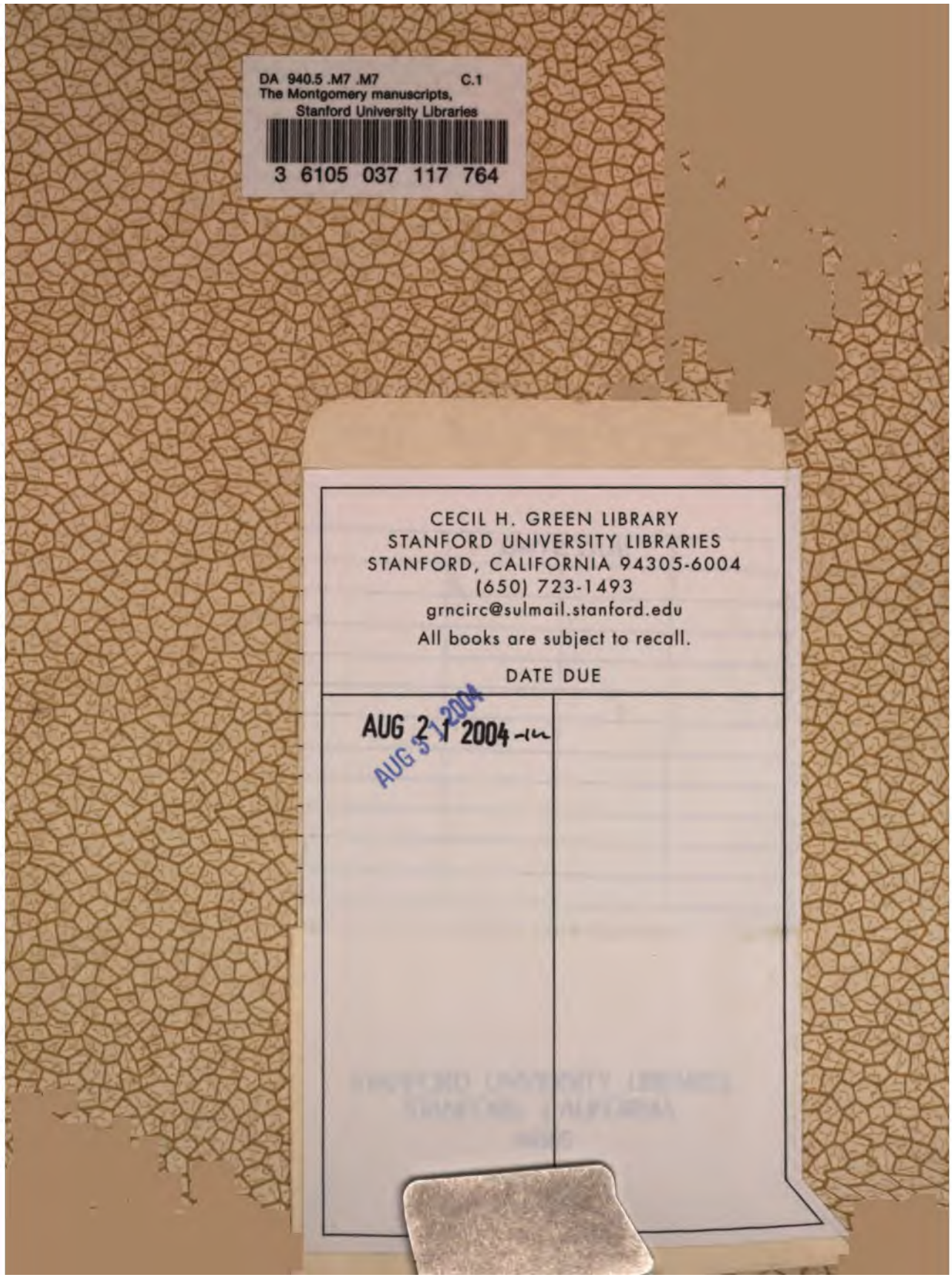
,, 270, note 42, *for* 1633 *read* 1683.

,, 286, 289, 290, notes 68, 3, 4, *for* Lilly *read* Lely.

,, 303, note 4, *for* 1820 *read* 1835.

,, 350, note 13, *for* St. Manchan's *read* St. Mauchan's.

,, 405, note 3, *for* quoque *read* quæque ; and *for* Caryboeus *read* Coryphaeus.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